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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXVII.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE,

1815.



London :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY G. HOUSTON, No. 192, STRAND.

1815.

LIST OF
HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.
1815.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Right Hon. N. Vansittart	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Bathurst	Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Lord Buckinghamshire	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. C. Long	Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Hon. J. F. Robinson	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Postmasters-General.
Earl of Clancarty	
Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir R. Lushington	
Sir Wm. Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Wm. Garrow	Attorney-General.
Sir S. Shepherd	Solicitor-General.

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Lord Whitworth	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robt. Peele	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald	Chancellor of the Exchequer.



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Record of the PRICES of Bread, Wheat, Meat, Labour, Bullion and Funds, in England, during the time that this Volume was publishing; and also of the number of Bankrupts, during the same period; that is, from January to June, 1815, both months inclusive.

BREAD.—The average price of the Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drms. in London, which is nearly the same as in other parts of the country, 11½d.

WHEAT.—The average price for the above period, through all England, per Winchester Bushel of 8 gallons, 8s. 3d.

MEAT.—Per pound, on an average for the time above stated, as sold wholesale at Smithfield Market, not including the value of skin or offal. Beef, 7½d.; Mutton, 8d.; Veal, 9½d.; Pork, 9½d.—N.B. This is nearly the retail price all over the country, the Butcher's profit consisting of the skin and offal.

LABOUR.—The average pay per day of a labouring man employed in farming work, at Botley, in Hampshire, being about a fifth higher than the wages throughout the whole country, 1s. 11d.

BULLION.—Standard Gold in Bars, per Oz. £5. 2s.—Standard Silver do. 6s. 8½d. N.B. These are the average prices, during the above period, in Bank of England Notes. The prices in Gold and Silver Coins are, for an ounce of Gold £3. 17s. 10½d.; for an ounce of Silver, 5s. 3d.

FUNDS.—Average price of the Three Per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, during the above period, 60½.

BANKRUPTS.—Number of Bankrupts, declared in the London Gazette, during the above period, 581.

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Lord Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)
Right Hon. N. Vansittart	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville	{ First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave	
Lord Sidmouth	{ Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Castlereagh	
Lord Bathurst	{ Secretary of State for the Home Department
Lord Buckinghamshire	
	{ Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
	{ Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
	{ President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	{ Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston	
Right Hon. C. Long	{ Secretary at War.
Hon. J. F. Robinson	
Earl of Chichester	{ Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Earl of Clancarty	
Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot	{ Joint Postmasters-General.
Sir R. Lushington	
Sir Wm. Grant	{ Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Wm. Garrow	
Sir S. Shepherd	Master of the Rolls.
	Attorney-General.
	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

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Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXVII. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 7, 1815. [Price 1s.

[1]

[2]

TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Esq.

THE INFLEXIBLE ENEMY OF TYRANNY.

ON THE

Peace between England and America.

Batley, January 1, 1815.

DEAR SIR,—When you, a few minutes after I was enclosed amongst felons in Newgate, for having written about the flogging of English Local Militia-men in the presence of German Dragoons, at the town of Ely, came to take me by the hand, and, looking round you, exclaimed, “Well! I am seventy years old, but I shall yet see” when you uttered that exclamation, little indeed did I hope that your prediction would so soon seem to be in a fair way of being fulfilled. The peace with America is certainly the most auspicious event that I have ever had to record, or to notice, since the first day that I ventured to put my thoughts upon paper. It opens to mankind a prospect of happier days. It has, by a stroke of the pen, blasted the malignant hopes of the enemies of freedom, baffled all their speculations, flung them back beyond the point whence they started in their career of hostility against the principles of political and civil liberty; hurled them and their paragraphs, and pamphlets and reviews, and all the rest of their hireling productions, down into the dirt to be trampled under foot; changed their exultation into mourning, their audacity into fear. Let those to whom liberty and slavery are indifferent talk about boundary lines, passages, fishing banks and commercial arrangements; you will look at the peace with very different eyes; you will see in it the greatest stroke that has ever yet been struck in favour of that cause, to which you have devoted your life; and struck, too, at a time, when almost every friend of freedom, except yourself, seemed to have yielded to feelings of despair.

But, in order to be able fully and justly to estimate the consequences of this peace, we must take a review, 1st, of the cause of the war; 2d, of the causes of its conti-

nuance until now; and, 3d, of the causes which produced the peace. When we have done this, the consequences of such a termination of the war will naturally develop themselves to our view. Happily this war has closed before its causes and its objects have been forgotten. We are yet within the recollection of every circumstance; and though I have, over and over again, stated them all, it is now necessary to recapitulate the material points, and to give them, if possible, a form and situation that may defy the power of time. All sorts of vile means will be used by those who have the controul of a corrupt press, to misrepresent, to disfigure, to disguise, to suppress, upon this important occasion. The hirelings are raving with mortification at this grand event, the consequences of which they feel before hand. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to place the whole of the matter in a clear light, and thus to do all that we are able to counteract their efforts.

FIRST, as to the cause of the war: though there had been several points in dispute, the war was produced by the impressment, by our naval officers, of men out of American ships on the high seas. The Republic wished to take no part in the European war, especially after Napoleon made himself a King. But she, at last, found, that, in order to avoid miseries equal to those of war, it was necessary for her to arm and to fight. We stopped her ships on the high seas, and our naval officers impressed such men as they thought proper, took them on board of our ships, compelled them to submit to our discipline, and to fight, in short, in our service. The ground on which we proceeded to do this was, that the persons impressed were British subjects; and that we had a right to impress British subjects, being seamen, find them where we might. The Republic denied altogether our right to take persons of any description by force out of her neutral ships, unless they were soldiers or seamen actually in the service of our enemy. But, perhaps, if we had confined our impressments to our own people, she might not

have gone to war. This, however, our naval officers did not do. It has never been denied by our Government, that many *native Republicans* were impressed by our officers. It is notorious, that many of them have been compelled to serve on board of our ships; and, of course, that many have been wounded or killed; or, at least, carried from their country, their homes, their family, and their affairs. Mr. Madison, in his last speech to the Congress, states, that "*thousands*" of Native Republicans were thus impressed, before war was declared by the Congress. The Congress, at last, declared war; but the President, always anxious to avoid the calamities of war, immediately proposed the renewal of negotiations for peace. Mr. Russell, then the Republican Minister in London, signified to Lord Castlereagh, in August 1812, that he was authorised to stipulate for an *Armistice*, to begin in sixty days, on the following conditions: "That the Orders in Council be repealed, and no illegal blockades be substituted for them; and that orders be immediately given to *discontinue the impressment of persons from American vessels, and to restore the citizens of the United States already impressed*; it being moreover well understood, that the British Government will assent to enter into definitive arrangements, as soon as may be, on these and every other difference, by a Treaty, to be concluded, either at London or Washington, as on an impartial consideration of existing circumstances shall be deemed most expedient.—As an inducement to Great Britain to discontinue the practice of impressment from American vessels, I am authorised to give assurance that a law shall be passed (to be reciprocal), to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of the United States.—It is sincerely believed, that such an arrangement would prove more efficacious, in securing to Great Britain her seamen, than the practice of impressment, so derogatory to the sovereign attributes of the United States, and so incompatible with the *personal rights of their citizens.*"

Lord Castlereagh's answer to this was as follows:—"From this statement you will perceive, that the view you have taken of this part of the subject is incorrect; and that, in the present state of the relations between the two countries, the operation of the Order of the 23d of

"June can only be defeated by a refusal on the part of your Government to desist from hostilities, or to comply with the conditions expressed in the said Order. Under the circumstances of your having no powers to negotiate, I must decline entering into a detailed discussion of the propositions which you have been directed to bring forward.—I cannot, however, refrain on one single point from expressing my surprise; namely, that, as a condition, preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the Government of the United States should have thought fit to demand, that the British Government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign State, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that State.—The British Government now, as heretofore, is ready to receive from the Government of the United States, and amicably to discuss, any proposition which professes to have in view either to check abuse in exercise of the practice of impressment, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary; but they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced that means can be devised, and will be adopted, by which the object to be obtained by the exercise of that right can be effectually secured. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant."

This offer, you will perceive, *came from the President*. How false, then, is the charge, that he went to war to *assist Napoleon*! If that had been true, *he*, of course, would have proposed *no armistice*. He would have been anxious to avoid all means of reconciliation. But, on the contrary, he is the *first* to make an effort to put an end to the war; and, even in the case of impressment, to tender voluntarily a measure calculated to remove our apprehensions on the score of our seamen. I do not know how an English Secretary of State may have been able to look a Republican Minister in the face, while the former was asserting, that the *strength of England mainly depended* on the exercise of the right of *impressing* its own subjects;

but, be that as it may, the President here *tendered a measure* to render that impressment unnecessary, unless it was still meant to impress the *Republicans*.

The Republic having failed in this endeavour to restore peace, she made another attempt, the succeeding month, as will be seen in the letter of Mr. Monroe to Sir John B. Warren, and which letter it is of great importance now to peruse with attention. After the opening of his letter, he proceeds thus:—"I am instructed to inform you, that it will be very satisfactory to the President to meet the British Government in such arrangements as may terminate, without delay, the hostilities which now exist between the United States and Great Britain, on conditions honourable to both nations.—At the moment of the declaration of war, the President gave a signal proof of the attachment of the United States to peace. Instructions were given, at an early period, to the late Charge d'Affaires of the United States at London, to propose to the British Government an armistice, on conditions which, it was presumed, would have been satisfactory. It has been seen with regret, that the proposition made by Mr. Monroe, *particularly in regard to the important interest of impressment*, was rejected; and that none was offered through that channel, as a basis on which hostilities might cease.—As your Government has authorised you to propose a cessation of hostilities, and is doubtless aware of the important and salutary effect which a satisfactory adjustment of this difference cannot fail to have on the future relations between the two countries, I indulge the hope that it has, ere this, given you full powers for the purpose. Experience has sufficiently evinced that no peace can be durable, unless *this object* is provided for: it is presumed, therefore, that it is equally the interest of both countries to adjust it at this time.—Without further discussing questions of right, the President is desirous to provide a remedy for the evils complained of on both sides. The claim of the British Government is *to take from the merchant vessels of other countries British subjects*. In the practice, the Commanders of British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States *American citizens*. If the United States prohibit the employment of

British subjects in their service, and enforce the prohibition by *suitable regulations and penalties*, the motive for the practice is taken away. It is in *this mode* that the President is willing to accommodate this important controversy with the British Government, and it cannot be conceived on what ground the arrangement can be refused.—A suspension of the practice of impressment, pending the armistice, seems to be a necessary consequence. It cannot be presumed, while the parties are engaged in a negotiation to adjust amicably this important difference, that the United States would *admit the right, or acquiesce in the practice*, of the opposite party; or that Great Britain would be unwilling to restrain her cruisers from a practice which would have the strongest tendency to *defeat the negociation*. It is presumable that both parties would enter into a negotiation with a sincere desire to give it effect. For this purpose, it is necessary that a clear and distinct understanding be first obtained between them, of the accommodation which each is prepared to make. If the British Government is willing to suspend the practice of impressment from American vessels, on consideration that the United States will *exclude British seamen* from their service, the regulation, by which this compromise should be carried into effect, would be solely the object of this negotiation. The armistice would be of short duration. If the parties agree, peace would be the result. If the negotiation failed, each would be restored to its former state, and to all its pretensions, by recurring to war.—Lord Castlereagh, in his note to Mr. Russell, seems to have supposed, that, had the British Government accepted the propositions made to it, Great Britain would have suspended immediately the exercise of a right *on the mere assurance of this Government*, that a law would be *afterwards passed* to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the service of the United States, and that Great Britain would have no agency in the regulation to give effect to that proposition. Such an idea was not in the contemplation of this Government, nor is to be reasonably inferred from Mr. Russell's note: least, however, by possibility, such an inference might be drawn from the instructions to Mr. Russell, and anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in the

“case, subsequent instructions were given to Mr. Russell, with a view to obviate every objection of the kind alluded to. As they bear date on the 27th of July, and were forwarded by the British packet *Alpha*, it is more than probable that they may have been received and acted on.—I am happy to explain to you thus fully the views of my Government on this important subject. The President desires that the war which exists between our countries should be terminated on such conditions as may secure a solid and durable peace. To accomplish this great object, it is necessary that the *interest of impressment* be satisfactorily arranged. He is willing that Great Britain should be secured against the evils of which she complains. He seeks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it *degrades the nation*, deprives them of their right as freemen, takes them by force from their families and their country, into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign Power, perbaps against their own kindred and country.—I abstain from entering, in this communication, into other grounds of differences. The Orders in Council having been repealed (with a reservation not impairing a corresponding right on the part of the United States), and no legal blockades revived or instituted in their stead, and an understanding being obtained on the subject of impressment, in the mode herein proposed, the President is willing to agree to a cessation of hostilities, with a view to arrange, by treaty, in a more distinct and ample manner, and to the satisfaction of both parties, every other subject of controversy.—I will only add, that if there be no objection to an accommodation of the difference relating to impressment, in the mode proposed, other than the suspension of the British claims to impressment during the armistice, there can be none to proceeding, without the armistice, to an immediate discussion and arrangement of an article on that subject. This great question being satisfactorily adjusted, the way will be open either for an armistice, or any other course leading most conveniently and expeditiously to a general pacification.”

This offer, too, was rejected! What more was the President to do unless he, at

once allowed, that we had a right to impress on board American ships. Was this offer to be attributed to a wish to aid Napoleon? How execrable, then, has been the conduct of those who have been labouring to make the people of England believe, that Mr. Madison went to war to aid Napoleon! What wretches must those be, who have called him “the tool of the fallen despot?” what impudent men, those who have accused him of attacking us *in the dark*, like an assassin? The man, who, the other day, uttered that expression, ought to have had his lips smashed upon his teeth. Every effort, short of opening the Republican ships to English press-gangs, was, it appears to me, made by the President to prevent the war, and to put an end to the war after it was begun.

It is asserted most roundly, in Lord Castlereagh’s letter to Mr. Russell, that “to impress British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign State is the ancient and accustomed practice of the British Government.” It has often been thus said, but never has been attempted to be proved. I have never read of any such practice; I have never heard of any such practice; and, I defy any one, to cite in any book on the law of nations any record of such a practice, or any maxim or principle to warrant it. I have thrown down this challenge fifty times, and it has never been taken up. But, we did not stop with this practice. We impressed *Native Republicans*. Mr. Madison says that we impressed *thousands* of them. The President tenders us a law, to be agreed on by us, as well as him, to prevent our seamen from serving on board of the Republican ships; and this, *even this*, does not satisfy us.—He wishes to put an end to the war in this way, even at a time when he is accused of having declared it for the purpose of aiding Napoleon; and still the hirelings of the London press call him “the tool of Napoleon;” while other miscreants accuse him of having attacked us in the dark, like an assassin.

SECOND, *the causes of the continuance of the War*.—But, how came the war not to cease when the war in Europe ceased? This is the most interesting part of the subject. The professed object of the war, on our part, was to make the Americans submit to our practice of impressment, alleging that that practice was necessary to the preservation of our maritime power, on which our existence depended. Mr.

Madison tendered us the means of preventing our seamen from avoiding our service by serving on board of American ships; but, laying that aside, why did we not make peace as soon as we had made peace with France? We were no longer in danger. There existed no longer any reason to fear, that our men would take refuge on board of American ships. The European peace had taken away all ground of quarrel. The Republic was always ready to treat. Her Ministers, or Commissioners, were in London soliciting audiences. And yet the war continued, and, on our part, with more fury than ever. All *danger* to us was at an end. The French king was restored; the Pope was re-established in his Chair of St. Peter; regular Government and the Inquisition were *happily* restored in Spain; and, in short, "social order and our holy religion," as John Bowles used to call them, were every where become again in vogue.

This change took place in the months of *April and May last*; and just as I was hugging myself in the prospect of a speedy peace with America, out came a very extraordinary paper from the *Admiralty*. It was an *address to the fleets*. It set out with expressing thanks to the sailors for their services in the glorious cause, which had just been crowned with such signal success; it then stated to them, that their services would be wanted a *little longer*, in order to carry on the war against America, which had been guilty of an unprovoked act of aggression against our maritime rights; and it concluded by observing, that, with the aid of the navy, there was no doubt but such a peace would be procured as would tend to the "LASTING TRANQUILLITY OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD." There was a great deal of meaning in these concluding words. Suppose the war to have gained us an acknowledgment of our right to send press-gangs into American merchant ships on the high seas, what had that to do with "the lasting tranquillity of the civilized world?" And why the word *civilized*? In short, this novel instrument was, in America, looked upon as a *new* declaration of war against them; a declaration of war upon a *new ground*. Jonathan, who heard so much about our care for the "*civilized world*," when we began our war against the French Republic, did not fail to interpret these significant words according to John Bowles's Dictionary. Accordingly we find Mr.

Monroe, in his instructions to the Commissioners at Ghent, written in July and August, telling them, that it appears to the President, that the war, on our part, has a *new object*.

But this proclamation of the Admiralty was not all that had a tendency to produce this opinion of our object. On the 2^d of June, just after the issuing of this proclamation, the London newspapers published what they called a speech of Sir Joseph Yorke, one of the *Lords of the Admiralty*, delivered, as it was stated, in the House of Commons, the evening before. This document is of infinite importance, whether we view it as coming from a Gentleman *in office*, or as to the *time* of its having been uttered, or, at least, published. It was in these memorable words, as published in the *Courier* newspaper of the 2^d June, 1814.—"Sir J. Yorke observed, that although "one great enemy of this country, Bonaparte, had been *deposed*, there was *another gentleman* whose **DEPOSITION** "was also necessary to our interest, he "meant Mr. President Madison, and with "a view to **THAT DEPOSITION** a "considerable naval force must be kept "up, especially in the Atlantic. But as "to his Hon. Friend's opinion respecting "the reduction of the Navy, he wished it "to be considered that a number of shipping were employed in conveying French prisoners to France, and bringing home "our own countrymen. So much for the "occupation of our navy on the home "station.—But from the Mediterranean "for instance, several three deckers were "ordered home, and he could swear that "no practicable exertion would be remitted "to reduce the expence of our Naval Department."—This required no *interpreter*. It left no room for miscomprehension. It went, at once, to the point; and, though it might *possibly* have been a fabrication of the Newspaper Editors, it never was, at any time afterwards, stated to have been such; and yet it was of quite importance enough to merit a contradiction, if it could have received it. No wonder, then, that Mr. Madison thought, that we had found out a *new object* for the war. It was high time for him to make this discovery, when he read in the English newspapers a report of the speech of a *Lord of the Admiralty*, stating, in an *official* way, that a strong naval force was still necessary with a view to **THE DEPOSING** of Mr. Madison. This speech, as I have often said, may

have been a fabrication; but the publication of it never was complained of in the House; the report was never contradicted in the newspapers; and, at any rate, when coupled with the Proclamation of the Admiralty, Mr. Madison could not help looking upon it as very nearly proof positive of our Government's determination to *depose* him; that is to say, to destroy the Constitution of the Republic.

Besides, these documents went to America accompanied with the menacing language of our *press*; or, at least, all that part of the press which was most *in vogue*, which was most cherished by the rich, and which was looked upon as speaking the voice of persons having great influence. The prints of this description, *the moment Napoleon was down*, changed, all at once, their tone with regard to America. They had *before* talked of our *maritime rights*; they had *apologized* for the war; they had called it a war of *necessity*; they had affected to *lament* that necessity; they had been expressing their hopes of the return of *peace* with our misled *brethren in America*. But no sooner was Napoleon put down, than these same prints proclaimed the necessity of continuing the war for the purpose of *subduing* the Republic; of bringing her to *subjection*; of putting down her Government; of bringing to an *union with us* a part, at least, of the States; of rooting out her *democratical principles*. They declared, that no peace was to be made with *James Madison*, whom they called a **TRAITOR** and a **REBEL**. But observe well, that the main object constantly kept in view by these prints was the necessity of *delivering the world* of the **EXAMPLE** of the existence of a Government *founded on DEMOCRATIC rebellion*. To quote *all*, or a hundredth part, of the instances that I am here speaking of, would fill a large volume. I will, therefore, content myself with a few passages from the *Times* newspaper of the last two weeks of the month of April, 1814.

"It is understood that *part of our army* "in France will be immediately transferred to America, to **FINISH** the war "there with the same glory as in Europe, "and to place the peace on a foundation "equally firm and lasting."..... "The American Government "is, in point of fact, as much a tyranny " (though we are far from saying it is so "horrible a one) as was that of Bonaparte: "and as we firmly urged the principle of "no peace with Bonaparte; so, to be con-

"sistent with ourselves, we must in like "manner maintain the doctrine of **NO "PEACE WITH JAMES MADISON.....** "Can we doubt, that a vigorous effort on "our part will annihilate the power of a "faction, alike hostile to Britain, and fatal "to America? Is not the time propitious "for **WINNING AT LEAST THE "SOUNDER AND BETTER PART "OF THE AMERICANS TO AN "UNION OF INTERESTS WITH "THE COUNTRY FROM WHENCE "THEY SPRUNG?".....**

.....Again, in the same paper of a date a few months later:—"The "ill-organized association, is on the eve "of dissolution; and the world is speedily "to be delivered of the mischievous example of the existence of a Government "FOUNDED ON DEMOCRATIC "REBELLION."

I need insert no more. This was the language of the *favoured* and *patronised* part of the English press. It is impossible to efface these passages. They speak in language which can neither be misunderstood nor misrepresented.

In addition to these clear unequivocal indications, we must not omit to bear in mind the article, which appeared in all our London prints, some weeks after the peace of Paris, stating, that there was a *secret article* in that treaty, pledging the Continental Powers *not to interfere in the war, or the dispute, between England and America*. This was something very remarkable; for the article was given as an extract from the *Vienna Gazette*. How could it get into that Gazette, which, all the world knows, contains nothing disapproved of by the Government? How could the article get there? It related to a matter of very great importance. Uncommonly important it was. The *editor*, the mere *editor* of a Paper at Vienna was not likely to think much, or care much, about America, or her dispute. *Why* should he invent the story of such a secret article? Be the cause of this article what it might, the effect certainly was very great. The fact, which was taken for granted by the enemies of liberty here, encouraged them to proceed in urging the continuance of the war; they told the people, that there was *no danger now*; that all the Powers of Europe were of one mind; that there was no fear, in the present state of France, of her lending the Americans any assistance;

that all the *maritime* powers were exhausted by the war; that they stood in need of long repose to recover themselves; that, in fact, their fleet and seamen were nearly all gone; that *now! now! NOW OR NEVER!* was the motto; that, by a good hearty exertion, this Republic, this *dangerous example* to the world, might be for ever got rid of. There were many amongst these publishers and their patrons, who hoped for, who expected, and who encouraged the notion of, a *re-colonization* of the Republican States. They openly proclaimed this; and, indeed, I verily believe, that, about four months ago, a great part of the nation had been persuaded, that the project would be accomplished very speedily. Thus was the war rendered popular; and so popular, that, even in the city of London, and at a Common Hall, a motion for a petition against the continuance of the American war, though coupled with a call for the discontinuance of the Income Tax, which that war rendered indispensable, could not obtain a moment's hearing. The people were worked up to a senseless spirit of resentment, while those who had so worked them up, had in view the utter subversion of the American Republic, and with her, the last remains of political liberty.

Here, then, we have the *real objects* of the friends of tyranny; the sons and daughters of corruption; the race who never can be at heart's ease while the sun shines upon one free country; upon one nation happy in the enjoyment of liberty. These people had seen liberty, and the very hope of liberty, destroyed in France; their long existing hopes of seeing that object accomplished had been just fully gratified; but they, who are as cunning as they are wicked, clearly saw that nothing, and, perhaps, worse than nothing, was done, unless the free Constitution of the American Republic could be destroyed. The sons and daughters of corruption foresaw, that, while this Republic existed, nothing was done; that the "*example*," to use the words of the *Times*, "*of the existence of such a Government*," would keep Bribery and Corruption in constant dread and constant danger; that the example of a people living under a Government such as that of America, without tumults, without commotions, would always be a handle for the friends of reform to lay hold of; and, therefore, they anxiously wished for the overthrow of that Government; therefore they wished

to see Mr. Madison deposed; therefore they wished to see an aristocratical faction raised up against the Republican Government; they thought, that *war*, necessarily producing taxes heavier than the Republicans had ever been used to, would furnish the aristocratical faction with a plausible ground of complaint; they were in hopes of thus producing, first, violent opposition to the war; next, something like open REBELLION; next, a *division of the States*; and, last, the conquest or overthrow of the whole. This was the main ground of hope with these malignant publishers; these enemies of real freedom; these sons and daughters of Bribery and Corruption, whose hearts overflowed with gall, whose eye-balls were seared by the sight of a people, who chose their representatives every twenty-four months, in the choosing of whom *every man paying taxes had a voice*, whose chief magistrate even was chosen from amongst his fellow-citizens every four years, without any pecuniary or religious qualification; and whose whole Government, civil, judicial, military, and naval, did not cost above a tenth part as much as the amount of the Civil List alone in England, though the population of the country was nearly equal to that of England. This was an object that blasted their sight. They could not endure it. They were mad at the thought of its being left in existence. They saw that, while this spectacle was in the world, they were never safe. It was useless, in their view of the matter, to have restored the Bourbons, the Pope, the Dominicans, and the Inquisition, while America remained an example and an asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

Hence these malignant writers left nothing undone to urge the nation on to a *continuation of the war*. Every art was made use of to encourage an acquiescence in the project. Mr. Madison was held up as the basest of men; as a traitor, who, at a moment when England was in great danger from the designs and the power of Napoleon, took advantage of our embarrassment, and declared war with a design to assist him in totally ruining us. But the great inducement, the great ground of hope of final success was, the expected *division of the States*. It was well known that there was an aristocratical faction in the four States, called the *New England*, or *Eastern States*; that some very artful men, in that part of the Union, had stirred up a sort of rebellion. The influence of

these men was magnified; and a belief was created, that a division would take place. This hope, however, has failed; and you will have the pleasure to see, in a short time, this faction plunged into irretrievable disgrace and ruin.

Having now endeavoured to place in a clear light, *the cause of the war*, and the *causes of its continuance after the European peace*, I shall, in another letter, state *the causes of the peace*, and its probable important consequences.

In the meanwhile I remain, with the greatest respect, and most sincere attachment, your faithful and obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MRS. SPENCER PERCEVAL.

Ye lovers of *cant*! Ye hypocrites, religious, moral, and political! Draw near and regale yourselves with a treat. Here is one who surpasses you all. The following paragraph from the *Courier* of the 4th instant, on the subject of this lady's reported intended marriage, will make every man of sense and sincerity laugh. It is clearly discernable, that the canting fellow believes the report to be *true*, and that his object is to *frighten the lady* with the condemnation of public opinion. Ladies, in such cases, are not so easily frightened, let me tell him; and they would be fools if they were. "The *Country* has voted a *large pension*." He means the *Members of Parliament*. But what then? Was it made a condition, that she should not be in love with a "*handsome Major*?" Away, you paltry, snivelling hypocrite, *whoever you may be*; and, perhaps, you may be a *rival* of the lady. Things much more unlikely have been; tricks more strange have been played off through the press of London, which has frequently been made the tool in the hands of those who wished to break off, or to make up matches.—Well, Madam, (for, I am sure, you are no *man*) suppose the lady is twelve years older than the Major, could you not have left *him* to find that out? And suppose she has twelve children, did not the Major know that, think you? No; no; you'll never persuade the lady, that her *reputation* will suffer from marrying a handsome young man. The public will pay her pension as cheerfully when she is Mrs. CARR, as if she had remained Mrs. PERCEVAL; and, for my own part, I shall

pay my part of it with a great deal less dissatisfaction.—The following is the article:—"The reports of the intended marriage of Mrs. Perceval are, *we believe*, *quite unfounded*. They have arisen from her intercourse with a neighbour's family, that of the Rev. Mr. Carr, the Clergyman of Ealing, where Mrs. Perceval lives. Mr. Carr has some *charming daughters*, and to them Mrs. Perceval has within the last two months *shewn particular attention*, visiting, and having them at home with her frequently. The Rev. Mr. Carr has two sons, one a Colonel, the other a Major in the Army. The latter, now at home, is a *remarkably handsome man*, about thirty, and he is the person whom the town-tattle has destined as the bridegroom, merely because, on his sisters' account, he has shewn becoming respect, which has been becomingly received by Mrs. Perceval. But Mrs. Perceval is *twelve years older than he is*, with twelve children, the children of our late excellent Prime Minister, who fell by the hands of an assassin. Mrs. Perceval's love of her children, her reverence for the memory of an adored husband, whom she lost under circumstances so awful, would be sure safeguards for her conduct, even if it were possible to forget the exalted place she occupies in the eye of society. The heavy grief, turning her *almost to stone*, which she felt for the loss of her husband, the conspicuous part she has taken among the *most religious, moral, and amiable class*; the example her conduct has set in all respects, renders it *impossible to believe she will take a step so contrary to the course she has hitherto pursued*. The Country has done every thing kind and *honourable* to her, voting her a large pension during *life*, providing for her children, &c.—Among the children of her late Lord, she finds the highest consolation for his loss, and she is the last person who will *forget him* so far as to *throw herself into the arms* of any other Gentleman, *how ever deserving*."

GERMAN TROOPS.

MR. COBBETT.—To comment upon the employment of German troops is liable, in some cases, to give offence; but a bare recital of facts, *without observations*, surely no reasonable being can object to. Impressed with this idea, I conceive I may be

permitted to state, that the people of this town did not shew any extraordinary *symptoms of joy*, on the arrival here of the *Brunswick Hussars*, who were called in by the Mayor to assist in quelling the late riot;—and several very respectable inhabitants, who had been summoned, and had attended, in aid of the civil power, *declined giving any further assistance when the foreign troops arrived*, assigning, as the reason, their *disapprobation* of the measure. I do not pretend to say, whether these persons thought or acted right or not; neither shall I undertake to decide *with whom* originated the several disputes in which the Germans were engaged whilst here; but shall conclude my narrative by stating; that some very unpleasant occurrences having taken place in the evening of Tuesday, December 13th, the Hussars *hastily and unexpectedly* took their final (but very *abrupt*) departure from the town about *midnight*! To the events of that evening is to be ascribed the circumstance alluded to in the following paragraph which appeared this day in the *Norfolk Chronicle* and *Norwich Mercury* newspapers, under the head of Lynn news:—"The private "belonging to the 5th Dragoon Guards, "who was seriously wounded here a short "time since, in a fray with the Brunswick "Hussars, we are glad to find is in a fair "way of recovery."—I am, &c.
Lynn, Dec. 31st. A BY-STANDER.

RIOT AT LYNN.

MR. COBBETT,—In your second Letter "to the Cossack Priesthood of the State "of Massachusetts," inserted in your REGISTER of Dec. 24th, you favoured them, and the world at large, with two extracts from the *Courier* newspaper, respecting the late riot in this town.—Though all *due* deference should be paid to the *Courier's* Lynn Correspondent, who evidently writes in a tone of *dignified hateur*, and with a proper *contempt* for those below him, yet certainly the great majority of the inhabitants of this populous town, do not appear to have imbibed his conception of the subject.—As some of the sailors, or, (as this writer calls them) "*poor deluded* "FELLOWS," are to be tried for their lives, it should be made known, that the merchants and ship-owners have *voluntarily acceded to the terms* which these "deluded "FELLOWS" first demanded, and the refusal to comply with which occasioned the

riot in question. And it ought to be further recorded, that the sailors confined their proceedings solely to the objects connected with their dispute; namely, the preventing mariners from proceeding to sea at the reduced wages, and the liberating their comrades who had been taken into custody; and that, in every other respect, they avoided offering the slightest insult or molestation; for when, in the struggle to effect the release of their companions, they had overcome every effort of the civil power to resist them; when they had thus become, as it were, masters of the place, they immediately retired with their rescued brethren, and the town became as peaceable as if nothing had occurred. It is but justice to make these facts public; for, though the circumstance of breaking open the prison cannot be denied, yet it is hoped the above considerations may plead, and plead strongly, in mitigation of punishment.—The writer in the *Courier* observes, "that the Mayor and other Magistrates "deserve, from every peaceable and well-"disposed inhabitant, the most *sincere* "thanks, as their conduct was greatly to "be admired."—Now, Sir, though all this *may* be true, and though I believe the mass of the inhabitants of this town to be as *peaceable and well-disposed* as most people, yet they seem not, at present, to have caught the enthusiasm of the *Courier's* correspondent. They feel attached to the character of the *British seaman*, with all his faults, and with all his errors, they entertain a respect for *some* political opinions of their ancestors; but the "*sincere* "thanks" for the *much-to-be-admired* conduct above-mentioned, are yet to come.—Though by no means deficient in the rights of hospitality, yet no *expressions of their admiration* have hitherto burst forth at the *joyal entertainment* given by the Mayor (at his own house) to the *German Officers*, the day after their arrival.—Now, Sir, as animadverting upon certain local political occurrences, is sometimes a *ticklish point*, which no man can more *feelingly* describe than yourself; and as placards and sarcastic hand-bills are posting and flying about here in various directions, it would be friendly in you to act as a Monitor to the "deluded" inhabitants of this town, lest, peradventure, through any *mistaken* zeal for the constitutional notions of their ancestors, they should fall into *perilous* error, by *murmuring* when they should

offer their "*most sincere thanks,*" and by *censuring* proceedings which are "*greatly to be admired!*"—I remain, Sir, a friend to the *real* British Constitution, and to social order, though

Lynn, Jan. 2, 1815. No GERMAN.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER IV.

Nothing is more contrary to Religion than constraint." JUSTIN MARTYR; *Lib. 5.*

SIR,—HELVIETIUS remarks "That Governments are the judges of *actions*, and not of *opinions*. If FAITH (says he) be a gift of Heaven, they who have it not, deserve to be pitied; and not punished;" and adds, "it is the excess of inhumanity to persecute an unfortunate person." Every age and country furnish us with proofs, that it is possible for persons of opposite opinions to live in harmony together, and with abundant testimonies that people entertaining the greatest diversity of tenets have been alike good husbands, fathers, children, and citizens.—Governments are instituted for the preservation of social order, consequently they have a right to look to our conduct; which, if they are wise, they can sufficiently regulate by proper civil laws founded on the nature of man, his interests, and his wants. If we deport ourselves in a manner compatible with the good of society, neither legislatures nor individuals have a just pretence, authoritatively, to interfere with our opinions, let them be ever so ridiculous or absurd. As to Faith, I would say the same of it as La Rochefoucault says of Love, it is perfectly involuntary, and therefore it is no more in our power to believe or disbelieve, than it is to love or to let it alone. Why, then, persecute a person for a defect in the understanding, or a bias he cannot help?—Will any reasonable person assert that man ever chooses evil for the sake of evil? or embraces error because it is error? No! we make choice of bad through our depraved taste, and we receive false doctrine because we think it true. If this be admitted, ought not those who deem others wrong, and conceive themselves to be blessed with a knowledge of what is right, to have compassion for such as have the misfortune to be deluded with mistaken notions? and if their faculties should be so benumbed with prejudice that we cannot convince

them, ought we not to have a still greater tenderness for what *we consider* their lost condition, instead of despising, rejecting, and punishing them? Priests may say what they please, but *disinterested men* will never agree to their positions as to people "turning a deaf ear," being "wilfully blind," or "hardening their own hearts against the truth." It would be the grossest presumption in us to arrogate such a power over ourselves. Whatever appertains to us must be an *effect*, of which God, or the Devil by his permission, is the *cause*. And would it not be much more consistent with Christian charity, to view the different notions of our brethren in this favourable light? Those who avow sentiments contrary to popular superstitions, and thus incur that contempt and opprobrium which the bigotry of the vulgar always bestows, are by far more likely to be in earnest than they who conform to general customs and commonly received opinions; and what impartial man can doubt the *sincerity* of the Deists in their religious professions more than any other class of people?

The reason why the mass of mankind doubt whether there be such persons as *fervent* Deists, is because they are not aware of their mode of reasoning; or, if they are, they do not feel its force; and, like the Deists, cannot draw the same conclusions from the same premises that they do. Deism has had nearly as long standing in this country, as the Reformation. It was first promulgated in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is said to have been imported from Italy, perhaps from the circumstance of this country being about that time honoured by the visit of several eminent Italian philosophers, among whom we can name the celebrated Doctors *Lucilio Vanini* and *Giordano Bruno*, both of whom were ultimately led to the stake and received the crown of martyrdom; the first at Toulouse, through the good offices of an *Attorney-General*, and the last at Venice, from the hands of *Inquisitors*, for steadfastly adhering to the Doctrines they had broached.* The first English writer upon the subject was *Lord Herbert*, of Cherbury, whose book, "*De Veritate*," was published in 1624; since which they have had among their number many of the greatest

* See the Lives of *Bruno*, *Vanini*, *Spinoza*, *Rezin*, and *Campanella*, in *Bayle's General Dictionary*.

and best men this country has produced.—Within the last twenty years Deists have become very numerous; probably more so than is generally suspected, as many thousands of them do not openly avow their convictions on account of the prejudices excited against them by the priesthood, who, of course, cannot be much attached to persons whose opinions are opposed to their interests. But whether they make a public profession of their sentiments, or only impart them to the liberal minded, I have generally found them to have a *stricter sense* of justice, honour, and morality, than, I am sorry to say, the greater part of my fellow-Christians possess.—Whether their general good conduct arises from their consciousness that the Philistines keep a jealous eye upon them, and would take a malignant pleasure in magnifying their indiscretions; or whether it is a consequence of the morality taught by the religion of NATURE being unsophisticated by dogmas, creeds, or the mysterious wonders of faith, I will not pretend to determine; but merely, as an humble aspirer to the charity of Jesus, bear witness of the fact, and doubt not of my testimony being corroborated by every unbiassed observer of man.

Having said thus much, and having in my last given a slight sketch of the plain and simple tenets of these people, might I not ask, whether the conduct of Christian States in persecuting the Deists, does not subject them to the same reproaches which they have bestowed on those who persecuted their predecessors? To illustrate this question, I shall occasionally make a few extracts from the pious and learned Dr. Mosheim, late Chancellor of the University of Gottingen, who stands without a competitor as a writer of ecclesiastical history. When treating of the calamitous events which happened to the Church, during the first century, he has these remarkable words: *—"The innocence and virtue that distinguished so eminently the lives of Christians, and the spotless purity of the doctrine they taught, could not defend them against the virulence and malignity of the Jews;" and again, "This odious malignity of the Jewish doctors was undoubtedly owing to a secret apprehension that the progress of Christianity would destroy the credit of Juda-

ism, and bring on the ruin of their pompous ceremonies."—When we consider the change which time makes in every thing; when we reflect upon what Christianity *then was*, and what Deism *is now*, shall we wonder if the Deists, at the present day, apply these passages, in their schools, to their own unfortunate case. They, like the early Christians, are moral and sincere; but their morality and sincerity is no protection. Who shall decide in matters of opinion? Not the law: it will justify the Jews against the Christians, and they will have cause to complain. A little further Mosheim says, "The Christians persecuted by the priests, and the people set on to persecute them in the most vehement manner."—The Deists may, for aught I know, rank some of our priests with the savages of those days; but I should be sorry to go so far myself.

In the same chapter he tells us, that Nero was the first Roman Emperor who enacted laws against the Christians, and says, "The principal reason why the Romans persecuted the Christians, seems to have been the *abhorrence* and contempt with which the latter regarded the religion of the empire, which was so intimately connected with the form, and, indeed, with the essence of its political constitution."—The Jews and the Romans, like us, had costly temples, altars, sculptures, paintings, solemn forms, grand ceremonies, sublime mysteries, innumerable priests with fine garments, expensive offerings, tythes, and rates; but the early Christians, like our simple Deists, did not know the inestimable value and important advantages of these things, which the Romans seemed duly to appreciate, as appears by the following:—"Another circumstance which irritated the Romans against the Christians, was the simplicity of their worship, which resembled in nothing the sacred rites of any other people. The Christians had neither sacrifices nor temples, nor images, nor oracles, nor sacerdotal orders; and this was sufficient to bring upon them the reproaches of an ignorant multitude, who imagined that there could be no religion without them: thus they were looked upon as a set of Atheists."—"But this was not all; (continues Mosheim) the sordid interests of a multitude of selfish and lazy priests, were immediately con-

* Vol. I. cent 1. part 1. chap. v.

"nected with the ruin of the Christian "cause."—He then goes on to tell us, that "to accomplish the more speedy ruin "of the Christians, those whose interests "were incompatible with the progress of "the Gospel loaded them with most opprobrious calumnies; and these (adds he) "were the only arms they had to oppose "the TRUTH."

How sorry I am, in reading the history of my own church, to find in its infancy such a strong parallel between the behaviour of the Romans towards the Christians, and the conduct of by far too many professors of our holy religion, in the present day, towards those unfortunate people whom we stigmatize with the name of DEISTS or THEISTS, because they acknowledge but one God, in opposition to us who are Tritheists. How many books have we in this country wherein these unhappy persons are branded with every odious epithet that the imagination can devise, and charged with conspiring against the eternal peace and happiness of their fellow creatures, when we know their works breathe nothing but the most unbounded philanthropy and benevolence. The general tenor of their writings approaches much nearer to the mildness and charity of our blessed Saviour than the sermons of many of the most eminent divines.—Have not philosophers, whose labours have been devoted to the improvement of mankind, whose dispositions have been most amiable, and whose lives most exemplary, been held up to the execration of the public as impious wretches, unworthy of existence? I grieve for the injury the cause of Christ has sustained by those who profess to be his ministers or disciples, descending to such unworthy measures, and promise, if God is pleased to spare me, and bless me with health and resolution, to vindicate genuine Christianity from the disgrace it has incurred from weak and wicked pretenders; but, at the same time, for the honour of my faith, to prove to the world, that an humble follower of Jesus is capable of writing "*An impartial, biographical, and critical account of all those persons denominated 'infidels, who have flourished since the 'birth of our Lord;*" a work for which I have been collecting materials during the last twenty years; and I have little doubt I shall be able to shew, that if the numbers of those calling themselves *Christians* could be analysed and compared with those

designated *Unbelievers*, the latter, in proportion to numerical strength, would be found to have produced the most GOOD MEN.—With fervent prayers for the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, I am, Dear Sir, your sincere Friend,
London, Jan. 1815. ERASMUS PERKINS.

ÆDIPUS JUDAICUS.

MR. CORBETT,—One of your Correspondents, who signs himself VARRO, has thought proper to introduce a defence of Sir William Drummond into your REGISTER, of the 14th inst. He has cast some free expressions on the Rev. G. D'Oyly, Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, who has publicly animadverted on the *ÆDIPUS JUDAICUS*, and has inserted in your REGISTER a rather full extract of violent, and, as I think, most unjust abuse of him, which has been poured forth by some anonymous writer. As I conceive the statement which VARRO has conveyed to you to be extremely unfair, I venture to trouble you with what I conceive to be a far more just and true representation of the matter. I trust to your candour to take the earliest opportunity of making this letter public, in compliance with your avowed wish, on every occasion, of letting both sides of the question be fairly heard. It is pretty well known that, two or three years ago, Sir William Drummond printed, and privately circulated, his book, entitled *ÆDIPUS JUDAICUS*, in which he endeavoured to prove the Bible to contain nothing but fable, allegory, and romance; and treated it with as profane and blasphemous ribaldry, as had ever been done by the most inveterate of infidels. Although this book was not publicly sold, yet it was clear that the author's forbearance did not proceed from tenderness to the Bible, but from his prudent regard to his own safety, and his desire of sheltering himself from animadversion; for he, and others acting for him, distributed the work at first without scruple, whenever they deemed the quarter a safe one, and even took singular pains, in some instances, to extend its circulation. Thus the book passed into a number of hands, became of public notoriety, and was, in some instances, the more eagerly sought for, from the secret manner of its distribution. Under these circumstances, what was to be done?

Was Sir W. Drummond to be allowed to taint the public mind with such matter, without a syllable of answer or animadversion? Was the Bible not to be heard even in its defence? Was this novel method of discovering truth to be adopted, that one side of the question only should be heard, and a complete bar put upon the mouths of all opponents, because the book which required an answer was *unpublished*? Was it to become an allowed and established privilege of wealth, to circulate opinions of every description, no matter how noxious to society, in full security from animadversion or contradiction, by the simple expedient of writing a book and distributing it gratuitously? I guess, no man in his senses will maintain so wild a position as this. In the case then of Sir W. Drummond, what was to be done? It is true, that he might have been prosecuted in a court of law for blasphemy; for, there is no doubt, that, in the contemplation of the law, a book gratuitously circulated, is no less a *publication* than one which is sold at the booksellers shops; and, if this course had been taken, it is tolerably certain that this Sicilian Knight, and British Privy Councillor, would have been raised to more public notoriety than he had yet attained, by the pillory. But as you, Mr. Cobbett, I observe, contend very strenuously against any use of legal prosecutions towards persons who write against the Bible, you must be the last person to maintain that such a proceeding ought to have been adopted towards Sir W. Drummond. Thus, then, unless the free license was to be granted to him, of saying what he pleased against the Bible, unnoticed and unchastised, it was absolutely necessary that some literary opponent should enter the lists against him, and examine a little the truth of his assertions, and the soundness of his pretensions. Accordingly, the clergyman, whose name your correspondent mentions, came forward for that purpose, and addressed, in the first place, some letters of remonstrance to the author, on the nature of his attack on revelation, and followed these up by an enquiry into the truth, accuracy, and learning which he displayed. I perceive your correspondent to affirm, that the *ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS* of Sir W. Drummond “displays a fund of prodigious ‘erudition!!!’” On the contrary, Mr. D'Oly not only shewed, in every point, that his attempts to impeach the truth of the biblical histories were most futile and

unfounded; but he also shewed, what seems to have touched the author quite as nearly, that, under an ostentatious display of deep erudition, he is one of the most shallow of men; that he has used terms without any knowledge of their meaning, has heaped blunder upon blunder, committed inaccuracy after inaccuracy, and asserted the boldest falsehoods without the slightest excuse; and that, during all this time, he has stolen a great part of his matter from preceding infidel writers, while he endeavoured to assume to himself the credit of all the learning which he produced. Thus Mr. D'Oly not only defeated the opposer of revelation, in his purpose, but stripped the vain jack-daw of his stolen plumes; and shewed that the imposing appearances of deep erudition, which the *ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS* conveyed, were of the most hollow and fallacious description. I wish neither you nor any one else to take all this on my assertion, but call upon every one to enquire for himself, by reading the *ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS*, and the remarks which have been made upon it. Your correspondent tells you, that three anonymous writers have started up in defence of the *ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS*, and have shewn the *ignorance* and *malice* of the person who wrote against it. These three anonymous writers, it is pretty well known, are no other than Sir W. D. himself in disguise. They have written, it is true, a very bulky volume in professed defence of the *ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS*, but have almost entirely substituted railing and scurrilous invective for sound arguments; and instead of defending Sir W. D.'s blunders, have indicted whole reams of personal abuse against his opponent.—An anonymous pamphlet, signed J. R. has since appeared, in which it has been most fully shewn, that, notwithstanding all which is boldly affirmed by these virulent writers (of whose mode of argument, by the way, your correspondent gives no very unfair specimen), Mr. D'Oly's charges and proofs against Sir Wm. Drummond remain good in every essential part. I must repeat, that I wish not any single person to believe what I here affirm, solely on my assertion; but as you have thought it right to publish an *ex-parte* statement from one correspondent, it seems but fair that you should give equal publicity to the opinion of another respecting this matter.

Your's, &c.

JUSTUS.

Dec. 30, 1814.

LETTRES DE CACHET.

SIR,—Your recent remarks on the unhandsome and illiberal newspaper abuse of the people of France, and the measures of their Government, are fully corroborated by the manner in which the *Morning Chronicle*, of last week, adverted to the proceedings against General Excelmans, who had been ordered under arrest by the King of France. Of this officer the *Chronicle* observed, that he had “petitioned both Chambers for redress, and has stated his willingness to surrender himself the moment a trial is promised him, and his reasons for withdrawing himself momentarily from the oppression which this renewed system of *Lettres de Cachet* had inflicted on him.”—Either the writer of this article is entirely ignorant of the nature of *Lettres de Cachet*, or he must have been influenced by motives of the worst kind, to compare the order given in this case to that terrible instrument.—In the justly celebrated answer to the Bourbon proclamation, published in your REGISTER of the 15th January, I observe some very pertinent remarks on the subject of *Lettres de Cachet*, extracted from Mr. Arthur Young’s Survey of France. To these may be added the following more detailed account by Gordon, an able writer in the cause of freedom, whose works were published about the beginning of last century:—“The French Government, though a mild one for an arbitrary one, is yet a very terrible one to an Englishman. All the advantages in it are not comparable to one single advantage in ours: I mean the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, which secures, at least rescues, from all wanton and oppressive imprisonment. In France, by the word of a Minister, the greatest, the most innocent, subject, may, from caprice, or a whisper, or the pique of a mistress, be committed to a dungeon for his life, or the best part of it, or as long as the Minister, or his mistress or minion pleases. Some have been there shut up in dismal durance and solitude for years together, though no harm was meant them; not for any offence real or imaginary, but only through mistake and likeness of names. Thus a Minister has sometimes committed his favorites, and useful agents, who lay in misery for years, and might have perished in it, had not accident contributed to undeceive him. Such orders, called *Lettres de Cachet*, lie in the hands of the Ministers,

“as well as in those of the Under Governors of Provinces, to be used at their discretion, frequently to gratify their own vengeance. Is an Intendant piqued against any man of quality; or a Minister against a President of Parliament? Such a letter is straight sent to him, and he instantly sent from home, sometimes into a remote province. Is the Governor’s Lady, or daughter, disgusted at another lady in the place, finer and more admired than herself, her punishment is decreed, and the poor rival sent a wandering; a crime is easily forged, and the sufferer has no remedy. The smallest affront to a Monk in favour (and Monks, God knows, are soon offended), finds the same compassion; a victim must be offered to his holy rage.”

No one who reads this description of *Lettres de Cachet*, will be able to discover any resemblance to these in the proceedings against General Excelmans. He was not put under arrest to gratify the caprice of any Minister, Deputy Governor, Mistress, or Monk. He was, in the first instance, ordered to remove from Paris, by command of the King, for an offence, real or supposed, against the State. Had there been any intention to revive the *Lettres de Cachet*, the General would have been seized and sent to prison, without any ceremony, instead of giving him an opportunity to remove himself. But did he obey the order of his Sovereign? On the contrary, he remonstrated against it, and persisted in continuing at Paris. Even then, no violence was used, though, if he had been previously innocent, his disobedience might have been converted into a crime, and he dealt with accordingly.—The order to leave Paris was dated the 10th. On the 14th he had not gone to his place of destination, which led the Minister to put a guard on his house. In this stage of the business, and in place of sending him to prison, or even securing his person, the order was renewed, and twenty-four hours allowed him to remove himself. Still he continued refractory. It was, therefore, considered expedient to place him under arrest; but no attempt having been made to convey him from his house, an opportunity was thus afforded the General to make his escape.

Such being the well authenticated nature of the *Lettres de Cachet*, and such the true

state of General Excelman's case, as given even in the *Morning Chronicle* itself, how is it possible to acquit the writer in that Journal of a base and malicious calumny against the French Government, when he denominates its proceedings "oppression," and a "renewed system of *Lettres de Cachet*?"—It is not my wish to advocate the conduct of the present Rulers of France, or to attach blame to the individual who has incurred their displeasure. The charge preferred by the former may be unfounded. The latter, of course, must be innocent.—But it is not necessary that either of these points should be established, to shew that the proceedings against the General merited the harsh terms by which they have been described by the *Chronicle*. In this land of liberty, where the *Habeas Corpus*, as Gordon says, "secures, at least rescues, from all wanton and oppressive imprisonment," numbers of persons are necessarily arrested, and even imprisoned, who it afterwards turns out are entirely innocent. We have each known individuals, for reasons of State, kept in close custody, without any suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*. Would we not call that man a knave, or a fool, who would charge our Government with oppression for sanctioning those proceedings? What, then, are we to think of the Editor of such a paper as the *Morning Chronicle*, when we see him bringing a similar charge against the French Government, who appear to have acted a part not more reprehensible than ours? Is it possible, as I asked before, to acquit such a man of wanton and deliberate malice?—*Your's, &c.* JUSTITIA.

January 4, 1815.

THE PILLORY.

MR. CORBETT,——I should like to be informed why our neighbours the Scotch, who have been so long celebrated for their liberality of sentiment, and so far famed for their hospitality, should have degenerated so much of late years, as to permit the following disgraceful affair, (the account of which has appeared in all our newspapers) to be transacted amongst them:—

"BRUTAL BEHAVIOUR.—Wednesday, between one and two o'clock, *William Coil* and *Elizabeth Roberts*, his wife, stood in the pillory at the cross of Glasgow, for Wilful Perjury, of which they were lately convicted at the She-

riff Court. During the whole exposure, they were assailed not only with filth but with stones. The man, who seemed at first to treat his punishment as a joke, was particularly aimed at, and must have received much bodily hurt. The woman, however, did not wholly escape. From the blood on her cap, she seemed to have been wounded on the head. The stones were thrown chiefly, if not entirely, by a party of lads stationed near the new building erecting on the site of the old gaol. When the hour was elapsed, the disgraceful business did not terminate. There were those among the mob who thought the sport far too fine to be given up so soon. The man was, according to their jargon, 'put through the mill.' He was cuffed and kicked, and knocked down and raised up, at the pleasure of the by-standers. In the Candleriggs-street, to which the mob moved, he was thrown into a cart, whose driver for some time drove him along, humouring the amusement; but, finding that neither himself nor his horse escaped the punishment meant for the old man, he loosed his cart, and tumbled him out on the street. In the course of the fray he was repeatedly raised shoulder-high, and exhibited in his grey-hairs, torn garments, and swollen features, a most pitiable spectacle. At length he was rescued by the exertions of the Police, and taken to the office in Albion-street."

That scenes, no less savage and barbarous than those described above, have been exhibited in London, within these few years, no one will pretend to deny; but that they should exist in Scotland, the seat of learning, where "pure and undefiled religion" has more professors than any where else, and where we ought to look for a more distinguished display of its humane and benevolent effects; that such a spectacle should be witnessed, at this time of day, in such a country, is a phenomenon well deserving the attention of those who feel interested in the cultivation of public morals, and in the improvement of our criminal code. I question much, whether in all Europe, even in "demoralized" France itself, an instance can be produced where popular fury has been permitted to discharge itself with such marks of ferocity, as in the case of the hoary-headed wretch who was given up by the Magistrates of Glasgow to be cuffed, kicked, and knocked

down, all for the "amusement" of the pious and hospitable inhabitants of that highly cultivated and enlightened city !!!

The pillory is evidently a vestige of that feudal barbarism which formerly overspread Europe; and although it is not now attended, as then, with the painful infliction of having the ears nailed to the instrument of disgrace, or the cheek branded with a hot iron, it is a punishment that must, in many cases, be worse than death, when the culprit, through a mistaken policy, is left to the mercy of an infuriated mob.—It would be difficult, I think, to point out the wisdom of that law, which leaves the degree of punishment of a criminal to be determined, and inflicted, by the multitude, who neither know, or are capable of justly appreciating, the offence with which he is charged. The case of the man at Glasgow was no doubt of a very aggravated nature. But are all persons condemned to the pillory of the same description? Have we not had that sentence put in execution for mere matters of opinion? and can it seriously be said that any person thus situated ought to be consigned to the hands of a set of unprincipled ruffians, to be kicked and cuffied, as long as they please, for their amusement? Why should not the law explicitly define and apportion the degree of punishment belonging to each offence? Why should so glaring a proof of its inefficiency be permitted for one moment to exist? Where our national character is so much involved, and the rights of humanity so deeply implicated, it surely would be a disgrace if our legislators would exert themselves to get a practice abolished, which, on all occasions, would be "more honoured in the breach than in the

"observance." Much as has been done of late towards ameliorating our criminal law, there still remains a vast accumulation of abuse and error, which it will require more than ordinary exertion and talent to overcome. Those to whom the country is already indebted for many excellent reforms in our criminal code, will have much to combat, in the way of prejudice, before they can accomplish all they propose. But as they have already experienced the beneficial advantages of *perseverance*, they may pretty safely calculate, that as long as they continue to keep the object steadily in view, they need be under no apprehensions as to the result.—Yours, &c.

BENEVOLOUS.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—You will much oblige the writer of the letter which appeared in your last REGISTER on the subject of the Oxford prison, by inserting the following *Postscript* to it:—

It is true that a room is now fitting up in the prison for sick persons, but this room will not contain more than four beds, which is a very inadequate accommodation. As the University Officers are at this time endeavouring to apprehend all the prostitutes who are ill of a certain disease, the prison, should the winter be severe, will present a scene of more than usual misery. The writer will feel himself much obliged to any resident Member of the University of Cambridge, who will favour him, through the medium of your REGISTER, with a full and accurate account of the method pursued there with respect to these unfortunate women.

Oxford, Jan. 2, 1815.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[34

TO MR. JOHN CARTWRIGHT,
THE IMPLACABLE ENEMY OF TYRANNY.

ON THE

Peace between England and America.

Bolton, January 9. 1815.

DEAR SIR,—Before I proceed to the proposed subject of this Letter, I think it right just to notice, that I have, in addressing you now, omitted the addition of *Esg.* at the end of your name. It is become high time for us, and all those who think as we do, to partake, in no degree whatever, in this sort of foolery, especially when we are writing, or speaking, upon the subject of a peace, which has been made with a nation, whose Chief Magistrate never pretends to any title above that of "*fellow-citizen*," which he shares in common with all the people of the free and happy country, at the head of whose Government he has been placed by the *unbought* votes of his "*fellow-citizens*."

In my former Letter I stated, as clearly as I was able consistent with brevity, the *real cause* of the war; and also the *real causes of its continuance after the European peace*. I shall now endeavour to state clearly the *real causes of the peace*; and then we shall come to those *consequences*, which, I think, we shall find to be of the utmost importance to the cause of freedom all over the world.

The peace has been produced by various causes. When Napoleon had been put down, this country was drunk with exultation. The war with America was generally looked upon as the mere *sport of a month or two*. Our newspapers published reports of speeches, or pretended speeches (for it is the same thing in effect), in which the orators scoffed at the idea of our having any trouble in subduing a people, with two or three thousand miles of sea-coast, defended by raw militia, and by "*half a dozen fir frigates, with bits of striped bunting at their mast heads*." This phrase will be long remembered. One of our Orators called the Americans, as he had before

called the Reformers, "*a low and degraded crew*," having amongst them "*no honourable distinctions*;" and he expressed his pleasure, that they were, as he said, fighting on the side of our enemy. They were, in his eyes, so contemptible, that he was glad we had them for enemies, and especially, as, in their chastisement, *republicanism* would be humbled in the dust, if not wholly destroyed.

Such were the sentiments of the greater part of the nation, at the time when the Kings and Potentates of Germany paid us a visit, and when the "*Bits of Striped Bunting*" were seen reversed under the Royal flag on the *Serpentine River*. There had, indeed, occurred, before that time, events, which, one would have hoped, would have checked this contemptuous way of thinking. The defeat and capture of the *Guerricre*, the *Macedonian*, the *Java*, the *Peacock*, and divers other smaller ships of war, by that Republic, whose very name we affected to despise, might have been expected to create a *doubt*, at least, of our power to annihilate the Republic in any very short space of time. But the nation had been cheated here, too, by the corrupt press, who persuaded them, that all these losses arose from causes other than those of the skill and valour of the Republicans. At one time, it was superior numbers; at another, heavier metal; at another, our own seamen inveigled into the Republican ships. This delusion was kept up for two years, until the incursion in the Chesapeake seemed to have closed the scene; and, you will bear in mind, that, at that time, it was the almost universal opinion, that our Regent would soon send out his *Viceroy* to Washington City.

It was even at this very moment, however, that the tide began to turn. The gallant little army of Republicans, on the Niagara frontier, had before proved, at *Chippawa*, that they were made of the same stuff that composed their ancestors; and, at *Fort Erie*, they now gave a second most signal proof of the same kind. While these never-surpassed acts of devo-

tion to country were performing on the borders of Lakes Ontario and Erie, Lake Champlain exhibited a spectacle, which struck with wonder all the Continent of Europe, and which, in fact, astounded every man of sense here, who had before clamoured for the war. It is true, that this was only a *repetition* of the scene, exhibited the year before on Lake Erie, where, with an *inferior* number of men and guns, the Republican Commodore Perry had beaten and actually *captured*, the whole of our fleet under Commodore Barclay; but, all eyes were at that time fixed on the Continent of Europe. The expected fall of Napoleon, and the real victories over him, made the loss on Lake Erie (a loss of immense importance, as is *now* seen) to be thought nothing of. 'Our great object *then* was, Napoleon. Him once subdued, the Republic, it was thought, would be done for in a trice. To suppose, that she would be able to stand against us, for any length of time, appeared, to most men, perfectly ridiculous. A far greater part of the nation thought that it was *our army* who had put down Napoleon. Indeed, the Commander of them was called, "the *conqueror of France*;" and, it was said, that a part of the Conquerors of France, sent to America, would, in a few months, "*reduce*" the country.

A part of them were, accordingly, sent thither; and now we are going to view their exploits against the Republicans on the borders of Lake Champlain. The Governor-General of Canada, Sir George Prevost, having received the reinforcements from France, *invaded* the Republic at the head of 14,000 men, with *five Major-Generals* under him, four troops of Dragoons, four companies of Royal Artillery, one brigade of Rocketeers, one brigade of Royal Sappers and Miners. The first object was to dislodge the Republicans from *Fort Moreau*, near the town of Plattsburgh, on the edge of the Lake, about 15 miles within the boundary line of the Republic. In this fort were 1,500 Republican *regulars*, and no more, and 6,000 volunteers and militia from the States of Vermont and New York, under the command of a very gallant and accomplished citizen, named *Macomb*, a Brigadier-General in the Republican service. While Sir George Prevost attacked the fort by land, Commodore Downie, with his fleet, was to attack it by water. The attack, on both sides, commenced at the

same time; the land army met, as far as it went, with a very gallant resistance, though it behaved, on its part, with equal gallantry; and Mr. Macomb must, in all probability, have yielded, in time, to a force so greatly superior, if the attack by water had not been frustrated. But on the water side, the Republican Commodore *Macdonough*, though his force was *inferior* to ours, and has been *so stated in the official dispatch of Sir George Prevost himself*, not only *defeated* our fleet, but *captured the whole of the ships*, one of which was of 36 guns, while the largest of the Republican ships was of no more than 26 guns! The Governor-General, seeing the fate of the fleet, knowing that the taking of the fort after that would only lead to a speedy retreat from it, and fearing the consequences of an attack on his way back to Canada, raised the siege, and hastened back towards Montreal with all imaginable speed, pursued by the little Republican army, and leaving behind him, as the Republicans state, immense quantities of stores, ammunition, &c. besides great numbers of prisoners and deserters. They may have exaggerated in these their accounts, but the Canada newspapers stated that 150 of our men deserted; and, which is a thing never to be forgotten, our Ministers have *never published in the Gazette* Sir George Prevost's account of his memorable *retreat*, though they have published his dispatches relating to all the movements of the army *before and after* that retreat.

This blow did, in fact, *decide* the question of war, or peace. There was much blustering about it here; it was affected to treat the thing *lightly*; the *Times*, and other venal newspapers, represented it as a mere *trifling occurrence*, which would soon be overbalanced by sweeping victories on our part. But upon the back of this came the brilliant success of the Republicans in repulsing our squadron, and burning one of our ships before *Fort Mobile*, in the Gulph of Mexico; and thus, while we had to vaunt of our predatory adventures against the city of Washington, the town of Alexandria, and the villages of Frenchtown and Stonington, the fame of the Republican arms, by land as well as sea, sounded in every ear and glowed in every heart, along the whole extent of the sixteen hundred miles which lie between Canada and the Mexican Gulph.

In Europe these events produced a pro-



digious sensation. Those who wished to see a check given to the all-predominant naval power of England, rejoiced at them; and every where they excited and called forth *admiration of the Republicans*. There had been, during the struggle on the Continent, no leisure to contemplate the transatlantic contest; but it now became an object of universal attention; and Europe, so long accustomed to regard English naval invincibility, when the force on both sides was equal, or nearly equal, as a thing received and universally admitted, was surprised beyond expression at the undeniable proof of the contrary. The world was now called on to witness the combat between England and America *single-handed*. The former was at the summit of power and glory; she had captured or destroyed almost all the naval force in Europe; those powers who had any naval force left were her allies, and were receiving subsidies from her; she had an army of regulars of 200,000 men, flushed with victory; she had just marched part of this army through the heart of France herself; she had a thousand ships of war afloat, commanded by men who never dreamt of defeat. This was the power that now waged war, single-handed, against the only *Republic*, the only *Commonwealth*, remaining in the world. The friends of freedom, who were not well acquainted with America, had been trembling for her. They did not seem to entertain any hopes of her escape. They thought it scarcely *possible*, that she should, with her Democratical Government and her handful of an army, without officers and without stores, resist England even for a year single-handed; and they saw no power able if willing, or willing if able, to lend the Republic the smallest degree of assistance.

But when the battles of Lake Champlain were announced; and when it was seen by the President's Message to his fellow-citizens of the Congress, that the Republican Government marched on with a *firm step*, and had resolved not to yield one single point to our menaces, or our attacks, a very different view of the contest arose. The English nation, which had been exulting in the idea of giving the Yankees "*a drubbing*," began to think, that the undertaking was not so very easy to execute; and seeing no prospect of an end to the war and its expences, they began to cry out for the abolition of the greatest of

those taxes, the existence of which depended on the duration of *the war*.

In the meanwhile, the Ministers, *previous* to their knowledge of the battles of Chippawa, Fort Erie, Plattsburgh, Lake Champlain, and Fort Mobile, had put forward, at Ghent, very high pretensions. They had proposed, as a *SINE QUA NON*, their expulsion of the Republicans from a *considerable portion of their territory*, in behalf of the savages in alliance with us; they had demanded, though not as a *sine qua non*, the *surrender of the Lakes to our King*, even with the prohibition to the Americans to erect fortifications on the borders which would remain to them; they had demanded a line of communication between Quebec and our territories east of the Penobscot, *through the territories of the Republic*. The American Negotiators declined any discussion of these conditions, until they should *receive instructions from their Government*; alledging, and very justly, that this was the *first time* that any such grounds of war, or dispute, had been mentioned by us.

These demands having been transmitted to the President, he, instead of listening to them, laid them before the Congress, with an expression of his indignation at them; and in this feeling he appeared only to have anticipated his fellow-citizens throughout the country, with the exception of a handful of aristocratical intriguers in the State of Massachusetts. New and vigorous measures were adopted for prosecuting the war. The Congress hastened on Bills for raising and paying soldiers and sailors; for making the militia more efficient; for expediting the building of ships; erecting fortifications; providing floating batteries. In short, it was now clearly seen, that the Government of the Republic was equal to a time of war as well as to a time of peace; that we had to carry on a contest, at 3,000 miles distance, against a brave, free, and great nation; and that the aristocratical faction, on whom some men had depended for aid, were sneaking off into pitiful subterfuges, afraid any longer to shew a hankering after our cause.

In this state of things; with this prospect before them, the Ministers wisely resolved to *abandon their demands*, and to make peace, *leaving things as they stood before the war*. The Opposition, who had pledged themselves to the support of the war upon the *old ground*, that is to say,

upon the ground of *impressment*, began to protest against it upon the ground of *conquest*; and, if the war had continued, there is no doubt that they would have greatly embarrassed the Ministry upon this subject, especially as the continuation of the war was the only remaining excuse for the continuation of *the war taxes*, against which petitions were preparing in every part of the kingdom. Here we cannot help observing how wise it was in Mr. Madison to *make public* our demands. If these had been kept secret, till after the close of the war, how long might not that war have drawled on? The demands would *never*, perhaps, have been known. How wise is it, then, in the Americans to have framed their Government in such a way as to prevent mischievous State secrets from existing! How wise to have made *all* their rulers *really responsible* for their acts! How wise to secure, upon all important points, *an appeal to themselves*! The President was very coarsely treated here by some persons, who ought to have known better, for having *exposed the conferences*. It was said to be an act unprecedented in a *civilized nation*. "*Civilized nations*," you will perceive, mean nations governed by Kings and other hereditary sovereigns; and, in that sense, the Americans certainly are not a *civilized nation*. But *why* should such papers be kept secret? Or, at least, why should they not be made public, if the Government chooses to make them public? When once a Government has dispatches in its hands, there is no law that deprives it of the liberty to make what use of them it pleases. Nothing could be more fair than Mr. Madison's mode of proceeding. The aristocratical faction, whom we called our friends, were crying out for peace; the whole of the American people were represented, in our newspapers, as disapproving of the war, and as wishing for peace on our terms. What, then, could Mr. Madison do more just and more candid than publish to the people the whole of those terms.—"There they are," said he, "decide upon them. Say: will you have peace upon these terms? I am, myself, ready to perish, rather than make such a peace. Now, let me hear what *you* have to say." A nation of free men agreed with him, that they would perish rather than yield to such terms; and, indeed, rather than yield to us "one single point," though of ever so little importance. The result has been,

that peace has been made, and *not one single point has been yielded to us*.

We now come to the most important and most interesting part of our subject; namely, **THE CONSEQUENCES** of this peace, made at such a time and under such circumstances. Considered as to its probable and almost necessary consequences, it is, in my opinion, an event of infinitely greater importance to the world than any that has taken place since the discovery of the Art of Printing. But I will not enter further into the subject, 'till I have laid before you, or, rather, put upon record, for the sake of reference, some of the overflowings of gall, which this event has brought from the throats of the sworn enemies of freedom. You have observed, that those public prints in England, which were the most bitter against Napoleon, have been also the most bitter against the American President; a fact which ought to make people reflect a little before they give way to such outrageous abuse of the former, though *we* must always regard him as a traitor to the cause of liberty, having married a King's daughter, made himself an Emperor, and propped up and created Kings, for the sake of his and his family's aggrandizement. Still, it is clear, that the writers, whom I have now in my eye, *thought him more favourable to freedom than those who have succeeded him*; because no sooner was he down, than they set upon the American President with the same degree of fury, with which they had attacked Napoleon; and they recommended the *deposing of him*, upon "*the same principle*," they said, that they had recommended the deposing of Napoleon. You will not fail to have observed this, and to have traced it to its true source; but, I am afraid that it has passed unobserved by but too large a portion of the nation.

There are several of our public prints, indeed, a very great majority of them, in country as well as in town, which have urged the *justice* and *necessity* of extinguishing the American Government; that "*ill-organized association*;" that "*mischievous example* of the existence of a "Government, founded on *Democratical* "Rebellion." This peal was rung from one end of the country to the other. But the print, which led the van in this new crusade against liberty, was that vile newspaper, the *Times*, to which paper we and the world owe no small portion of those consequences which will result from the

peace of Ghent, followed by such a war.—This print was, upon this occasion, the trumpet of all the haters of freedom; all those who look with Satanic eyes on the happiness of the free people of America; all those who have been hatched in, and yet are kept alive by, Bribery and Corruption. To judge of the feelings excited in the bosoms of this malignant swarm by the peace of Ghent; to enjoy the spectacle of their disappointment and mortification; of their alternate rage and despondency; of the hell that burns in their bosoms: to enjoy this spectacle, a spectacle which we ought to enjoy, after having endured the insolence of their triumph for so many years; to enjoy this spectacle we must again look into this same print; hear their *wailing*, view the *gnashing of their teeth*, see now the foam of revenge, and then the drivel of despair, issue from their mouths, teeming with execrations. With the *help of the Ministers*, we have, for once, beat the sons and daughters of corruption; and if we bear our success with moderation, let us, at any rate, hear and laugh at the cries of our always *cruel*, and, until now, insolent enemy. It is right, too, that the Republicans themselves should know what these wretches *now* have to say; these wretches, whom nothing would satisfy short of the subversion of the Republican Government; short of destroying that “*mischievous example, the existence of a Government founded on Democratical Rebellion.*” As far as I have been able to do it openly through the press, I have, during the war, as you will have perceived, made known the denunciations of these wretches against the liberties of America; and it may not be less useful to make known their wailings, their fears, their despair at the peace; and the Republicans of America ought always to bear in mind, that these same wretches, who are ready to gnaw their own flesh at seeing their hopes of destroying liberty in America blasted; they ought always to bear in mind, that these same wretches it was, who praised, and who still praise, the conduct of the Governor Strong, Mr. Otis, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Goodloe Harper, Mr. Walsh the reviewer, and their associates. The FEDERALISTS, too, amongst whom there are many worthy men, look steadily at these facts; and consider how it must stand with their reputation, when it is notorious, that *all* those in England, who *praise*, or give the *preference* to them, have been

using their utmost endeavours to urge this nation on to fight against America, until they saw “*the world delivered of the mischievous example of the existence of a Government, founded on the principles of Democratical Rebellion.*” It is for the worthy part of the FEDERALISTS to consider if these notorious facts square with their reputation, whether as Republicans, as freemen, as faithful to their country, or, even as honest men. As to the Stronges, the Otises, the Goodloe Harpers, the Walshes, they have, in this way, nothing to lose. Every sound mind is made up with regard to *them*, and others like them; but, I should think, that the *praises of the Times newspaper* must make the great body of the Federalists look about them.

We will now re-peruse the articles, to which I have so often alluded. I will insert them, without interruption, one after another, according to their dates, reserving my remarks, if any should be necessary, for the close; and requesting you to pay particular attention to the passages printed in *Italics*, or in CAPITALS.

29th Dec. 1814.—“Without entering at present into the details of the Treaty, (on which we have much to observe hereafter), we confess that we look anxiously to its non-ratification; because we hope an opportunity will be afforded to our brave seamen to retire from the contest,—not, as they now are, *beaten and disgraced*; not with the *loss of that trident* which Nelson, when dying, placed in his country’s grasp; not *leaving the marine laurel on the unworthy brows of a Rodgers*; but, with an ample and full *revenge* for the captures of the *Guerriere*, the *Macedonian*, the *Java*, and the numerous other ships that have been *surrendered* on the Ocean, besides the *whole flotillas destroyed on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain*. Let us not deceive ourselves. These victories have given birth to a spirit, which, *if not checked*, will, in a few years, *create an American navy truly formidable*. They have excited in other nations, who *foolishly* envy our maritime preponderance, an *undissembled joy*, at beholding our course *so powerfully arrested*. Perhaps it would not be asserting too much to say, that they have detracted as much *from the opinion of our strength by sea, as the victories of Wellington have enhanced that of our strength by land.*”

30th Dec. 1814.—“The state of the

“Funds may be said to afford a most striking comment on the text of those who have the front to call the Treaty of Ghent ‘honourable’ to this country. What? An honourable Peace, with the last of our adversaries, with a populous and commercial nation—and yet a depression in the Public Funds! The thing is impossible. There is a moral inconsistency in the facts. But the truth, unhappily, peeps out in the course of the eulogy bestowed on this famous specimen of diplomatic ingenuity. The Peace is, like that of Amiens, a Peace of Necessity—and upon what grounds? ‘A leaning to certain points,’ it seems, has been ‘hinted’ at the Congress of Vienna. Now, let us put this mysterious language into plain English. It can bear no other construction than this—that Russia, or Austria, or Prussia, has avowed an inclination to support the innovations on public law, which Mr. Madison asserts. Might not this have been foretold,—was it not foretold in this paper above six months ago? Was it not the very argument we urged for pushing the war in America with the utmost vigour, whilst yet the field was open, and our adversary without allies? And is it not a motive for the same conduct, even at this late period? If any of the Powers who have received our subsidies, or have been rescued from destruction by our courage and example, have had the baseness to turn against us, it is morally certain, that the Treaty of Ghent will confirm them in their resolution. They will reflect that we have attempted to force our principles on America, and have failed. Nay, that we have retired from the combat with the strain, yet bleeding on our backs,—with the recent defeats at Plattsburgh, and on Lake Champlain unavenged. To make peace at such a moment, they will think, betrays a deadness to the feelings of honour, and shews a timidity of disposition, inviting further insult. IF we could have pointed to America overthrown, we should surely have stood on much higher ground at Vienna, and every where else, than we possibly can do now. Even yet, however, IF we could but close the war with some great naval triumph, the reputation of our maritime greatness might be partially restored; but to say, that it has not hitherto suffered in the estimation of all Europe, and what is worse, of

“America herself, *is to belie common sense and universal experience.*” ‘Two or three of our ships have struck to a force vastly superior!’—No, not two or three, but many, on the Ocean, and whole squadrons on the Lakes: and their numbers are to be viewed with relation to the comparative magnitude of two navies. *Scarcely is there one American ship of war, which has not to boast a victory over the British flag; scarcely one British ship in thirty or forty, that has beaten an American.* Our seamen, it is urged, have on all occasions fought bravely. Who denies it? Our complaint is, that with the bravest seamen, and the most powerful navy in the world, we retire from the contest when the balance of defeat is so heavily against us. Be it accident, or be it misconduct, we enquire not now into the cause; the certain, the inevitable consequences are what we look to, and these may be summed up in few words—the speedy growth of an American navy—and the recurrence of a new and much more formidable American war. From that fatal moment when the flag of the *Guerriere* was struck, there has been quite a rage for building ships of war in the United States. Their navy has been nearly doubled, and their vessels are of extraordinary magnitude. The people, naturally vain, boastful, and insolent, have been filled with an absolute contempt of our maritime power, and a furious eagerness to beat down our maritime pretensions. Those passions, which have been inflamed by success, could only have been cooled by what in vulgar but emphatic language has been termed “a sound flogging;” but, unfortunately, our Christian meekness has induced us rather to kiss the rod, than to retaliate its exercise. Such false and feeble humanity is not calculated for the guidance of nations. War is, indeed, a tremendous engine of justice; but when justice wields the sword, she must be inflexible. Looking neither to the right nor to the left, she must pursue her blow, until the evil is clean rooted out. This is not blind rage, or blinder revenge; but it is a discriminating, a calm, and even a tender calculation of consequences. Better is it, that we should grapple with the young lion, when he is first fleshed with the taste of our flocks, than wait until, in the maturity of his strength, he bears away at once both sheep and sheep-

herd.—The Chatham, of 74 guns (built in memory of the Walcheren expedition) is ordered to be manned, and will, it is supposed, be sent to America, to strengthen the preparations for that extended system of warfare, which must take place if the President should delay the ratification of the Treaty. We are well convinced, that every ship, and every soldier, employed in maintaining the vital contest for our maritime ascendancy; far from diminishing, will add a proportional weight to our influence at Vienna; but in truth Vienna, and *all its fetes*, and *all its negotiations*, are infinitely insignificant to us NOW, compared with the growth of an American navy, and the probable loss of our transatlantic Provinces."

2d January, 1815.—"The year which is just concluded will rank among the most remarkable in history. It has seen the downfall of the most formidable despotism that ever threatened the security of the civilised world. It has witnessed the restoration of a PATERNAL GOVERNMENT to the country, which had for five and twenty years passed through the greatest variety of afflicting revolutions. It has beheld all the Sovereigns of Europe assembled personally, or by their representatives, *in peace*, to lay the foundations of permanent tranquillity, and to construct anew the social edifice, by the proportions of equity and moderation. ONE WORTHLESS, FAITHLESS HORDE ALONE PERSEVERED in those atrocious plans, which they had undertaken, in concert with the fallen despot, for their own selfish aggrandizement. Punishment hung over the guilty heads of these men, bankruptcy had swallowed up their resources, despair stared them in the face. It was hoped 'that some signal instance of vengeance would have been hurled against them,' and that the year would have closed with the triumph of Justice and of Britain.—ALAS! We have been compelled to witness not only the frustration of this hope, but the elevation of our calumniators and assassins to the height of insolent exultation, on the ruins of our maritime greatness. THE NAVY OF BRITAIN IS DISGRACED FOR EVER: and, oh! shame! the fame of the immortal Nelson is eclipsed by the vaunts of the vulgar braggart Rodgers. A Sunday Paper asserts, that the ratification of the degrading Treaty of

"Ghent, by an illustrious personage, was a duty MOST RELUCTANTLY PERFORMED.—We doubt it not.—The truly English feelings which prompted so zealous an adherence to the cause of patriotism in Spain, and to that of loyalty in France, must have been tortured beyond the power of words to express, by the fatal necessity (if necessity it was) which compelled the signing away the honour and future safety of THIS ONCE NOBLE COUNTRY! May the present year not elapse without producing a confirmation of our sad forebodings! Our firmest hope lies, in the present instance, as it did during the negotiations of Chatillon, in the arrogant insanity of our adversary. In mulish obstinacy, Mr. MADISON is not a whit behind his great Ally. In vanity and self-confidence, the FISKS, and CLAYS, and SMILLIES, and WRIGHTS of the Congress cannot be overmatched. It is, therefore, the firm persuasion of those who best understand American politics, that the Treaty will not be ratified. For this event, we repeat, Government ought to be fully prepared. The nation, too, ought to be satisfied, that a powerful army, and a General of the highest reputation, are ready on the spot, either to compel the enemy to ratify the Treaty, or to punish its non-ratification. The Officers of the class just specified have, moreover, a right to have their characters placed in a fair light before their countrymen; for in all companies, for some time past, have been heard murmurs, 'not loud but deep,' at their apparent backwardness to appear in the field, where their services have been, and still are so much needed. If, contrary to our hopes and expectations, the Treaty should be ratified, the consequences are easy of development. The Americans, vain of what they will consider as their demonstrated superiority over us by land and sea, will dream only of more audacious pretensions, and new plans of conquest.—Their regular army will be augmented, and placed on the Canadian frontier.—Their heavy metalled ships, and new steam batteries, will be multiplied with the utmost celerity. Their intrigues to stir up rebellion in Canada will be redoubled, and, unhappily, with a far greater chance than ever of success, inasmuch as the Canadians will be but too apt to conceive their interests sacrificed by the present treaty.

"All this while WE SHALL BE BOUND OVER TO OUR GOOD BEHAVIOUR IN EUROPE; for the moment we embark *in war here*, the redoubtable Captain PORTER will again hoist the flag of FREE TRADE AND SAILORS RIGHTS, and this will furnish at once a pretence and a signal for driving the hated English from Canada. How long the West Indies will remain to us, after the loss of our North American Provinces, we leave to the sagacious calculations of those, who can contrive a cheap and easy method of supplying our islands with flour, staves, and lumber, from other quarters; or who will secure to us the Newfoundland fishery, when we are expelled from the whole American Continent. Little has been added to what the public already know of the Treaty. Indeed, we have been assured, that what was circulated as the first slight sketch of its contents, gave rather too favourable an idea of it in two very material points—the Newfoundland fisheries, and the East Indian trade. It was generally understood, we believe, that the Americans were specifically excluded both from the one and the other of these advantages; but the truth is (says our informant) 'that neither of these points is mentioned in this impolitic Treaty.'"

7th Jan. 1815.—Our correspondent (at Paris) states, that since the unexpected news from Ghent, the *Americans at Paris* have been every where TREATED WITH THE MOST MARKED RESPECT. They have, in general, assumed, at all public places, *their national cockade*, both as a means of attracting to themselves those attentions, and also to prevent their being mistaken for English, and exposed as such to the affronts which of late have been openly shewn to our countrymen."

Thus have we before us the wailings of the sons and daughters of corruption. There is, you perceive, one reigning fallacy in all these attacks on the peace; that is, it is all along presumed, and taken for granted, that our situation, with regard to America, would have become every day better and better, if the war had been continued. Now, so far from this being any thing like certain, it was not even probable, and was barely possible. The chances were all on the other side; the Republicans had not only resisted, but had repulsed, the onset; they had followed up

their blows with astonishing rapidity; and even at the moment when the conclusion of the peace was announced, intelligence came to hand that they had just driven our army and fleet from Pensacola, a main hold, whence our next attack was intended to have been made.

"IF," says this trumpet of corruption, "our navy had struck some great blow;—*"IF we had done" this, and done that, and done the other*, then we might have made peace. But IF we could do none of these; IF we had failed in all our attempts; IF we had lost still more frigates and fleets, what would THEN have been our situation? The malignant wretches are senseless with rage. They are savage, at the loss of their prey. You, who are an old hunter of wild beasts, may have seen something in the conduct of disappointed bears or wolves resembling that of these foes of freedom, who are now looking towards America, foaming with rage and roaring for revenge.

It is impossible not to feel great satisfaction at seeing the murderous wishes of these men disappointed. But our satisfaction ought by no means to rest here. The great question with regard to the excellence of *really free Government* has now been decided in a way that must inevitably produce conviction throughout the whole world. The fate of the Republic of France had excited great doubts in the minds of men, disposed to cherish liberty, as to the capability of that sort of Government to be carried on in practice for any length of time, especially if it had to contend with the difficulties and dangers of war. The enemies of liberty delighted in representing real freedom as incompatible with national defence and independence. When reminded of the Government of America, they smiled, and observed, that it might do very well *as long as America remained at peace*; but that her first year of war would crumble it into dust, and expose to the mockery of the world the vain theorists who had extolled it. In short, this was the point always laboured at:—*That for a nation to be able to defend itself in time of war against a formidable enemy, it must have an almost despotic Government and a standing army, with all their retinue.*

How sincerely will you, who have so long, so zealously, and so ably maintained the contrary, rejoice to see that this position, so degrading to mankind, has now been fully disproved! You, in your ex-

cellent publications, and Sir Francis Burdett, in his speeches, have uniformly insisted, that the safe defence, and the only safe defence, of a nation against a formidable enemy, was to be found in *the arms of free men*; that, in order to induce a people to fight in defence of their country, they must feel that they have *something to fight for*; that the strength of a Government, in the hour of real danger, consists solely of *the attachment of the people*; that a nation, enjoying real freedom, informed by a press really free, and all having *a voice in the choice of their representatives*, never yet was, and never would be, subdued by an invading enemy.

The rise, progress, and result of the American wars (I mean both of them) have now put the truth of these your favourite doctrines beyond all doubt. Where are now the knaves, who have so long scoffed at you as a visionary, and who have had the profligacy to assert, that bribery and corruption were essential to *efficient* Government? Where are now those who apprehended *anarchy* from *universal suffrage*? Where are now the sticklers for *influence*, and *virtual representation*? In America every man who pays *a tax*, of any sort, however small, has a vote. He assists in electing, not only the members of the State Legislators, and those of the Congress, but also the Governors of the States and the President himself. No man has any authority, no man has any voice in making laws, who has not himself been elected, and in the election of whom every man paying a tax has a voice. Yet the world NOW SEES, that a Government thus formed, and a people thus governed, are a match for the most formidable power at this day in existence. The world now sees, that a nation thus governing itself, and fully sensible of its freedom, is not only active in its defence, but is capable of deeds of valour, such as were never before recorded by the pen of the historian of any country or any age. Let the advocates for the buying and selling of seats do away, if they can, the effect of this glorious example.

The writer, whom I have above quoted, and who was so anxious to see "the world *delivered of the mischievous example*" of the existence of the American Government, says, that our navy has been defeated; that it has been beaten upon the Ocean and on the Lakes; that we have been beaten by land and by sea; that we have been dis-

graced for ever; that we have retired from the contest with the stripes on our backs; that we have had the trident snatched from us; that we are scoffed at upon the Continent of Europe. Now, then, if this be true, who is it that has thus humbled us? What mighty Potentate has been able to accomplish all this? It is a *Republic*; a nation whose Chief Magistrate receives only about 6,000*l.* a year, and the whole of whose ordinary revenue does not amount to so much as we, in England alone, pay for collecting our taxes; a nation without a standing army; a nation with a press through which any man may publish any thing respecting any public person or measure, or any opinion on the subject of religion; a nation without Dukes, or Lords, or Knights, or Esquires, and without any distinction of rank of any sort being known to the law; a nation without an established church, without tythes, or any compulsory payment to the priests of any worship; a nation where bribery and corruption are unknown; where no man calls another man "*master*;" and where a handful of gold would not purchase from the labouring man the pulling off his hat even to his employer.—The consequences of truths so striking and now so notorious, are much more pleasing to anticipate than they would, I imagine, be safe to describe.

There are some who pretend, that the Republic has *gained* nothing by the war; and those hireling gentlemen, who write in "*the Quarterly Review*," tell their readers, that she has made peace "without accomplishing any one of the objects for which she went to war." These hired critics are either wholly ignorant of the matter, or, they are endeavouring to mislead their readers. At any rate, I will once more state the case, and then we shall see which party has been baffled in its attempts.

America declared war against our King, because he *would not cease to impress persons* (not being soldiers, or sailors in the enemy's service) on board her ships on the high seas. This was the ground of her declaration of war. A treaty of peace has been made, and that treaty says *not a word* about the impressing of persons on board of American ships. Therefore, say these wise Reviewers, she has *not gained her object*. Poor slaves! they dare not look at the truth; which is this: America went to war with us, while we were at war with France, and while America was neutral. Our King having made peace with the

French, there ceased to be any pretext for impressment; and that being the case, America was willing to make peace immediately, without any stipulation about impressment, because the war in Europe, having ceased, her character of neutral would have ceased, and our impressments would also have ceased. She wanted no stipulation to protect her against what she always asserted to be a wrong, and which wrong she had *resisted by arms, until it ceased*. Accordingly, we find Mr. Monroe instructing the Republican negociators not to *bring forward* the subject, it being quite unnecessary, seeing that America had *resisted* our pretended right of impressment *by war*, and would, of course, resort to the same mode of resistance, if the execution of the pretended right should be revived. You will observe, too, that it was *our King's negociators*, who brought forward the subject at Ghent. Therefore, if there was any defeat of object here, the defeat was on his side. We went to war to assert our right of impressment. We have made peace without obtaining any stipulation with regard to that right, real or pretended. If we revive the exercise of this right, at any future time, Mr. Monroe, in his published dispatches, says, that America is ready again to resist it by force of arms.

The disappointed, malignant man, whom I have so largely quoted above, exclaims, that we are "now bound to our good behaviour in Europe;" for, that the moment we dare to go to war, we shall have Capt. Porter sally out upon us with "*freedom of commerce and sailors' rights*" inscribed on his flag. Nothing is more probable. Indeed, it is quite certain, that the "bits of striped bunting" will bear this motto, if our King revives his orders of impressment. But the likely thing is, that his Majesty will *not* revive those orders; and then we shall have the happiness to see ourselves living in peace and friendship with the people of America, and shall be grateful to his Majesty for the blessing.

But has the Republic *gained nothing* by the war? Has she gained no English ships? Has she gained no renown? Have the affairs of the Guerriere, the Macedonian, the Java, the Peacock, the Avon, those of Lakes Erie and Champlain, and Mobile and Pensacola, and Fort Erie and Fort Moreau; have these memorable actions, and many others, yielded her nothing in point of reputation in the world? Is it

nothing to have been able, with her infant navy, to have *resisted* with success the maritime power of England single-handed? Is it nothing to have called forth the admiration of the world by acts of bravery like that of the General Armstrong privateer at Fayal? Is it nothing to have made her implacable enemies in England express their mortification at seeing her citizens in Europe complimented wherever they go, in consequence of her success against such a mighty Power? Is it nothing to have proved to the world, that, let who will attack her, she stands in need of no foreign aid; no hired fighters of other countries; but that her own citizens are equal, not only to her defence, but to the carrying of her "bits of striped bunting" in triumph into every sea against even a superior force? Is it nothing to have shewn, that, in the midst of such a war, which most people thought put her very existence in jeopardy, she has doubled, nay quadrupled, her naval force, including her numerous important captures from us; and that she has steadily proceeded in the extension of her naval plans, buildings and arsenals?—Is it nothing to have proved, that her Government, though free as air, is perfectly adequate to the most perilous of wars? Is it nothing to have thus entitled herself to the confidence of other nations, and made her *friendship* an object to be sedulously sought after by every Power of Europe; and to have done this, too, in a war in which it was published, that all these Powers had, by a secret article in the treaty of Paris, bound themselves not to interfere? Is it nothing to have shewn, that she wanted the interference of none of them; that she was able, single-handed, to fight her own battles, and to come out of the contest, not only unimpaired, but covered with glory? Is it nothing for her Chief Magistrate; for that very Mr. Madison, whom our malignant and insolent writers and others marked out to be **DEPOSED**; is it nothing for Americans to have seen this their plain fellow citizen, with a salary of less than 6,000 pounds a year, with no heralds, guards, or gilded coaches, conducting her affairs, through this trying season, with so much ability, so much firmness, and, at the same time, with such tenderness for liberty, as to refrain from a resort even to the mild law of his country against those who have made use of that liberty for purposes of the blackest and basest treason? Is *this* nothing, you venal English writers?

Is this nothing? Is it nothing to hear the Chief Magistrate of a country say: "let my calumniators alone; let the traitors to freedom and America proceed; I rely on the good sense and the virtue of the people; the cause is the people's, and they will be my defenders?" Is *this*, too, nothing gained?

Yes, it is a gain, not only to America but to mankind; for who will now be impudent enough to assert, that political freedom, that religious freedom, that a press wholly uncontrolled, are *incompatible with national safety in times of war*? Who, upon the ground of a *probability of invasion*, will call for a suspension of the laws made for the security of men's liberty and lives, when the world has now seen the Republic of America declared in a state of rigorous blockade, mighty fleets and armies at the mouths of her harbours and rivers, her soil invaded at several points, her towns and villages bombarded or plundered, and her capital itself in flames, without producing the suspension, even for an hour, of any law, and without arresting or diverting the ordinary and gentle course of justice for a single moment?

I need say no more. Here is the object on which the friend of freedom will rivet his eyes. Here is a dagger to the heart of tyranny; and, as such, it is worthy of being presented to you. The total overthrow of the Aristocratical Faction in America; an immense emigration to that country; her consequently rapid increase of population and power; the creation of a great maritime force in the Republic; the independence of South America. These are amongst the *consequences* to be expected; but that consequence which I consider of more importance than all the rest, is, the benefit which the cause of freedom will receive from the example of America, now become so conspicuous a nation. Away now, with all their trumpery about Poland, and Saxony, and Belgium, and the Congress of Vienna! Let them do what they like with the Germans and the Cossacks, and the Dutch; let them divide them and subdivide them in any manner that they please; let them whisker them or knight them according to their fancy. We can now look to growing millions of free and enlightened citizens, descended from the same ancestors, and speaking the same language, with ourselves, inhabiting an extensive and fertile country, tendering food and freedom to the miserable and oppressed of

every other climes, and a PRESS for the promulgation of those truths, which these unfortunate beings have so long been compelled to suppress.

I am, with the greatest regard and respect, your faithful and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

AMERICA.

MR. COBBETT.—According to my estimate of the value of public writings it is, and has been long, my firm persuasion, that your WEEKLY REGISTER has already effected, and will ultimately accomplish, more towards enlightening mankind on their true political and moral rights, than all the other productions of the press put together. The originality of your views; the extent and importance of your facts; the luminous correctness of your speculations; and the peculiarly energetic force of your style, unite to render you an author most eminently and usefully instructive.—May your valuable life and health be long preserved, for the furtherance of all that is most dear and estimable in human existence. The observations with which you are at present elucidating the political state of America, and the British contest with that nation, must be read by all who are not determined to be deceived, or who are not destitute of the commonest characteristics of human reason, with the utmost gratification. It is impossible to view facts placed in the clear light in which you are weekly exhibiting them, without rejoicing that such a writer as yourself exists, and that so fair an opportunity is afforded to all who can read, to know correctly the real condition and circumstances of the American contest. That a large majority of the British nation is, as it were, identified with the Government, and would be identified with any Government that had equal patronage in its disposal, there can be no doubt.—Persons so situated, are not to be reasoned with; they will listen to no argument, but will bluster, blunder, and calumniate, until they conceive they have effectually borne down all opposition to their preconceived and predetermined vices. American bravery is their horror, and American triumph the real torment of these infatuated and all but infuriated people. Although they grumble at the Property Tax, they begin to speak in the language of Alderman Curtis, that the grievances of that impost must be endured until the

Yankees shall have been "confoundedly flogged." They fondly imagine that another year's Property Tax, or the expenditure of about *fifteen millions*, will secure British Tories the enviable triumph of this flagellation. Could I remove, Sir, with all those who coincide with me in opinion on this subject, from this land of *flogging* and *flogged* people, it would be to me most ample revenge to have the abettors of this flogging scheme compelled to pay the Property Tax, the price of the flogging, until that *Aldermanic* castigation shall have been actually inflicted. Happy America! and thrice happy Americans, who are too enlightened, too free, and too brave, ever to be liable to the *pedagogal* vengeance of a degenerated and fallen people. AN ADMIRER OF AMERICAN
Dec. 26, 1814. REPUBLICANISM.

ST. DOMINGO.—While our unprincipled press was busily employed in proclaiming a crusade against freedom, and its partisans in America, it now appears, if the annexed documents are authentic, that a scheme, equally diabolical, to destroy every vestige of liberty in the world, was entertained by the fell fiends of corruption. At least, such a scheme, it must be believed, existed some where, if these documents are not proved to be forgeries. The *Courier* and the *Times* have published them as *genuine*, though the latter pretends that the project was "totally dissonant from the sentiments impressed on the mind of Louis XVIII. by education." Who ever heard of the sentiments inculcated on the mind of any Prince, affording a complete security that he would never outrage humanity? or who will say that a virtuous education ought to screen him from censure, should the conduct of his Ministers, or agents acting by his authority, be inconsistent with the principles of justice?—As to what the *Times* calls "the base lie which imputed the suggestion of "such infernal wickedness to British counsils," I have only at present to say, that I trust this will be made manifest to all the world, and that some more respectable channel will be employed for that purpose, than the prostituted and polluted columns of that newspaper. The following are the documents:—

KINGDOM OF HAYTI.

Minutes of the Sittings of the Council General of the Nation.

This day, the 21st of October, 1814. the 11th year of the independence of

Hayti, and 4th of his Majesty's reign, the grand dignitaries, the civil administrative, and military officers of the kingdom, were convoked in a Council Extraordinary, at the palace of San-souci, to take into consideration the documents which it pleased the King, our Sovereign, to submit to their consideration.—The said officers, in full dress, were introduced and placed according to their respective ranks, by the Baron Sicard, Master of the Ceremonies. His Majesty, our august Sovereign, soon after entered the Hall, having on his left his Royal Highness the Prince Royal, and preceded by the Great Officers of the Crown; he was saluted on all sides by acclamations of *Five le Roy!* His Majesty, having taken his seat on the throne, delivered the following discourse:—"Haytians,—We have assembled you in a General Council of the nation, in order to communicate to you certain letters and papers, which we have received from the French General Dauxion Lavaysse, the envoy of his Majesty Louis XVIII. Haytians, deliberate on these writings with that calmness and wisdom which befit freemen, who have conquered their independence at the expence of their blood. Meditate upon them, in fine, in a manner befitting functionaries who represent the nation, and who, in that capacity, have to pronounce on its fate, and on the dearest interests of their fellow-citizens."—The Count Limonade, Secretary of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, then read the following documents:—

Letter of General Dauxion Lavaysse, dated Kingston, Oct. 1. 1814, and addressed to General Henry Christophe, Supreme Head of the Government of the North of Hayti.

"General,—You have been informed of the important mission with which I have been entrusted to your Excellency; and on arriving here it was my intention to address you and General Petion simultaneously: for I am not come, as you well know, as a messenger of discord, but as the precursor of peace and reconciliation. A few days after my arrival here, I, as well as my companion on the voyage, Mr. Draveinan, paid the usual tribute to the climate; and I have here found only one man in whom I could place confidence to aid me with his pen as Secretary. However, I have communicated with some estimable persons, who, I am assured, possess your confidence, and who have confirmed what fame had already taught me of you. But before communicating directly with your Excellency, it becomes my duty to obtain the most accurate information with regard to you, and as to every thing which it is of importance for my mission to learn; and I confess, with pleasure, to your Excellency, that all that I now know, has added greatly to my hopes, and encouraged me to address you with the frankness of a soldier, and with that interest which cannot be refused to those who have followed the military career. The virtuous King, who is at last re-

stored to France,—that King, equally admirable for the firmness and the mildness of his character, for the extent of his intelligence, and his contempt of every illiberal prejudice,—Louis XVIII, lamented more than any one the atrocious measures adopted against General Toussaint at the peace of 1802. That Chief, loyal and enlightened, had, with almost the whole of the inhabitants of Hayti, taken up arms in favour of the royal cause. He supported it several years with energy, and had re-established order and cultivation in Hayti, to the most astonishing extent. But when all Europe was bent under the yoke of Bonaparte, he felt that submission to that recognized tyrant became a matter of necessity. None of the acts of Gen. Toussaint were declaratory of independence; but Bonaparte, either to sacrifice a portion of the immense * armies which embarrassed him on the peace, or to lay hold of imaginary treasures, sent an army to St. Domingo, when he ought only to have sent rewards. The effect of this barbarous expedition was a second destruction of the colony, and the loss of General Toussaint. The king would have considered this loss as irreparable, had not your Excellency succeeded to the power of that celebrated man; and convinced that you are perfectly well-informed as to your true interests, and as to every thing that has taken place in Europe; certain that the welfare of your country, your own, and that of your family and friends, will serve as the rule of your conduct, he has not doubted that you will act towards him as Toussaint would have acted if now alive. I bring you, therefore, General, by the orders of that august Sovereign, words of satisfaction and peace; and though, from the height of his throne, the most brilliant in Europe, he commands an army of 500,000 men, he has sent me singly to treat with you about your interests. We are no longer in the time of Bonaparte; all the Sovereigns of Europe had leagued to poll down that usurper, all remain united in order to secure the tranquillity of all parts of the world. At this moment you may behold England punishing, at 1,500 leagues distance, the United States of America, who had dared to lend their support to the enemy of order and of the repose of the world; already the capital of that new empire has been committed to the flames; already its chief is flying; for not until these United States shall profess the principles of the Sovereigns of Europe, will England cease to overwhelm them with the weight of her terrible vengeance: thus, as long as there shall remain a point on the globe where order is not re-established, the Allied Sovereigns will not lay down their arms; they will remain united, in order to finish their great work.—If

you doubt this truth, General, your Excellency has only to consult, by means of your agents, the dispositions of England, late the enemy of France, now her most faithful Ally, and they will attest the truth of what I have now said.—General, if Bonaparte, with a great part of the forces of France, sunk under the mass of the forces of the Allies, who now can resist France united to all Europe,—France become the ally of England? And who doubts that Bonaparte must have rapidly consumed the infernal work of destruction which he began in 1802, if in 1803 England had not declared war against France, and thus broken, by its immense fleets, the communication between France and St. Domingo? Every thing has been foreseen in the treaty of peace between the Sovereigns of Europe. Not aware of the prudence and the principles of your Excellency, it was supposed that you might hesitate as to the course which you ought to pursue; and it was agreed, that, in order to replace the population of Hayti, which, in such event, would be totally annihilated by the masses of force brought against it, it was necessary that France should continue for several years the African Slave Trade, with the double view of replacing the hands employed in cultivation, and forming soldiers, in imitation of the English. It would, doubtless, be useless to enter into details with a man of so superior an understanding as your Excellency; but it is proper, perhaps, that those great considerations should be presented to the persons whom your Excellency honours with your confidence. If the alliance of the Powers of Europe has had for its object the restoration of order, and the fall of the Usurper who incessantly disturbed it, the august Monarchs, who are parties to that alliance, did not on that ground display less esteem for the meritorious supporters of the glory and independence of France; for those illustrious warriors who, during 25 years of calamities, never deserted the post of danger, and who saved their country both from the horrors of civil war, and the disgrace of dismemberment. The most wise and generous of Kings, the virtuous Louis XVIII. has felt more sensibly than any of his great Allies the claims which these brave men had to the royal munificence, as well as the public gratitude: they are now loaded with honours; they enjoy immense fortunes, and they bless the events which have given to their superb establishments that stability which an usurper could never have conferred. Follow their example, General; proclaim Louis XVIII. in Hayti, as they have proclaimed him in France, and not only honour and rewards await you, but those whom you designate shall receive marks of the satisfaction of our Sovereign, and of the gratitude of our country; and the empire of prejudices, which is destroyed with the late regime, shall prove no obstacle to these re-

* Almost all these troops had served under Moreau, to whom they were very much attached; but the Generals were mostly partisans of Bonaparte.

wards being made equal to the greatness of the services performed to the King.—Doubtless, if Bonaparte, from the height of the French throne, addressed to you the words of which I am now the bearer, I should lament your confiding in them. His success in policy was due to his deceitful arts, his perfidy equalled the power of his arms, and General Toussaint was not the only one who found out this by cruel and fatal experience: but the legitimate King of France, the august successor of so many illustrious Sovereigns, the descendant of St. Louis and Henry IV., has doubtless no need of the vile resorts of an usurper; his royal word is as sacred as his race is ancient and venerable; and Louis XVIII. has said, like one of his magnanimous ancestors, “that if good faith was banished the earth, it should still be found in the heart of Kings.”—Thus, then, what he promises you, General, will be firm and stable: you cannot doubt it. But perhaps there are among your Generals persons who fear lest the chiefs sent by the King, forgetting the instructions which they shall have received, and permitting themselves to be influenced by Creoles and Emigrants, may re-establish gradually the *regime* of prejudices. But believe me, General, the reign of prejudices is terminated for ever. It will as little revive in the French colonies as in France; and who can suppose that they still exist in the latter country, when, by the side of the Montmorencys, the Rohans, the Perigords, &c. are seated the Soultis, the Suchets, the Desolles, &c.—when men of such different origin, though, equally illustrious, the one class for their own high exploits, and the other for those of their ancestors, sit as equals in the Chamber of Peers, and equally participate in the high dignities of the State? The King, who wishes that benefits be every where equally dispensed, will doubtless act in this instance like the Monarchs of Spain and Portugal, who, by letters of *white*, give an individual, whatever be his colour, the privileges of a white. His royal power, which has equalised the Neys, the Soultis, the Suchets, with the Montmorency's and the Rohans, by an act of munificence and equity which all France applauded, can in like manner make a negro, or a mulatto, equal before the throne and the law, and in the intercourse of social life, to the fairest man in Picardy.—You will not force us, General, to convert into soldiers the negroes, whom we are at this moment purchasing on the coast of Africa; you will not force us to employ all possible means of destruction; you will not expose yourselves to witness the desertion of your battalions, who will soon be informed that the French discipline, the most perfect in the world, does not enforce that excessive severity which you have so often exercised; we know all your means of defence. When I say *you*, I mean the persons who are under your orders; for I believe you have too sound a head, too enlight-

ened and noble an understanding, not to be satisfied with becoming a great lord, or a general officer, under that ancient dynasty of the Bourbons, which Providence, in despite of all human calculations, seems to take a pleasure in perpetuating on the throne of our dear France; you will prefer becoming an illustrious servant of the great sovereign of the French, to the fate, more than precarious, of a chief of revolted slaves. And if examples are necessary to lead you to imitation, behold the Generals Murat and Bernadotte, who had been for several years chiefs, or kings, of nations whom their arms have illustrated, nobly descending from the thrones to which the effects of the French Revolution had raised them. Behold them, I say, nobly and voluntarily descending from these thrones, in order to become great and illustrious Lords, and preferring legitimate and durable titles for themselves and their posterity, to the odious and precarious title of usurpers. *For, do not deceive yourself, General,—the Sovereigns of Europe, although they have made peace, have not returned the sword into the scabbard; doubtless you are not ignorant of what every body in Europe knows, although a thing not yet diplomatically published,—that the principal articles of the compact, which all the European Sovereigns have just signed, on their royal honour, is to unite their armies, if need be, and to lend each other all necessary aid, in order to destroy all the Governments which have been the offspring of the French Revolution, whether in Europe, or in the New World.* KNOW, ALSO, THAT IT IS GREAT BRITAIN, WHO IS THE CENTRE OF AND PRINCIPAL PARTY TO THIS CONVENTION: to which, a few months, sooner or later, every Government will find it necessary to submit: every Government and every Potentate who shall refuse so to submit, must expect to be treated as traitors and brigands: whilst those who voluntarily and cheerfully shall prove themselves honest and reasonable enough to adhere to these principles, in contributing to induce the people whom they govern to return under the sway of legitimate sovereigns, will obtain from these sovereigns a provision and an establishment not less honourable than permanent.—The last consideration which I shall submit to your Excellency is that of the morality and loyalty which characterise the present Minister of the Marine. It is universally known, that, during the rule of the Constituent Assembly, where he constantly appeared as one of the most zealous defenders of the royal cause, he ever insisted upon the necessity as well as justice of ameliorating the condition both of the blacks and the men of colour. To pronounce the name of Malouet, is at once to recal the memory of the most exalted virtue, and of integrity the most inflexible. Whatever may be promised by such a man will be as certain and as sacred as if (and I ask pardon for the expression) the Deity had pledged himself to

the engagement.—Be pleased to accept, General, the sentiments of high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

DAUXION LAVAYSSÉ, General."

"P.S. Colonel Medina, who is associated to my commission, will convey this dispatch to your Excellency, and will be found deserving of all your confidence. As a proof of the sincere loyalty by which I am animated, I have subjoined a copy of the letter which I have addressed to General Pétion. It was scarcely written when I was seized with an indisposition, which deprived me of the honour of addressing your Excellency at the same moment."

LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

Sitting of the General Council of the Nation, 31st October, 1814, the Eleventh Year of the Independence of Hayti, and the Fourth Year of his Majesty's Reign.—The following Address having been read, it was unanimously agreed, that the same should be presented to his Majesty:

ADDRESS TO THE KING.

SIRE,—In the annals of the world no example can be found of an overture for peace, accompanied by such frightful and disgraceful circumstances, as that made by the French General Dauxion Lavaysse, in the name and as the agent of his Majesty Louis XVIII.—Nations, Sovereigns, and even individuals, have certain rights, which are respected even by the most barbarous people, and no one is permitted to violate them. But if men in general have agreed to respect these rights, sanctioned by custom and public decorum, how much more odious it is that the Envoy of an enlightened Monarch and nation has dared so openly to violate them!—What! the most abominable tyrants, when they wished to oppress and impose on people the yoke of tyranny, employed perfidious means, and concealed their criminal enterprises by specious pretexts, because they did not dare openly to violate public rights; but the Envoy of the King of the French impudently violates every right, and offers the greatest of insults to a free people, by proposing to them the alternative of slavery or death! And to whom does this vile agent dare to address this declaration of the atrocious intentions of his Government? to your Majesty, the conqueror of the French, the defender of liberty and independence, to you, Sire, who have devoted your whole life to the maintenance and defence of the indestructible and eternal rights of man—to your Majesty, who have always taken, as the rule of your conduct and actions, the honour and glory of the Haytian people! He dares to propose to you to descend from a throne where you were placed by the love and gratitude of your fellow citizens!—Oh, extravagance of insolence and infamy! He dares to suspect

your great soul of such an enormous perfidy! To whom do they dare to speak of *masters* and of *slaves*? To us—to a free and independent people—to warriors covered with noble wounds received in the field of honour, who have rooted up the ancient tree of prejudices and slavery—to those warriors who, in a thousand combats, have made these barbarous colonists bite the dust. And now the remaining colonists who escaped our just vengeance, dare still to speak of the re-establishment of that detested reign which we have for ever cast off! No, there shall never exist a master nor a slave in Hayti!—Could your Majesty have expected such excessive insult from a Sovereign whom fame has represented as a wise, good, and virtuous King, instructed in the school of adversity, and an enemy of illiberal prejudices? How little truth, Sire, is there in fame, when we compare events with her anticipations. The first overture for peace, the first words of conciliation which are addressed to us in the name of this Prince, of whom we had formed so pleasing an idea, are outrageous insults. It is proposed to men who have been free for 25 years, who still have arms in their hands, to lay them down in order to take up again the fetters of ignominious and barbarous slavery! In intimating to us these horrors, they veil them with the specious pretext of peace and reconciliation! They envelope the poniard of treason and perfidy in the honourable and seductive mantle of the liberal sentiments of justice and humanity of the French Monarch towards us! But on a sudden this vile agent, this anthropophagous monster, changing his language, taking a tone and atrocious character adapted to his odious mission, threatens to destroy our race and substitute another.—What justice! what liberality! what humanity!—From this last proceeding of the French, does not every thing shew that the cause of the Haytians is distinct from that of the people? In fact, to what people, to what Sovereign, would any one have dared to propose conditions so base and degrading? They despise us; they think us so stupid as to suppose, that we want the instinct which animals possess for their preservation.—What madness! what excess of audacity, to dare to propose that we shall give ourselves up to the French, and submit to their odious dominion! Is it for the benefits we have received that we should again take up the chains of servitude? Is it for a Sovereign who is altogether a stranger to us, who never did any thing for us, that we should change our Master? Is it, in short, for the purpose of being again delivered over to tortures, and of being devoured by dogs, that we should renounce the fruits of twenty-five years battles? What, then, have we now in common

with that people? Have we not broken all the bonds that could unite us with them? We have changed the name, the life, the manners. We bear no resemblance to the French—these people who never ceased to persecute us, and whose abhor. Why, then, should we submit to the fate of being condemned to groan under their tyranny and oppression?—Barbarians! They dare to despise us! They think us unworthy of the blessing of liberty and independence! They think that we are not capable of sublime sentiments, or of those generous impulses which form heroes, and make men masters of their own destinies! but they are deceived. Let them know something of the magnanimity, the energy, and the courage of the people whom they dare to outrage! Our will is to be free; and we shall be so in spite of tyrants!—Oh! if our cause should be separated from that of other people; if injustice should prevail over equity in this enlightened age; if our tyrants should at length be able to triumph over us, let the glory of the Haytian people at least stand unequalled in the annals of nations;—Yes, we solemnly pledge ourselves that, sooner than renounce liberty and independence, our entire race shall be exterminated. But before any Frenchman gains a footing here, let Hayti become a vast desert; let our towns, our manufactures, our dwellings, become a prey to the flames. Let each of us multiply his force—redouble his energy and his courage, in imolating to our just fury thousands of those tygers who are alienated from our blood! Let Hayti present nothing but a heap of ruins; let terrified countenances meet nothing but sights of death, destruction, and vengeance! Let posterity have to say, on beholding these ruins, ‘Here lived a free and generous people; tyrants wanted to strip them of their liberty, but they resolved to perish sooner than part with it!’ Posterity will applaud this act of magnanimity. Oh! will there be a human being so destitute of generosity as to refuse us his admiration, his esteem, and his good wishes?—In the political wars carried on among civilized States, the armies fight, and the people live in peace. But in a war of extermination, such as that with which we have been threatened, when every man thinks of defending his home, the tombs of his parents, his liberty, his independence, what, do I say? his very existence, and

that of his wife and children, it is then a war of man against man; women and boys are in a state of war: all are in arms; all the evil we can do our enemy is a sacred duty; all means of destruction are lawful for us to use. We shall revive those dreadful examples of exasperation among people who terrified the earth! Posterity will shudder with horror; but far from blaming us, it will only impute these acts to the perversity of the age, to tyrants, and to necessity! But this will never happen—it is impossible.—Hayti is invincible; and justice, as well as the cause of justice, will bear her triumphant through all obstacles. No, never shall this execrable enterprise take place. There is honour, there is glory among the Sovereigns and people of Europe; and Great Britain, that Liberator of the World, will prevent such an abomination!

SPEECH OF KING HENRY (CHRISTOPHE)

IN ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL OF THE HAYTIAN NATION, RELATIVE TO THE LETTER OF M. DAUXION-LAVAYSSÉ, OCT. 27, 1814.

Haytians! your sentiments, your generous resolution, are worthy of us: your King shall always be worthy of you. Our indignation is at its height. Let Hayti, from this moment, be only one vast camp; let us prepare to combat those tyrants who threaten us with chains, slavery, and death. Haytians! the whole world has its eyes fixed upon us; our conduct must confound our calumniators, and justify the opinion which philanthropists have formed of us. Let us rally—let us have but one and the same wish—that of exterminating our tyrants. On the unanimous co-operation of our union, of our efforts, will depend the prompt success of our cause. Let us exhibit to posterity a great example of courage; let us combat with glory, and be defaced from the rank of nations, rather than renounce liberty and independence. A King, we know how to live and die like a King: you shall always see us at your head, sharing in your perils and dangers. Should it so happen that we cease to exist before consolidating your rights, call to mind our actions; and should our tyrants so far succeed as to endanger your liberty and independence, disinter my bones; they will still lead you to victory, and enable you to triumph over our implacable and eternal enemies.

AMERICA.

PEACE being now happily concluded with the country of freedom, it will not be necessary for me to occupy so large a portion of the Register, as I lately have, with observations relating to it. But, still this country, now nearly as much above all others in military and naval prowess as she is, and long has been, in civil, religious, and political liberty; still this favoured country, this asylum and example to the oppressed of all other nations, must continue to be a deeply interesting object with every one, whom I wish to see amongst my readers. I shall, therefore, in future, write of the affairs of America under one general title, numbering the several articles from No. I, onwards.—Previous to the war, I wrote several articles, under the form of *Letters* and otherwise; during the war a great many more. And, I am of opinion, if all these were collected together, from the month of July, 1810, to the 14th of this present month of January, 1815, they would be found to contain as good a history of this important struggle, as is likely to appear in any other shape. The rise, the progress, the termination, are all here to be found very amply detailed. The views on both sides; the passions, the prejudices; the means made use of to delude the people of England. The effect of the result of the contest on men's minds. All will here be found to have been faithfully recorded; that is to say, as far as I have dared to go; and for the restraint, which I have been under, and for which no human ingenuity could have compensated, the judicious and impartial reader will make a suitable allowance. This, however, is only said as to *our side of the water*; for, in the country of freedom, the *naked truth* will be told. There every man will write and publish *what he pleases*; there discussions will

be really free; *there* no man will *amble* while he writes; and *there truth* must and will prevail.—It is often observed, that *history*, to be *impartial*, must be written *long after the date* of the events of which it is a record. This is a strange notion. It is so contrary to every rule of common life, that it naturally staggers one. If we want to keep our accounts, or the records of any proceedings in life, *accurately*, we never lose a moment in minuting the facts down as they occur. If evidence is given from a written paper, it must, to make the evidence good, have been *written at the moment that the facts occurred*. How strange, then is it, that, for *history* to be *true*, it must be written a century, or two, *after the period*, to which it relates; That is to say; that, to come at the *real truth* of any national occurrence, in order to arrive at a just decision upon the conduct of a nation, you must enter upon the inquiry *after all the witnesses are dead*, and after all the springs, bidden from common eyes, and which no man has dared to record an account of in print, are wholly forgotten and are sunk, for ever, out of sight. It is said, that, at the time when the events occur, the historian is too near to the *passions* and *prejudices* of the times, and is too likely to partake of them. But, at a hundred years after the events, what has he to refer to but *writings of the times*; and, how, then, is he more likely to get at the truth? We suppose the historian to *seek earnestly for truth*; and is he more likely to get at it, when all the springs are forgotten and all the witnesses dead, than when he has access to them all?—The real state of the case is this: the historian DARES NOT write a *true* history of present events, and a *true* description of the character of public institutions, establishments, laws, and men, in any country except America. *Truth*, in Eng-

land, may be a LIBEL; libels are punished more severely than the greatest part of felonies; as my Lord FOLKSTONE shewed, in the House of Commons, from an examination of the Newgate Calendar; and, it is well known, that in answering a charge of libel, the TRUTH of what you have written, or published, is not allowed **EVEN TO BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE.** This is the real, and the only ground for pretending, that history ought to be written long after the period to which it relates. But, how are you bettered by length of time? It is a *libel* here to speak evil of the *dead*. The dead villain must not, if it give offence to certain persons, be truly characterized; and, remember, that the *sources*, to which the historian has to refer, are precisely those which have been created under this law of libel. In the great Republic of America, the case is wholly different. There, any man may publish *any thing that he pleases of public measures, or public men*, provided that he confine himself to *truth* in what he asserts to be facts. There any *opinions* may be published; but, here, even *opinions* expose writers, printers, and publishers to punishment; and, observe, that that which a man may say in a *private letter*, is held to be *published*, and if determined to be libellous, liable to punishment.—Well may we hold it to be a maxim, that the writing of history ought to be *delayed* until a remote period; but it would be a much more sensible maxim, that no history, written under such circumstances, (with a law that punishes libels on the *dead*) ought ever to be regarded as any thing better than a sort of *political romance*. There is no reason, however, why a history of this war should not *immediately* be written, and published in the Republic, with whom, thank the Ministers, and the President, and the brave Republicans, we are now at peace. From that country we may now receive such a history. It might be a little too *strong* to be *published* here; or even to be *sold* here. But those who wished for copies might get them through private channels; though, I ought to observe, for the good of the unwary, that to *lend* a book, or, to *show* a book, to another person, is to publish a book in the eye of our sharp-sighted libel law. Nevertheless, if some able

and animated pen, set to work on this fine subject, a subject so closely connected with the cause of Freedom all over the world, there is no doubt of its obtaining circulation, even in England; and while it would be sure, by means of a French translation, to be read all over the Continent, where it must produce a prodigious effect. But I hope to see nothing of the *maudling* kind; nothing of the *milk and water*; nothing of the “*gentlemanly*” sort; no mincing of the matter. But, a real, *true*, history, applying to persons and acts the appellations which *justice* assigns them. If such a work were published, rather than not possess a copy, I would make one of my sons traverse the Atlantic, expressly to fetch it to me. I hope, however, that some man, in America, who feels upon the subject as I feel, will take the trouble to convey to me by a safe hand (not through the Post Office) a copy or two of the first work of the above description that shall appear. But mind, I should despise any history which should not speak of ALL the actors, on both sides, without the smallest regard to the humbug and palaver of the day, applying to their actions and their characters, and their motives, the *plainest* as well as the *truest* of epithets and terms. I want to have it all out. I am not much disposed to be unhappy. I never meet calamity half way. But really, such a work; the reading of such a work, and hearing my children read it, would make up for years of misery, if I had passed such; and it would be much more than a compensation for all the sufferings of my life. In short, I have set my heart on this thing, and, if I am disappointed, I shall be grieved more than I ever yet have been; ten thousand times more than I was, when I heard the sentence of JUDGE GROSE on me of two year's imprisonment in Newgate, a thousand pounds fine to the King, and seven years bound to good behaviour afterwards, in bonds of 5,000 pounds, for having written about the flogging of English local militia-men at Ely, and about German dragoons. But, why should I be disappointed? Have I not, if no one else will take up the pen, a *son* to take it up in the cause of truth and liberty? The world is wide; and now it is open.—

In the mean while let us not neglect that which is yet within our own power. We ought to keep the Republic constantly before our eyes. Though we make her less the subject of observation than we have done for some time past, we ought never to lose sight of her. The enemies of liberty are always on the watch to assail, through her sides, the object of their mortal hatred; and, therefore, we ought to lose no occasion of facing and of fighting them. In order to facilitate reference, and to give something of uniformity of arrangement to the matter in the Register, relating to America, I intend to insert, under one general head, all such matter of my own writing, and to mention under that general head the several topics treated of, in the following manner.

No. I.

AMERICA.—Mr. HUNT's motion and Sir John COX HIPPLISLEY's speech respecting her.—The Courier's attack on Mr. BINNS, a publisher at Philadelphia.

At a Meeting of the county of Somerset, on the 9th instant, a curious occurrence took place with regard to the peace with America. I will first give the account of it from the *Times newspaper* of the 16th instant, and make on it such observations as most naturally present themselves. The reader should first be informed, however, that the meeting was held for the purpose of discussing a petition to Parliament against the *Property Tax*, or *Tax upon Income*, which tax ought, by law, to expire in a few months, but which tax it is supposed the government means to propose the *continuation*, or *revival*.—The following is the report of the *Times*:—"On Monday last, at the meeting of the freeholders, &c. holden at Wells, to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Property-tax, after the business of the day was disposed of (an account of which has already appeared in this paper).—Mr. HUNT remarked, that the meeting should not disperse without expressing its thankfulness to those by whose efforts peace had been made between us and America. He therefore read a resolution, which he submitted for their approbation: "That the thanks of this meeting are due to those by whose exertions peace with the Americans, the only free remaining people in the world, has been re-

stored to this country." Sir J. C. HIPPLISLEY could see no reason whatever for calling the Americans the only free people in the world, and should certainly dissent from the motion were it not that it was a LIBEL on our own country: for this part, he HATED THE AMERICANS. They were a set of slaves to the Government of France, and (some expressions of disapprobation arose) when Mr. DICKINSON said, that he certainly must join in deprecating the resolution. He hoped the meeting would not consent to compliment any nation at the expense of our own, and of every other in the globe. He had a considerable reason for believing, that the Congress at Vienna was now employed in endeavouring to rivet the chains of the suffering Africans; and engaged, as the Powers of Europe were, in so sacred a cause, he could not consent that any aspersion, direct or indirect, should be cast upon them. Mr. HUNT then requested the Sheriff to put the resolution, which, upon the shew of hands, was negatived by a very considerable majority." Whether there be any free country in the world, still remaining, besides the Republic of America, is a question that I do not choose to decide, or to give my opinion upon. But, I cannot help observing, that the question was decided in the negative by a meeting of the county of Somerset only by "a considerable majority;" and, I must further observe, that the report of this "considerable majority" comes to us through the *Times newspaper*, that channel of skunk-like abuse of America and all that is American. Let it be remembered, too, that the power of deciding who had the majority lay wholly and absolutely with the Sheriff, who is an officer appointed by the crown. This being the case, the words, "considerable majority" will be pretty well understood to mean any thing but a large majority; and, perhaps, some people may doubt whether there was any majority at all. At any rate, the County of Somerset divided upon the question of, whether America was, or was not, the only free country left in the world. This was, at least, a question for which many were in the affirmative. It was received and put to the vote without any marks of disapprobation; while, on the other hand, he

was *hissed*, who said that he *hated* the Americans, and who called them *the slaves of the French Government*. And *why*, good Sir John, do you *hate* the Americans? *What* have they done to you? You say, that they are the slaves of the Government of France; but you do not find it convenient to produce any proof of what you say. This, Sir John, is one of the old state falsehoods of the *Times* newspaper, which you are retailing at second-hand like a Grub-street pedlar. You are, in this instance, a poor crawling imitator of a wretched grinder of paid-for paragraphs. *Prove*, or attempt to prove what you say. Attempt, at least, to prove, that the Americans are the slaves, or have been, the slaves of the French; or, you must be content to go about saddled with the charge of having made an assertion, without being either able or willing to shew it to be true. I assert, that the Americans were not, in any shape or degree, subservient to France. I assert, that they all along acted the part of a nation *truly independent*. I assert, that they, in no case, shewed partiality for the Government of Napoleon. If any proof were wanted of their having placed *no reliance upon France*, we have it in the fact, the fact so honourable, so glorious to them, and so unfortunate for us; I mean the fact of their *continuing the contest after Napoleon was put down*, and still, as firmly as before, *refusing to give up to us one single point*, though they saw us allied with all Europe, and though they saw the whole of our monstrous force directed against them, having no other enemy to contend with. *This proves* that they placed no reliance upon France. When they declared war, they saw us with a powerful enemy in Europe. Upon that circumstance they, of course, calculated, as they had a right to do; but, when that enemy, contrary to their expectation, was put down all of a sudden, and the whole of our enormous force was bent against America, she was not intimidated. She still set us at defiance; she faced us; she fought us; and, at the end of a few months, instead of receiving a *Vice Roi* at Washington, as we had been told she would, she brought us to make peace with her without her giving up to us one single point of any sort. Deny this, if you can, Sir John; and, if you cannot, answer to the people of Somerset for the speech, which the *Times* has pub-

lished as yours. But, Sir John, why do you *HATE* the Americans? You cannot, surely, hate them because they pay their President only about six thousand pounds a year, not half so much as our APOTHECARY GENERAL receives. You, surely, cannot hate them because they do not pay in the gross amount of their taxes as much as we pay for the mere collection and management of ours. You, surely, cannot hate them because they keep no sinecure placemen, and no pensioners, except to such as have actually rendered them services, and to them grant pensions only by vote of their real representatives. You, surely, cannot hate them because, in their country, the press is *really* free, and *truth* cannot be a *libel*. You, surely, cannot hate them because they have shewn that a *cheap* government is, in fact, the strongest of all governments, standing in no need of the troops or of treason laws to defend it in times even of actual invasion. You may, indeed, *pity* them because they are destitute of the honour of being governed by some illustrious family; because they are destitute of Dukes, Royal and others, of Most Noble Marquises, of Earls, Viscounts and Barons; because they are destitute of Knights of the Garter, Thistle and Bath, Grand-Crosses, Commanders and Companions; because they are, in spite of the efforts of the Massachusetts intriguers, still destitute of Illustrious Highnesses, Right Honourables, Honourables, and Esquires; because they are destitute of long robes and big wigs, and see their lawyers, of all ranks, in plain coats of grey, brown, or blue, as chance may determine; because they are destitute of a Church established by law and of tythes: you, may, indeed, *pity* the Republicans on these accounts; but, Sir John, it would be cruel to *hate* them. To hate is not the act of a Christian, and very illy becomes a man like yourself, who has been a hero, a perfect dragon, in combating the anti-christian principles of the French Revolution. Pity, the Americans, Sir John. Forgive them, Sir John. Pray for them, Sir John. But do not hate them, thou life and fortune defender of our holy religion. Pray that they may speedily have a King and Royal Family, with a Commander in Chief and Field Marshals; that they may have a Civil List and Sinecures; that they may



have Lords, Dukes, Grand-Crosses, Clergy, Regular Army, and tythes; *pray* for these things, in their behalf, as long as you please; pray that the Americans may have as good a government as we have; but, because they have it not, do not *hate* them. I was really very happy to perceive, that you were *hissed* for this sentiment, at the County Meeting. I was happy to perceive it, because it was a sign, that the people of England are coming to their senses upon this the most important of all subjects. Why could you not have expressed yourself in terms, less hostile to every generous and humane feeling? I confess, that Mr. HUNT's motion, though if he thought it *true*, he was right in making it, might fairly be objected to by anyone who thought differently. But, you might have reprobated the endeavour to describe England as *not free*, (if you regarded her as being free) without saying that you *hated* the Americans. This it was, that shocked the meeting, and, accordingly it hooted you, as appears from the report, as published even by the Times newspaper. Every effort ought now to be made to produce reconciliation with America; and, you appear to have done all that you were *able* to do, to perpetuate the animosities engendered by the war. Mr. DICKINSON managed his opposition to the motion more adroitly. He observed, that the holy-war Powers, now in Congress at Vienna, were, "*he had considerable reason to believe,*" engaged in an effort to unrivet the chains of the *African* slave, and, therefore, he could not consent to any motion that might seem to glance against *their* people being free. So, Mr. DICKINSON concluded, it seems, that, if the "*sacred-cause*" powers should settle upon some general prohibition against the increase of slaves in the *West Indies*, there cannot possibly remain any thing like slavery in Russia, Prussia, Poland, Germany, Bohemia, Transylvania, Sclavonia, Italy, Spain, or Portugal. I should like to have heard the chain of argument, through which this member for Somerset arrived at such a conclusion from such premises. I suppose that it must have been something in this way: That the "*sacred-cause*" powers are all perfectly sincere in their professions; that, being so, it is impossible to believe, that they would shew so much anxiety for the freeing of the *African*, while they held their own subjects

in slavery; and, that, *therefore*, it is impossible to believe, that the people of Russia, and Germany, and Hungary, are not all perfectly free. I dare say, that Mr. Dickinson said a great deal more upon the subject, and produced *facts* as well as arguments to prove, that Mr. HUNT's motion was an unjust attack upon those powers; and, I confess, that it would be a great treat to me to see those *facts* upon paper.

MR. BINNS, a publisher in Philadelphia.—In the COURIER of a few days back, there appeared an article from an American paper, pointing out some of the means, which the government of that country ought to employ to annoy and injure England; and, the Courier, at the head of the article, observes, that it is taken from a paper, published by one BINNS, who was engaged in "the TREASONABLE plot of O'Connor." The article contained a very urgent recommendation to the Congress to pass efficient laws for providing comfortable means of subsistence for *English deserters*; and also to pass laws for the *destruction of English commerce by American privateers*. Now, it does, and it must give one pain to see an Englishman exerting, with so much zeal, his talents and the powerful means of the press against his native country, that country being ours as well as his, and containing, as we know it does, so many excellent individuals, such a mass of industry, integrity, and virtue of every sort. But, let us be just: let us look at the other side; let us consider the cause of this hostility in Mr. BINNS; and every candid man, though he may still, and will still be *sorry* to see, that England has such powerful enemies (for a press *really free* is all power) in her own children, will be less disposed, I do not say to *blame*, but certainly less disposed to *abuse* Mr. Binns. This malignant writer calls him a TRAITOR. This is false. He was, indeed, *tried* on a charge of High Treason; but, though the greatest talents were employed against him, he was found to be "*NOT GUILTY*," and was, accordingly, DISCHARGED by the Judge. He was taken up in virtue of a warrant from the Secretary of State, the Habeas Corpus Act being then *suspended*; he was imprisoned in the Tower; he was conveyed to Maidstone to be tried; he was there declared to be NOT GUILTY,

and was discharged; and then he quitted the country, went to America, there became a citizen of that country, carrying with him the recollection of what he had actually undergone, and of the risks that he had run in his native land. Besides, we must not overlook the state of the country at that time, and the dangers, to which every man, called a JACOBIN was exposed. A strong and most curious fact, relating to this point, came out on Mr. BINNS's trial. Mr. PLOMER, who is now the Vice Chancellor, was a Counsel for the prisoners, and a most able Counsel he was. Just as the Jury were about to be impannelled, he applied to the Court to have read the following AFFIDAVIT and LETTER, which Letter, as the reader will see, was written by a Clergyman of the Church of England, named ARTHUR YOUNG, to a Mr. GAMALIEL LLOYD, his acquaintance and friend. I shall insert the two documents, just as they stand in the State Trials, published in 1798, by Mr. GURNEY.

"KENT TO WIT.—*The King against James O'Connor otherwise called James Quigley otherwise called James John Fivey, Arthur O'Connor, Esq. John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary, on a charge of high treason.*"

"Gamaliel Lloyd, of Bury St. Edmunds, in the county of Suffolk, Esq. maketh oath and saith, that he this deponent did, on or about the 3rd day of May instant, receive the letter hereunto annexed from Arthur Young of Bradfield, in the county of Suffolk, Clerk, and that he hath frequently received letters and corresponded with the said Arthur Young, and that he verily believes that the said letter is written by, and in the proper hand writing of, the said Arthur Young: And this deponent further saith, that he saw and conversed with the said Arthur Young on the 19th day of May instant; after this Deponent had been served with a writ of subpoena requiring his attendance at Maidstone, in the county of Kent, on the 21st day of May instant, with the said annexed letters, upon which occasion this deponent informed the said Arthur Young that he was so subpoenaed for the purpose aforesaid, and urged the said Arthur Young to come to Maidstone aforesaid, and meet the charge, and extenuate his fault in the best way he

"was able, concerning which he hesitated, but he seemed disposed to come, if there was a place in the coach for him. And this deponent further saith, that the mother of the said Arthur Young being present on the said last mentioned occasion, also urged the said Arthur Young to inform her of the names of the Jurors mentioned in the said letter to whom he had spoken, as stated in the said letter, but he refused to comply with her said request, whereupon this deponent advised the said Arthur Young to consult Mr. Forbes, an attorney, and a relation of his as to what would be best for him to do, and to act accordingly, to which he the said Arthur Young seemed to this deponent to assent.

"Sworn in Court at Maidstone,

"the County of Kent, May 21,

"1798, before

F. BULLER.

"GAMALIEL LLOYD."

"DEAR SIR,—I dined yesterday with three of the Jurymen of the Blackburn Hundred, who have been summoned to Maidstone to the trial of O'Connor and Co.; and it is not a little singular, that not one yeoman of this district should have been summoned to an Assize for this county, nor to any of the Quarter Sessions (excepting the Midsummer) for more than fifty years. These three men are wealthy yeomen, and partizans of the "High Court Party." Now this is as it ought to be, and as they are good farmers and much in my interest, to be sure I exerted all my eloquence to convince them how absolutely necessary it is, at the present moment, for the security of the realm, THAT THE FELONS SHOULD SWING. I represented to them, that the acquittal of Hardy and Co. laid the foundation of the present conspiracy, the Manchester, London Corresponding, &c. &c. I urged them, by all possible means in my power, TO HANG THEM THROUGH MERCY, a moment to others; that had the others have suffered, the deep laid conspiracy which is coming to light would have been necessarily crushed in its infancy. These, with many other arguments, I pressed, with a view that they should go into Court avowedly determined in their verdict, NO MATTER WHAT THE EVIDENCE, An innu-

"cent man committed to gaol never offers
 "a bribe to a turnkey to let him escape,
 "O'Connor did this to my knowledge.
 "And although THE JUDGE IS SUFFICIENTLY STERN, AND SELDOM
 "ACQUITS WHEN HANGING IS
 "NECESSARY, the only fear I have is,
 "that when the Jury is impanelled; the
 "“Blues” may gain the ascendancy. In
 "short, I pressed the matter so much
 "upon their senses, that if any one of
 "the three is chosen; I think *something*
 "may be done. These three men have
 "gained their good fortunes by farming,
 "and I think they are NOW thoroughly
 "sensible THAT THEY WOULD LOSE
 "EVERY SHILLING BY ACQUIT-
 "TING THESE FELONS. I have seen,
 "Sir, that detested shore, that atrocious
 "land of despotism, from Shakspeare's
 "cliffs, Calais steeples, and truly I shud-
 "dered not at the precipice, but by con-
 "templating the vicinity to me of a mis-
 "creant crew of hellions vomiting their im-
 "potent vengeance, and already satiating
 "their bloody appetites upon my country.
 "Ah, my good Sir, we are safe; it is
 "next to a moral impossibility that in
 "Sussex or Kent they could land in
 "force; the batteries, forts, &c. are so
 "numerous, that hardly a gun-boat could
 "escape being blown to atoms. But
 "Ireland, alas! it is lost, Sir, I
 "fear it is gone. Here Government are
 "now expending hundreds of thousands
 "in fortifying what can never be at-
 "tacked; they are fortifying the Castle
 "with out-works, ravelings, counter-
 "scarps, and immense ditches, and they
 "are absolutely furrowing under the
 "rocks for barracks; it is, indeed, a most
 "prodigious undertaking, but absolutely
 "useless. It is a pity, indeed it is,
 "when money is so much wanted, to see
 "it so wantonly wasted, and all done in
 "throwing down the cliff upon the beach.
 "Remember me to Mrs. L. and your fam-
 "ily, assure her we all expect a re-
 "publican visitation here. This county
 "is split into party; but I never enter
 "the habitation of a yeoman but I see
 "the sword of its owner suspended;
 "GLORIOUS SIGHT! But the militia, O
 "Lord! at Horsham, Shoreham, Ash-
 "ford, Battle, Lewes, Brighton, Ring-
 "mer, &c. &c. I very seldom meet
 "with a sober man, 'tis nothing but a
 "dreary sight of drunkenness. Fine sol-
 "diers in action! their pay, their pay so

"extravagant. I have now as fine a sight
 "of the chalk-hill opposite as ever was
 "seen. The sun is setting upon that
 "vile land, and presents an object not a
 "little disagreeable.

"Your's truly,

"*Dover, May-day.* "A. YOUNG."
 Addressed "GAMALIEL LLOYD, Esq.
 Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk."

Now, the reader will bear in mind, that
 Mr. BINNS would probably have had
 these three men amongst his jurors, if Mr.
 LLOYD had not made the letter of the
 Reverend Gentleman known. This let-
 ter is an instance of the length, to which
 men went at the time when Mr. BINNS
 was prosecuted; and when he left Eng-
 land. Can any just man say, then, that
 he blames Mr. BINNS for seeking an
 asylum in America? And, if he cannot
 blame him for seeking that asylum,
 can he blame him for acting the part of a
 patriotic citizen towards his adopted
 country; or, rather, towards the country
 which has adopted him? How great so
 ever may be our sorrow at seeing the
 arms, and the more powerful pens, of
 Englishmen wielded with such effect too,
 against England, our accusations against
 them ought, at any rate, to be confined
 within the bounds of truth. And, does
 this foolish and base writer in the *Courier*
 imagine, that he will, by abusing Mr.
 BINNS, and falsely accusing him, dimi-
 nish the powers of his pen? Mr. BINNS,
 safe on the other side of the Atlantic,
 may, probably, laugh at his calumniator's
 malice; but, if it has any effect at all on
 him, that effect must be to make him
 more zealous in his hostility against Eng-
 land. It is a fact, of which I have no
 doubt at all, that, if ever our country ex-
 periences any serious calamity from the
 power of America, she will owe no small
 portion of it to the revenge of men, who
 have emigrated from her. The native
 Americans are brave, ingenious, enterpris-
 ing beyond any other people in the world;
 but, still the accession of hundreds of
 men of talent, burning with revenge and
 communicating that passion to their chil-
 dren, must have dreadful weight in the
 scale of hostility. Is it not, therefore,
 a species of madness in a man, who af-
 fects to write on the side of the English
 government, to resort to all the means in
 his power to keep that revenge alive? In
 America the paths of political power are
 open to all its citizens, adopted as well as

native; and, is it to be expected, that we shall not feel the effect of this abuse, whenever that power glides into the hands of those who are thus abused? America is now upon the pinnacle of fame. Her power must grow 'till it be great. England must and will feel the effect of that power; but, it is very unwise to endeavour to enlist against her the perpetuation of that revenge, which might otherwise die away with time.

"MURDER! MURDER!"

"This is the good old cry against cruelty and oppression: never had any more occasion to raise it than I have. A most ungrateful clamour is raised against my existence, though in the course of nature my dissolution cannot be far distant. The English nation is indebted to me, much, for carrying Lord Wellington and his brave troops through a course of brilliant victories. The naval superiority of England has been sustained by my aid; the American navy has hid its head under the waters of its own harbours at the approach of my power: and yet meetings are now holding in many parts of England at which I am stigmatized as cruel, oppressive; as most tyrannical and iniquitous. Now, considering the very important services I have rendered the country, this, I again say, is most ungrateful. In speaking of me, nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice. Let the blessings I have conferred, as well as the trouble I have occasioned, be remembered. Without me, Buonaparte might, this day, perhaps, have been master of England and Sovereign of the World. It is most unhandsome as well as ungrateful to kick and cuff, to insult and traduce me, the moment it is supposed my aid can be dispensed with.

"I am, &c.

"THE PROPERTY TAX."

The above is taken from the *COURIER* of the 18th instant; and, it must be confessed, the complaint of poor Property Tax is not altogether unfounded, though it pretends too far, when it talks of making the "American Navy hide its head," and of keeping Napoleon out of England, which the people could have done without a Property Tax full as well, at least, as with it. It is, however, very amusing to hear this tax so outrageously abused

as it now is by many of those, who called others *Jacobins* because they spoke of it in terms not a hundredth part so opprobrious. The Tax may be, and is, now unnecessary; but, has it changed in principle or in the mode of its collection? Is it not what it always was? Is it not what it was when Sir FRANCIS BURDETT described it in the address, which he moved in the House of Commons in 1812? Has it become more cruel, more oppressive, more inquisitorial, more partial, more tyrannical than it was then? Has it changed its nature, or the mode of collection changed its effect, since Mr. CARTER was sent to jail and fined for libelling it and the measures of taking it from him? Whence, then, this new discovery? Whence this light, all at once broken in upon the nation? If it be true, that the tax is, in its very nature, tyrannical, as it is now called, it follows, of course, that this nation has been submitting to tyranny for the last twenty years. There is no denying this conclusion, if the premises be true; and therefore, I wonder how men can look each other in the face, while they are passing such resolutions.—The truth is, that the fall of Napoleon is the hardest blow that our Taxing system ever felt. It is now impossible to make people believe, that immense fleets and armies are necessary. And, at the same time, prices having been reduced nearly one half by opening this island to the exports of a country where the taxes are comparatively trifling, the receipt at the Exchequer must diminish without even any diminution of the number of taxes. The peace is, as I said it would be, a sort of Revolution in England. The people are sore. They were drunk last June and July. The drunken fit is over, and they are now in a state of lassitude and pain: aching heads and empty purses.—The whole of the achievements of the Property Tax, have not, however, been named by the *Courier*, who has overlooked grants of public money, sinecures, the restoration of the Pope and the Inquisition, and many others.

LORD COCHRANE AND THE LEGION OF HONOUR.

The following article appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday last:—"Yesterday a Chapter of the Order of the Bath was held, at two o'clock, at

"the Prince's Chamber, Westminster, at which were present—His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as Grand Master; the Rev. Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster, Dean of the Order; the Right Hon. Sir David Dundas, Sir George H. Barlow, and Sir Richard Strachan; the Genealogist, Sir George Nayler; the Deputy Bath King of Arms, Francis Townsend, Esq. and the Gentleman Usher of the Scarlet Rod, G. F. Beltz, Esq. all in their robes.—The object of the Meeting being merely to communicate to the Chapter the measures which had been adopted for the DEGRADATION of Lord Cochrane, and the expulsion of his banner and achievements from King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, the Chapter adjourned soon after three o'clock."—So then;—the new legion of Honour have held their first meeting, or "Chapter," as they call it; and, in a manner perfectly consistent with their "most honourable" intentions, they have commenced their proceedings with communicating on the important subject of having expelled LORD COCHRANE from their "honourable Order," and turned out his banner and "Achievements" from King Henry the VIIIth's Chapel.—"Lord Cochrane's Achievements!!!"—I have carefully looked over the list of names of this honourable fraternity, beginning with his Royal Highness, our beloved Frederick, the Duke of York, and I can discover very sufficient reasons why they should be most anxious to get rid of any record of LORD COCHRANE'S "Achievements." Certainly there is very little relationship between them and the achievements of the members of this "most honorable fraternity." Can any of these men be so silly as to suppose that they have "degraded," as they term it, LORD COCHRANE by this measure? Can they suppose that they have inflicted upon him one moment's pain? Poor men! They sadly deceive themselves: LORD COCHRANE suffers no regret at quitting the association just remodelled. The quill drivers at the Horse-Guards; the Postmaster of the Duke of Wellington; our beloved Frederick's Private Secretary, and such like gallant men, are certainly little fitted for the society of LORD COCHRANE. The "achievements" of these men must be, indeed, of a most curious description. I cannot forget "Sir James Wil-

"loughby Gordon, Knight of the Bath," in his ever to be remembered examination on Mrs. Clarke's affair with the beloved Frederick. I suppose this is one of his "achievements." LORD COCHRANE'S are, indeed, of a very different Order. The expression which the representatives of our most revered Regent, the Right Honourable Henry Canning, thought proper to apply to the American navy, when he described it as bearing a few "bits of striped bunting," cannot but bring to every man's recollection the extraordinary "achievements" which vessels, bearing this "striped bunting," have performed over our, hitherto reckoned, invincible navy. One of these bits, of red ribbon, which decorate the knights commanders of the new order, is, I understand, on the way to Lisbon, as a reward for this statesman's elegant, and witty, and novel designation of the American navy. The list of his "achievements" must then be put up in Westminster Abbey; and no doubt they will occupy, with peculiar grace and effect, the niche vacated by the "expulsion and degradation of Lord Cochrane," which the "Chapter" of the "honorable Order" has just assembled, in full form, to ratify. I confess I should like to see this list of our Ambassador's "Achievements." It appears that a grievous complaint has been made by some of the persons calling themselves "Heralds at Arms," as to a sort of intruder, who has been put amongst them, by the Prince Regent, and whose peculiar duty, is said to be to manufacture, in good set terms, "the Achievements" of these "honorable gentlemen."—Now, I think, the whole College of Arms, Heralds and all, even including these new intruders, will be rather puzzled to compose the poetical effusion which is to decorate Mr. Canning's banner. Fiction is the soul of poetry. This then will be a poem of first rate merit. I shall endeavour to obtain a copy of it, and I shall certainly gratify my readers by giving it to them as soon as it can be procured.

THE CONGRESS.

MR. COBBETT.—I have hitherto observed no particular notice in your Journal of the proceedings of the assemblage of royal and noble negotiations that compose the congress of Vienna. It is said

by that race of expectants who are always apologizing for kingly errors, that there is now a period arrived, when the ambition of monarchs is not tarnished with injustice; when the sceptre is not supported by blood, but by the free and generous applause of the people; when the Liberators of France will give peace to the world, and establish the general tranquillity upon a basis too firm to be shaken. However ridiculous might appear the assimilation of absolute monarchy and impartiality, of policy and justice, we were still disposed to give them credit for generally meaning well; and we augured from their intentions what we might have doubted from their capacities. The *Courier*, and its satellites, now say that we were deceived; that the deliberations of Vienna have unveiled their motives, and that personal advantage seems the general and the only point on which they proceed to argue. Whether our newspaper press be correct or not in ascribing these motives to the Allied Sovereigns, it is not my province to decide. To time, which tries all things, it must be left to settle this. I cannot, however, refrain from remarking, that the infamous partitioning of Poland in the first instance, gave to the revolutionary leaders of France an example and a fair justification for proceeding in a similar manner; and I should not be surprised if the seeds of another, and a more tremendous revolution, were now sowing upon the continent, by the legitimate monarchs of the day, again forming treaties of convenience, and schemes of personal aggrandisement and private advantage. Napoleon really possessed an equal right to Spain, with Russia to Poland, or Prussia to Saxony. If these projected annexations shall take place, let us hear no more of the tyranny, or the injustice of the Emperor of France. It has been very well remarked, that Calvin was far more cruel than the Catholics whom he so abused; because, alive to the condemnation of their cruelty, he equalled its vilest enormity. Why then, if what is said of these sovereigns be true, are they less guilty than the victim of their efforts? Why is the conduct which in Buonaparte was so universally execrated to be tolerated, or approved, in them? This cannot be justice; this surely is not generosity. But why must Prussia have

Saxony? Does Saxony wish for the union? No. Directly the reverse. Do these liberators of the world, fulfil their promise respecting national rights by outraging them? Could Buonaparte have done more than force upon a country a sovereignty which it hated? Have not these liberators, according to the *Times* and *Courier*, done still more? Have they not deprived Saxony of a monarch which it loves? Whom has the King of Saxony offended? his people? *they* forgive him. The nations of Europe? What, by entering into treaties with Buonaparte? They have all done the same. By adhering to the faith of those treaties? Yes. Here lies the real grievance: his adherence to *his word, his treaty*, reproached many of them with the breach of theirs: he had received benefits from the hands of Napoleon, and did not think it consistent or honest to betray him. The *example* he had before his eyes, did not convince. He exhibited the phenomenon of a sovereign who did not think *convenience* a sufficient reason for falsehood. The *Times*, I observe, talks of *conquest*, as giving the negotiating monarchs the right of disposing of the fate of Saxony, and of transferring the Saxons, like cattle, to a master they dislike. Would it have been advisable to talk of the conquest of their country to those Saxon soldiers who joined the ranks of the allies at the battle of Leipsig? Would Bernadotte, who placed himself at their head, and called upon them to follow him in the cause of the liberties of Europe; would he have thought it the best method of securing their aid, by telling them that their country would be treated as a conquered province? But Prussia must have indemnity? Indemnity for what? For the loss of Hanover, which she received from Buonaparte to wink at the ruin of Austria? For the loss of her own provinces in the war with Buonaparte which she herself provoked? Are these the claims of Prussia to the annexation of Saxony? Can her best friends assign any other? Would the worst of her enemies desire any more? Have the *Times* and *Courier* no recollection of their own *consolation* at the ruin of the *infidel* House of [Brandenburgh]? Have they so soon forgot their *pious* remarks upon the *judgment* which attended the

kingdom of the *Deist* Frederick. Has the *Christianity* of the present monarch retrieved its destiny? I shall not notice the pretext of *arrondissement*: It would be only the plea of universal monarchy in its extreme; no *arrondissement* could be complete, but the circumference of the globe. In my next I shall offer with your permission, a few remarks on the pretension of Russia to Poland.

JUVENIS.

THE PILLORY.

SIR.—The remarks which lately appeared in your journal on the subject of the pillory, do equal credit to the head and to the heart of *Benevolus*. It is rather extraordinary in these enlightened times, when we hear so much about converting the heathen, emancipating the slaves, and encouraging the Bible Societies, that scarcely one public writer should be found, who possessed the courage, or the inclination, to reprobate a practice so disgraceful to our law, and marked with so many features of a barbarous policy. The public press every where teems with idle and contradictory speculations as to the probable result of the discussions at Vienna; whether the system of aggrandisement attributed to the Emperor Napoleon, is to be adopted as the law of nations, or whether that state of things which existed previous to the French Revolution, is to be restored. These and some contemptible matters as to a new order of knighthood, are the only topics for which the people of this *highly cultivated* nation seem at present to have any relish, or on which the pen of the philanthropist or of the philosopher is engaged. The amelioration of our laws, the state of our prisons, the remains of that rudeness which still pervades many of our customs, and presents a formidable barrier to civilization, are points that few writers appear interested in, nor which have found many partizans among the people. Some years ago, I heard something of the existence of a society in the metropolis for the diffusion of knowledge on the punishment of death, and the improvement of prison discipline; but I have yet to learn that any thing was effected by this institution, or if the objects for

which it was formed have been abandoned. No notice, as far as I have been able to discover, has been taken of it in any of our newspapers, or other periodical publications. A society with such liberal and enlarged views, could not fail, in my opinion, to meet with generous support were its intentions made sufficiently public, and why these should be kept in reserve, if the association now exists, is a problem that seems very difficult to solve. It would gratify many of your readers, if any of your correspondents could give some information respecting this society, which might, with great propriety, and without any departure from its original views, connect the subject of the pillory with the other important reforms for which it was instituted.

While, however, it may be said, that I have been liberal in my *censure* of our public writers for neglecting this vital subject, let me not be accused of partiality.—From this general reprehension I am glad to find there is one exception, who has done the subject ample justice, though his modesty, which is always a proof of talent, has led him to conceal his name. I allude to the observations on the pillory, which appeared in the last number of the periodical work, entitled the *Pamphleteer*. They appear to me so excellent, and the writer has discussed the subject in so masterly a manner, that I should like to see the whole of his remarks published in your *Register*. But as this may not be altogether consistent with your other arrangements, I have subjoined to this letter a short extract, to which I hope you will the more readily give insertion that its whole tendency is to enforce and illustrate the arguments of *Benevolus*, who so strenuously and so laudably contended against the existence of a mode of punishment possessing so many features of savage cruelty and barbarity.

Yours, &c. A. B.

"It may indeed be said, that some of the crimes thus visited are well deserving the utmost fury of an enraged people, and that there is no punishment denounced against them by our penal code at all equal to the darkness of their guilt. Be it so. That affords no reason why the defects of the law should

be made up by the assistance of popular tumult, or its necessities supplied by violence and outrage. In short, the pillory is in direct opposition to the principle upon which all laws are founded, and must serve, as far as its influence extends, to undermine the foundation of their authority. They were erected to control the unbridled passions of man, to take from individuals the power of revenge, to render punishments the determinate effect of firm and substantial enactments, instead of fluctuating with the rage and the sympathies of individuals, to prevent parties from being judges of their own injuries, to humanize society by taking from the strongest the power of inflicting arbitrary penalties by which it was reduced to a state of perpetual warfare, and to impress the mind with awe by the weight and the solemnity of their decisions. But this strange infliction actually reverses all these benign intentions which the collective wisdom of ages has gradually matured; it proceeds on antisocial principles, and tends to bring us back to our state of original barbarism. We have all been taught that the sacred throne of justice should be exalted far above the passions and the ever-fluctuating sympathies of man; that its voice should be as certain as it is awful, and its sentences untainted with any of the grosser particles that move in a lowlier atmosphere. We have learnt that while increasing wisdom should improve our laws, their actual dictators should be received during their existence with a noble and generous obedience. But here, in opposition to all these maxims, we see in them a principle which tends to their own destruction, a secret cancer which by insensible degrees is eating away the vital principle on which their vigor and their majesty depend. A judgment of the pillory is the worst of their enemies. If the mob applaud, they are set openly at defiance; and if on the other hand they break out into violence, the peace they should preserve is broken, the personal feelings they should subdue are excited, and the barbarous spirit of man unsoftened by civilization which they were formed to repress, is aroused by their powerful sanction. In the former case, the best emotions of the heart are injudiciously

arrayed against their authority; and a competition is excited where it is the noblest policy to conciliate. In the latter, the people act the part of unauthorized executioners, and become familiar with the most brutal of pleasures, the delight in pain, the horrible laugh of demoniac exultation at the sufferings of a fellow being. They who look on the tortures inflicted at a bull-baiting or a cock-fight with a virtuous horror, unless they measure out their disgust according to law, should feel a much stronger indignation at the sight of a fellow creature set up to be pelted almost to death amidst the drunken acclamation and infernal revelry of the lowest and most depraved of our species. And if thus pernicious in its immediate influence, it is not less dangerous in its example. Those whom you suffer to riot on the side of the laws may soon learn to oppose them with similar outrages. By allowing them thus to supply the deficiency of the lawgiver, we educate them for revolution and carnage. We give them arms to be awakened against our bosoms, whenever the breeze of discontent shall sweep over them. The hands that have learned to throw bricks and filth on the criminal, may exercise the same discipline on the judges, if they should be so unfortunate as to incur their displeasure.

It is sufficiently melancholy to see such a monument of savage life standing uninjured amidst the trophies of goodness and of virtue; but it is still more offensive to see it regarded as a pillar of our legislative system. It saddens us to see riots at all existing in a well regulated state; but we are doubly provoked by the strange anomaly which makes the laws appear to excite them. We regret to see a popular demagogue lead his followers to confusion and disorder; but our vexation has no bounds when a judge is compelled by the duties of his office to give up the reins to the frenzy of the shameless and the degraded."

ŒDIPUS JUDAICUS.

The Ancients searched for Truth; the Moderns pretend they possess it.—VOLNEY.

MR. COBBETT.—When I sent you my two former letters, I endeavoured

to call your readers, not only to consider the situation of Mr. G. Houston, but also to request they would examine into the liberty of the press in this country; on whose altar that writer is now a victim; for until this "thinking nation" really understand his situation, and the motives for which he is punished, he will not be the last that will suffer in its cause.

I knew I touched a sore place, when I attempted to shew to your readers the discordant opinions entertained of that old book for which Eaton, Houston, and thousands more may be sent to prison. I knew that I might be a trinitarian, a unitarian, a Southcotarian, or any other *foolarian*; but that I must not bring the contradictions, and (what they call) the arguments of one tribe to combat the whims of the other, without exciting the suspicions of those who call themselves *Just*! But I have done to; and while I delight in the deed, I smile at their suspicions and contempt. Before I reply to your correspondent Justus, permit me to introduce the origin of my acquaintance with the work in question. You must know there is a town designated by one of the most corrupt of his time as "the toyshop of Europe; whose inhabitants, (I speak generally) in my estimation, rank lower for liberality of sentiment, general information, and Christian charity, than any other on the surface of the globe. The scale by which I estimate them is, that in and about the place, there are the remains of half-mutilated houses, because their inhabitants opposed the origin of our war with the French Republic, burnt by Church and King mobs; and that in those receptacles of resort, where its people *go to drink mild ale and talk wisdom*; there are scrolls inscribed with legible English characters "*No Jacobins admitted here*." I was leaving this town last Summer in the Mail, and in passing one of those houses whose miserable appearance appeals, in silent and pathetic language, to the frigid faculties, and would hush to silence their unmanly prejudices, if reflection ever animated their torpid brains; when I soon discovered from the observations of a gentleman in the coach, that he was the Father of the engraver of the plates, in the *Œdipus Judaicus*. He

explained to me the design and intention of its author; since which I have had a sight of the book. It has fully answered my expectation, and again I say displays a fund of prodigious erudition. The following short extract will shew its intention, and design, "I contend (preface page ii.) that the Ancient Jews, like other nations of antiquity, had their esoteric, and their exoteric doctrines; they concealed the former under innumerable types and symbols, the meaning of which is generally unknown among their descendants. It is the object of my book to explain the hidden sense of many passages in the Hebrew Scripture." Page 22, he says, "I recollect that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and I expect to find traces of that wisdom in his works. The learned among the ancient Egyptians were pure theists, as Cudworth has proved. They were deeply skilled in the sciences: but they carefully concealed their mysteries under innumerable symbols and allegories. May we not look then for the same thing in the writings which are ascribed to the Jewish Lawgiver. It is what I have done, and I submit to the judgment of a few individuals, the result of my researches."

Of the 250 copies only, which I stated to have been printed, 100 now remain in the hands of the publisher. You will, therefore, judge whether I have been unfair in my former communication. As to quibbling about its method of publication and circulation, it would be a ridiculous waste of time. I wish a copy was in the hands of every person in the kingdom; for Sir Wm. Drummond would then make a better and more practical use of his abilities and learning. With regard to the cruel hint about a prosecution, for blasphemy, and the pillory, its author, like D. J. Eaton, will receive more praise, and of a better description, than if he were to be bespangled with orders and titles by every King in Christendom. O, Sir, it is cruel! You know it is, to talk of law in a country where it is possible a picked jury may be chosen by those who fatten on the wages of corruption, and who delight in persecuting such as attempt to undeceive the people. As to the writers, whose books I have faintly quoted, being Sir W. D. himself,

"I guess no man in his senses will maintain so wild a position."—Indeed, from the wording of your Correspondent's letter, I do not believe he is serious in his assertion. But I challenge him to the proof; for Candidus, one of the three, tells Sir Wm. Drummond that he *prefers* the old version best, and *censures* him for ridiculing the Bible. Suppose, however, I am wrong in my opinion of the author of the *Œdipus Judaicus*; suppose he is the *story teller*, the *fool*, and the *vain jackdaw*, they wish to represent him, what "necessity" was there for this great and mighty parson, the Christian Advocate, to notice his production? Why did he make such endeavours to obtain a copy, he best knows how? Surely, the "pious, thinking people of this country," could not have their "minds tainted" by an octavo book of not quite 500 pages, "of the most hollow and fallacious description." But these are the rules the hypocrites act upon. I was a boy when Thomas Paine's works were published; but I recollect the writer was at first held too contemptible for notice, and the "friends to social order, and our holy religion," were told they had nothing to fear. After a while, the Attorney General interfered, who got a jury to condemn Paine's books, and then the canting junto asserted they were answered and refuted. "Read our side, (said they,) see what Bishop Watson says." So says *Justus*; he calls the author of the *Œdipus Judaicus* a vain jackdaw; tells the people to read the book; (which he knows cannot be had), exhorts them to attend to the Christian Advocate, and censures those who take part against him. Come, come, *Justus*, give up your prejudices. Let the "Sicilian Knight and British Privy Councilor," interpret the Bible his own way. You may depend on it I will let the Archbishop's Chaplain, (who appears *blessed* with all those *amiable qualities* that adorned his predecessor in the ever memorable time of William Penn) put what interpretation on it he pleases. Every one that reads the bible may undoubtedly find both instruction and delight; but he will be more likely to become a rational being, if he be allowed to put his own construction upon it, and interpret it his own way. I should like to know by

what principle of rule or right any one dares to interfere and prescribe the method by which another is to exercise his judgment. That a deal of mischief has been the result of this interference, no one, acquainted with the history of his own country, much more with the history of the world, can deny; and whether the same quantum of mischief would have taken place provided the bible had never been known, is, in my opinion, difficult to prove. At any rate, the system of priestcraft has had a sufficient trial; and it would be more becoming in those who profess such anxiety for the circulation of the bible, to let it take its chance. Let them, at any rate, shew their disinterestedness, by giving up the *pounds, shillings, and pence* it produces; or take pay only in that manner, and in those quantities, which those who receive their assistance can agree and afford to give. If they should find that they do not thrive so well under this system, I hope they will recollect, there will be more manliness in their adopting the following maxim, than in returning to the old practice:

Some other scheme must occupy their brain;
For those who once have eat must eat again.

VARRO.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER V.

"Advise, but force not."

ST. BERNARD'S Letters.

SIR.—Marmontel, in his *Bellisarius*, [the fifteenth chapter of which, I would particularly recommend to the perusal of every person who has not read it] says, "Truth cannot fail to triumph, but it must not be by the arm of flesh." By putting the sword of VENGEANCE into the hand of TRUTH, you entrust ERROR with it also. The very possession of that sword, will always be deemed a sufficient authority to wield "it without mercy, and PERSECUTION" "will always be on the side of the strongest."

How simple, and yet how forcible is the mode of reasoning adopted by this beautiful writer. If kings were supposed to be God's viceregents upon earth, and, in that capacity were allowed to

commit whatever enormities they pleased, in defence of what they considered, or were told by their priests was the truth, is it not evident, from the diversity of sentiments of different sovereigns, and the opposite persuasions of their various teachers, that they must necessarily, at one time, and in one country, be punishing their subjects for entertaining opinions which, at another time, and in another country, were deemed perfectly orthodox. Does not this prove incontestably, that by once admitting the principle, that the magistrate is to defend Truth, he will much oftener be found defending ERROR? Every one will easily agree, that all systems cannot be right. "Error," says the same author, "has an immensity of space, and Truth is like a mathematical point in the prodigious void." Now, although every one claims that point to himself, is it not palpable, as Truth is one, and Error multifarious, that the greater portion of religious murders, barbarities, robberies, and incarceration, must have been in defence of Error rather than of Truth. How modest, how humble, ought such considerations to make us? How cautious ought these reflections to render us, of arrogating to ourselves the *sole possession* of the truth, when we find that thousands who think different from us, claim the same happiness? Ought it not to make us diffident of ourselves, and forbearing towards others? Those who have studied human nature, will have perceived that this violent animosity and furious persecuting zeal, does not arise so much from a generous love of virtue, or an enthusiastic admiration of abstract truth, as from the inordinate thirst for *power* which pervades the heart of every human being. We wish others to think as we do, and the greater part of us would if we had the power, *compel* them to do it. The sword of religious persecution is an instrument upon which every party has played its tune, when raised to power. The celebrated Dr. Franklin remarks, that if we look into history, for "the character of the ancient Christians, we shall find few who have not in their turn been persecutors, and complainers of persecution. The primitive Christians thought persecution extremely wrong in the pagans, but practised it on one another." I could easily give credit to this assertion, even if I had

not examined history for myself; for being of a curious and speculative turn, I have made myself acquainted with most denominations of Christians at present existing in the Christian world; and after having carefully examined their tenets, studied their prejudices, and observed their conduct, I do affirm, that however tame and tolerant they may be, while *low* in the world, they all possess the latent seeds of persecution. These only want fostering, by the genial warmth of power, to shoot forth with an enthusiastic fury, compounded of envy, ambition, pride, hatred, and fanatic zeal; as if it were commissioned by heaven. I would except the Quakers from the charge of being likely to evince a persecuting spirit towards other sects, though they are capable of doing it as to their own people;* but the Friends of the *present* day are not a religious society, like the Weslian or Whitfieldian Methodists. They are an *Aristocratical* civil community; a trading company, and a set of respectable, industrious, economical, money-getting disciplinarians; who possess no more practical religion than the members of the Church of England.

But to return to the sentiment of Franklin, respecting the early Christians. It was shewn in my last, that they were persecuted by the Romans, at the instigation of their priests, in the same manner as the Deists are molested by us, at the instance of our priests, on account of the simplicity of their tenets. I cannot illustrate the subject better, than by quoting *Justin Martyr*, one of the earliest and most learned writers of the Eastern Church, born of heathen parents, educated a pagan, and who was a platonic philosopher, previous to his becoming a Christian. He resided at Rome, during the reign of *Antonius Pius*; and upon a persecution breaking out against the Christians, he presented an *Apology* in their behalf, pointing out in a very able manner, the impropriety and absurdity of religious persecution; which *Apology* caused the Emperor to send a letter to the States of Asia, not only forbidding the Christians to be persecuted, but enjoining, "that if any one hereafter shall go on to inform against this sort of

* See the case of Thomas Foster, disowned by Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, for being suspicious of believing in ONLY ONE GOD.

"men, purely because they are Christians, let the persons accused be discharged, although they be found to be Christians, and let the informer himself undergo the punishment." When shall we see an *Antonius*? Yet the Apology which produced this, contains passages which no one would, in this *enlightened, humane, and liberal* age, dare to advance. In the second section, of his second Apology, he says, "Reason informs and admonishes us, that true philosophers and men of virtue, who have been filled with godliness and holiness, have loved and honoured the simple truth, and have turned aside from following the ancients, whenever their opinions have been found erroneous, or bad. Both scripture and sound reason enjoin us, not only to avoid those whose lives have been wicked; who by teaching, argument, or other means, have disseminated false and impious doctrines; not to imitate, nor in any respect to be led by them; but also prescribe, that the inquisitive lover of truth should prefer it to his life, and should not be deterred by the fear of death, or threats of torture, from speaking and acting according to justice."

These noble sentiments may be used by every reformer; they were appropriate to those who suffered in Smithfield, to Galileo, Huss, and Jerome of Prague; they may be used with equal propriety by the Deists of the present day, and by all persons persecuted for what they believe to be true. Those of my Friends who will take the trouble, will find much learning, philosophy, and curious matter in the works of this Father. I am writing a treatise upon the model of the Apologies of *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, to be entitled, (if God spare my life, and that of the best of Princes, till he shall ascend the throne of these realms) "An Apology to King George the Fourth, in behalf of that most learned and respectable portion of his subjects, the Materialists, Sceptics, and Deists; by a CHRISTIAN:" and intend approaching him in person with a *holy* boldness, to deliver a copy thereof. Every thing which has been done towards liberalising mankind in this country, will be found the isolated efforts of individuals; but in

France some of the greatest geniuses the world has produced, were united hand in hand for fifty years, for the purpose of enlightening their fellow creatures. It is a great pity the enemies of superstition, tyranny, and priestcraft are not better known to each other; and more organized in their exertions. Look at the Fanatics of every description; how they unite, and how successful they are in stultifying the human understanding, that most glorious ornament with which NATURE has vouchsafed to embellish man? Would not a general medium of communication for Theology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy, to be open with impartiality to the Churchman, the Dissenter, the Disciple of NATURE, the followers of Pyrho, and every class of Latitudinarian, be the means of facilitating such an object? It would lead people to think, examine, and judge for themselves; and ultimately inculcate a liberality of sentiment, which can only be acquired by the exercise of our reason concerning the nature of man, his intellectual faculties, and education. It would enable them to make that generous allowance for the opinions and prejudices of others, so essentially necessary to the harmony of society; but which they can never possess, while their reading and observation are confined within the pale of a particular sect; and while they are in the habit of implicitly receiving their religious notions, upon the credit of others, without investigation. A Journal of the above description has long been a desideratum in the republic of letters; for notwithstanding the number and variety of theological and controversial magazines, there are none *completely open to all parties*; whatever liberality they may profess. Some are exclusively the vehicles of one set of opinions only, and refuse insertion to every thing of an opposite tendency. Others admit nothing contrary to their own tenets, but what they think can easily be answered by some of their own partizans. I have taken the liberty of throwing out these few hints, as to the nature of a Journal much wanted by the Friends of Free Discussion; and remain, dear Sir, your's truly.

ERASMUS PERKINS.

London, Jan. 18, 1815.

PARTIAL AND MEAN PERRY.
Proprietor of the Morning Chronicle.

READER, a full report of the proceedings of the *Hampshire meeting* was sent to the above Printer, together with the **PETITION**, which I moved thereat, and which petition (the only copy I had) was obtained from me, by the *Reporter of the Chronicle*, in order to be sent to London to be printed in that and other papers. It was so sent: but was suppressed by this partial, this mean, this despicable tool of a despicable place-hunting faction. — I have just learnt these facts, and can only now say, that I will, next week, give this trick of PERRY the exposure, which it deserves.

WM. CORBETT.

Bolley, Thursday Evening.

N.B. Mr. HUNT said, at the time, that this worthy "member of the *Hampden Club*," would play us this trick. I could not believe it. Mr. HUNT knew the man better than I did.

PROPERTY TAX.

THIS poor tax is now become as much the object of senseless abuse as were, in 1798, those who endeavoured to prevent it from being imposed. In 1812 an unfortunate man, named CARTER, was imprisoned in jail, for a year, and fined, for having published a paragraph complaining of the operation of this tax. My Lord Folkestone, who made a motion upon this subject, described the paragraph as being *moderate and inoffensive*. Yet, for republishing the same paragraph,

Mr. Lovell of the *Statesman* was imprisoned a year or 18 months in Newgate, and also fined.—The selfish and unfeeling crowds, who are now clamouring against this tax; who are abusing it; who are applying to it all sorts of vile epithets and names, because they now feel the pinch of their pockets; these persons never meet to petition against, the *prosecutions of the press*; no, and they never would have met for that purpose, if every press in England had been demolished and the types thrown into the street, as were those of the American printers at the City of Washington, by command of our military and naval commanders.—These persons now call the tax partial, oppressive, cruel, equisitorial, tyrannical. They compare it to every thing on earth that is odious, and some of them have gone to Hell for similies in the way of illustration. They declared, that it is every thing that is tyrannical, odious and detestable, and that it violates the spirit of our constitution; and all this in its PRINCIPLE; in its very NATURE; and ESSENCE.—Now, then, what are these men? What are these noisy petitioners? What is their character, even upon their own shewing? Why, that they are *now calumniators of the government*; or, that they have been *slaves for the last 18 years*. Let them take their choice.—It is curious enough to see men, and great numbers of them too, who supported this tax when it was laid on, who voted for it in parliament, who, in fact, laid it on; it is curious to see these men, and in great numbers too, now coming forward and joining in the above horrid descriptions of the tax. They seem to be looking to new scenes. They are *ratting* from the Government. They begin to suspect, that the taxing and soldiering system must soon undergo a very material change. In short, the system (for it is of no consequence who are ministers) is in a state of great anxiety, at least. The peace has produced the ef-

fects, thus far, that I anticipated; and those effects will now develop themselves, day after day.—In some places, the petitioners have included *all the war taxes*, in others only the *malt and property tax*, in others only the *property tax*. The first is the only rational mode of proceeding; for, in fact, all the taxes are equally *burdensome*. But, in some places, as at *Worcester City*, they are for doing away with all the war-taxes, except the *Landlord's part of the property tax*. What a *whim* is this! What a childish distinction! Is it not clear, that the Landlord's part of the property tax must be included in the rent of the tenant, and that, finally, it must be paid by those who eat the bread, the meat, the butter, the cheese, the poultry, the milk, and the eggs, and who wear the flax and the wool? People are so *galled* with their difficulties to pay the taxes, that they know not what they say. Political economy is a subject too deep for minds in general; but, as every one now feels, every one cries out. Sir Francis Burdett, in 1811 or 1812, when he moved the address in the House of Commons, was most grossly abused for describing the Property Tax in colours far less odious than those, in which "*the loyal*" now describe it. Thus *time* makes all sorts of changes.—But, if *other taxes* be imposed instead of the war taxes, what will the people have gained? If, for instance, JERRY JOBERNOL, the farmer, should get rid of his tenpounds a year of war taxes, and should, in future, have to pay ten pounds a year in lieu of it, in his salt, malt, horse, window, soap, candle and leather tax, what would Jerry thereby gain? And, if the petitioners mean, that no other taxes should be laid on in lieu of the war taxes, they should *say so*.—Then, do they mean, that the *funding system* should be destroyed, and that the fund-holders should not be paid their dividends? No: they do not mean this. Why then do they not *say so*? And, why do they not point out *how* faith may be kept with the fundholders, and the war taxes (without substitutes) be done away?

The war taxes must be continued;

OR

There must be new taxes laid on, equal to them in amount;

OR

There must be Loans in time of peace;

OR

The whole of the army, and nearly all the navy must be discharged;

OR

The dividends on the National Debt must go unpaid.

Take your choice, good petitioners. One of the five propositions you *must* take. I am for the *fourth*. What say you? What sense is there in your clamours and abuse, unless you think that the war taxes can be dispensed with; and if you think they can be dispensed with, why do you not say so? One thing, however, in this senseless uproar, I am highly delighted with. It is this: That there are no longer any accusations heard against us *Jacobins*. It is not we, but "*the loyal*," who now cry out, who clamour, who now deal out abuse on the taxing system. Mr. HARDY, who escaped with his life, after endeavouring to effect a reform in that body who imposed these taxes, is alive to see the day when those, who clamoured for his destruction, clamour against those taxes. He is alive to see "*the loyal*" pouring forth all sorts of invective against things, which he laboured to prevent. Mr. TOOKER is not alive to enjoy this spectacle; but, his efforts, the noble stand which he made, will always be remembered with gratitude by those who retain any esteem for the rights and liberties of their forefathers.

No. I.—CORN BILL.

It is now evident to me, that our ministers mean to propose a law to put a stop to the importation of Corn. I am confirmed in this opinion by the language of the *COURIER* newspaper for some time past; and especially by the following article, which appeared in that paper of the 23d instant, and which article I am *morally certain* came from a source of authority. The reader will see, from the ability with which it is written, that it never could come from the same pen whence proceed the articles of the Editor of that paper; and the form and place, of it, if the reader could see them, would strengthen the opinion. After inserting it, I shall endeavour to show, how it blinks all the main points, how fallacious it is, how it is calculated to deceive and to mislead. "The Meetings upon the Agricultural State of the Country" are become universal. This is a sub-



ject which we touch always with delicacy, and almost with dread. It is one of such vital importance, one in which a false step, or an erroneous doctrine, may do such incalculable mischief, that we fear ever to pronounce any decisive opinion. What suggestions we throw out, we throw out with diffidence and hesitation, convinced of our being more in want of information, than able to communicate any. But there are some facts upon which there can be no doubt, and upon them we may safely reason—and in reasoning upon them, we are quite sure that we shall not deserve, in the words of Mr. Burke, to be classed amongst “those wicked writers of the newspapers, who would inflame the poor against their friends, guardians, patrons, and protectors.”—Upon this subject, more than any other, there are prejudices so strong as almost to resist the evidence of the strongest facts, and these prejudices are infinitely aggravated by the number of idle tales spread about *by the industry of faction*, and greedily devoured by the malignant credulity of mankind. When grain is dear, the prejudice is against monopolizers; when it is cheap, then the cry is, to give the utmost license and encouragement to importation, in order that it may become cheaper still, and thus, as we have heard it said, to be *revenged on the farmer*. But revenge ought not to be exercised against the farmer. Revenge on the farmer would soon be accompanied with a much wider vengeance upon the avengers—they would themselves become at no remote period the victims of their vengeance. Evils however at a distance we are too apt neither to see nor care for. “Have not farmers (is the common cry,) been making immense fortunes for the last twenty years? Have they not been living upon the distresses of the people? And ought not the latter to have the advantage which the late harvests and peace have given them, to have bread at as cheap a rate as possible?” We answer each of these questions—That the farmers have been making immense fortunes for the last twenty years, is an assertion which it is as easy to make, as we believe it would be difficult to prove. But if they had, how would that bear upon the subject? The price, how-

ever high it was, did not depend upon them. It arose from causes *over which they had no controul*; from deficient seasons, and from the state of the continent, with which all intercourse was prevented. But allowing, for the sake of argument, that they did make large fortunes, that must have been a public benefit, inasmuch as the increase of their capital would naturally lead them to extend the agriculture of the country, to improve bad land, and bring the waste into produce. The answer to the first question involves in it an answer to the second.—Upon the third we very willingly observe, that we are for the people having this necessary of life as cheap as possible; but we would not purchase an unexampled cheapness to-day, *with the certainty, or even the risk, of having dearth to-morrow*. By the return of last Saturday's *Gazette*, we find that the average price of wheat was 3l. 3s. 4d. the quarter, or 7s. 11d. the bushel: Barley, 1l. 11s. 6d.; and Oats, 1l. 3s. 9d. This cheapness arises from two causes—the admitting the free importation of corn, and the consequent necessity under which the British farmer has been of bringing his grain to market. The generality of mankind, looking only at the present result, will rejoice, and we are not surprised at it, and feel disposed to look with an evil eye upon any thing that would disturb it. Forbearance, and the want of all interference would be a greater disturber than any other cause. For let but the system of encouraging the free importation of corn be continued, and the vengeance which the ignorant would inflict upon the British farmer would be complete. He would not enter the lists of competition with the foreign grower, for *he would not cultivate grain at all*. But the British farmer ought not to be so dealt with, nor ought the food of the people of England to depend upon foreign countries. There is not a more obvious principle than this, that men will not apply their industry and their capital to the growing or manufacturing an article which they cannot sell at a price higher than it cost them in growing or manufacturing it; a price that shall enable them if not to lay something by, at least to maintain them. Wheat

“ and Barley at the last prices quoted in the *Gazette*, are at a less price than the expence to which the farmer would be put by growing them, including wages to labourers, keep for horses, repair of waggons, cost of the seed, and rent to the landlord. Of course then he will direct his industry and capital to other channels; he will not grow grain; he will not make land hitherto barren, productive in corn; he will not bring the wastes and heaths into cultivation. There will comparatively be no English corn grown. “ *Very well,*” we hear some say, “and what is that to us, provided we still have abundant supplies open to us.” But softly! it is a great deal to them—a great deal indeed! In the first place, the foreign grower, when he finds that he has nothing to fear from the rivalry of the British farmer, will raise his price. This is obvious—*When he knows you must depend upon him for the commodity, he will increase his terms.* There is not a plainer commercial principle than this. Here then is the first inroad upon the cheapness which you flattered yourself would be so permanent. But you must not forget another circumstance—that peace cannot be perpetual, and that wars must take place.—Nay, that foreign powers may be more likely to go to war with us, thinking that they have the means in their hands, (we depending upon them entirely for grain) of compelling us to accept terms and to make concessions. We put a case—Poland will be annexed to, or under the controul of Russia. It is from Poland we derive the largest continental supplies of foreign corn. Should we go to war with Russia, she might shut all her ports, Russian as well as Polish, and prevent the exportation of grain.—What should we do then? We might procure it from other parts, from the Barbary States and from America. But would not the price be much increased upon us, those Powers always keeping in mind that *we must depend upon them?* Well, but this is not all—you have formed your calculations and your hopes upon the certainty of the harvest never failing upon the Continent, of there being always fine and productive seasons. If the harvest should fail and a scarcity

ensue, where can you look to? To the British farmer? *No—you have turned your back upon him.* But there is another thing to be considered, grain may be cheap, and yet be less within the compass of some than when it was dearer. *If agriculture be discouraged,* the farmer will not want so many labourers, the ploughman, the thresher, and the reaper, *will not be wanted*—and thus will those persons “starve amidst cheapness.”—But it has been said, let the farmer look to his landlord, who having raised his rent in proportion to the encreasing price of grain, ought now to be lowered to the level at what it was before such increase. There is much reason in this, and it will operate no doubt upon the landlord. If he find that he cannot get a high rent paid, but that he can get a lower one, of course he will prefer the latter. The cessation of the Property Tax will be another relief; But these of themselves will not be sufficient. We take our stand upon this ground, which cannot be shaken; that the British farmer should have an interest in cultivating grain. Has he that interest at the present prices? No. What is the remedy? Clearly that the *foreign grower should bear some of the burthens that he does; that he should pay a duty upon importation;* that this duty should make the price of foreign corn equal to a price which the English farmer ought to get for British corn. Mr. Burke thought a farmer ought to make 12 per cent. upon his capital after paying his rent; Later writers and witnesses examined by Parliament, think 10 per cent. a sum much less than is made in almost all other trades. At the present price of grain the farmer so far from making this interest upon his capital must lessen that capital by cultivating. What the price should be per quarter to enable him to pay his rent and gain so much upon his capital, we presume not to state from our own knowledge. Some of the witnesses examined by the House of Lords declare that wheat ought to be 4l. 16s. a quarter, or 12s. a bushel to produce this effect. Others fix it at 4l. or 10s. the bushel; none lower. At 3l. 15s. or 9s. 4d. per bushel, (see the reports of the House of Lords,) all declare the farmer could not be able to pay his rent and get

"10 per cent. upon his capital. The present average price, according to *Saturday's Gazette*, is 7s. 11d. the bushel. We have thus fulfilled our intention of collecting a few facts, which we have endeavoured to place in a prominent point of view, offering such reasons as they are suggested to our minds. We are quite sure that we speak without partiality or prejudice ourselves; We are neither farmers nor merchants, neither growers of home nor importers of foreign corn. Our chief anxiety is to remove, if possible, some prejudices, knowing that the best promotes the interests of the poorer classes and of British agriculture, who encourages and promotes the interests of the British farmer. "If the price of the corn," says an eminent writer, should *not compensate the price of growing it*, "the most serious evil, the very destruction of agriculture itself, is to be apprehended." Now, though this article is written with great ability, and with even greater craft than ability, it will require, I trust, not a great deal to be said, to shew that its tendency is to deceive the people, and to entice them, by a fallacious statement, into an acquiescence in a measure for *making corn dear*; that being the undisguised object of the writer.—Before I proceed to the main points, let me notice the insinuation, that objections to a Corn Bill have been owing to the "*industry of faction*." What then, is OLD GEORGE ROSE become the leader of faction? He, who wrote a pamphlet to convince the people of England, that, if they did not quietly pay the war-taxes, the French Republicans would deprive them of the blessed comforts of religion? He has, indeed, been very *industrious* upon this occasion: but has his been the "*industry of faction*?" Have the petitions of "*the loyal*" of Southampton, Portsmouth, Winchester, and hundreds of other cities and towns, proceeded from "*the industry of faction*?" Oh, no! this will never do. The promoters of the measure cannot now raise a cry against the Jacobins. That humbug is over for ever.—Who told this writer, that any body ever said, that *revenge against the farmer* was the object of the opposers of the measure? This is pure invention. It is an invented fact, whereon to build a fallacious argument.—But, we are told here, that the high prices arose

from causes, *over which the farmers had no controul*, that is to say, in part, at least, from the *war*. It is not true, (though it has nothing to do with the point at issue) that the farmers were wholly innocent here; for, they were notoriously amongst the foremost to uphold PITT in making war and in carrying on war, against the Republicans of France. That has been accomplished, which they tendered their lives and fortunes to accomplish. The republic of France has been destroyed; the Bourbons have been restored; liberty has been nearly put out in that country; and, really, if our farmers were to suffer in consequence of what has taken place, they certainly would come in for their full share of meriting that suffering. Now we come to the subject:—The argument is this; that, unless corn is *dear*, the English farmer *cannot grow it*, because it would not bring him enough to enable him to pay *wages of labour, keep of horses, repair of waggon, cost of seed, and rent to the landlord*.—Now, how fallacious is this! Is not the corn which the horses eat, and which is sown for seed *cheap*, if corn be cheap at market? Are not the wages of labourers, the prices of wheelwrights, and the rent of land *cheap*, if the corn be cheap at market? Why, then, should not the English farmer be as *able to grow cheap corn as dear corn*? And what becomes of all the terrific statement about dependence upon foreign nations, about the extortioning of the foreign farmer, about scarcity, about the ruin of the labourer, and the like? Is it not notorious, that wheat used to be 5s. a bushel in England? Nay, is it not notorious, that it used to be 2s. a bushel? How did the farmer live in those days? Was the labourer starved in those days? On the contrary, is it not notorious, that the *paupers have increased with the high prices*? Will any man have the confidence to deny this? And if this cannot be denied, what reason is there to be alarmed at the prospect of continued cheapness? What reason is there to suppose, that the farmer will be *unable to raise cheap corn*, seeing that his labourers, his smith, his wheelwright, his collar-maker, his seed, his rent, will all keep pace with the price of his corn? If these items amount to a hundred pounds a year when wheat is 40s. a quarter, and to two hundred pounds a year when wheat is 60s. a quarter, is not

the farmer as *able* to raise the forty shilling wheat, as the eighty shilling wheat? How came this writer to be so indiscreet as to mention *horse feed* and *seed* amongst the outgoings of the farmer? These *must* be at a low price, if his market corn is at a low price. They consist of the same sort of corn that he has to sell. How, in the name of common sense, then, should he have to complain of the amount of these outgoings, and, at the same time, complain of the *cheapness* of his corn? But, the truth is, that the absurdity of these positions arises from a very material *omission* in the enumeration of the farmer's outgoings; to wit; the TAXES! which, *direct and indirect*, amount to more, *aye, to double as much*, as his labour, horse feed, seed, implements, and rent, all put together. The direct taxes are upon his land, his property, his horses, his house, his windows, his gig, his dogs, his man servant, and to these must be added his poor rates. He pays about 17s. a bushel tax out of every 20s. which he lays out in salt; and, in a large farm house, the salt tax amounts to about 10l. a year. He pays more in tax upon malt than his barley, of which the malt is made, amounts to. He pays a tax upon the soap and candles, and tea and sugar and wine and spirits used in his house. He pays a tax on the leather and iron used in his implements and his harness. And, be it observed and remembered, that he pays a tax upon the beer, the gin, the tea, the sugar, the salt, the soap, the candles, the shoes, the tobacco, *used by his labourers*. For every quart of beer drank by the ploughman, at a public house, the farmer pays about 4d in tax. The brewer and malster first pay it; the publican pays it to them; the labourer pays it to the publican; the farmer pays it to the labourer; and, as the farmer must be repaid, he must, of course, charge it in the price of the next corn that he sells. —*Alas*, then, is the real cause of the *necessity of high prices*. It is the GOVERNMENT, and not the FARMER, who stands in need of high priced corn. —Oh! ye *Cokes* and *Westerns*, be not; be not, I pray and supplicate you, *made the tools of the taxing system*! I know well that neither of you wish for high prices in order to increase, or keep up your own incomes. Your wish is to protect, to secure the well-being of, a description of persons, as to whose pursuits

you are laudably enthusiastic. But the real *tendency* of your exertions is to protect and promote the taxing system, and thereby to enable the Government to keep up, during peace, a standing army and all those means of patronage, heretofore unknown in England, and the keeping up of which tends to the total extinguishment of even the great country gentlemen, the little ones having all been swallowed up long ago. —Stand here, I pray you, and *reflect* before you proceed another inch. —You perceive clearly, that the writer, whom I have quoted, under pretence of protecting the farmer and promoting agriculture, aims at *keeping up the taxes*, that is to say, an immense military establishment and patronage, which it is your interest, and the farmer's interest, and the country's interest, to see reduced to nothing, seeing, that we now want no standing army any more than our forefathers did. —I have read a long letter of Mr. WESTERN to shew, that it is just and necessary to pass a Bill to protect the farmer. The reasonings of that very able letter are unanswerable, *if we admit, that the taxing system must remain in full vigour*, which the author seems to admit, and which I wonder that he should have admitted. It is clearly shewn, that the English farmer will not grow corn, unless he is put upon as good a footing, at least, as the French farmer. But, then, it is not shewn, that *this* cannot be accomplished *without a Corn Bill*; and yet, this ought to be shewn, and clearly shewn, by those, who, in open hostility to the common feeling of mankind, propose such a measure. —The farmer, and the prosperity of agriculture, do not depend upon the price of *corn* alone: there are the hides, the skins, the wool, and the flax, All very great articles of produce. These are, in great part, wrought into articles of dress by our manufacturers, and thus they are exported. Make the *corn dear*; make the food of the manufacturer twice as dear as the food of the manufacturer in France, America, and elsewhere, and who will purchase the dear manufactures? —But, take away the taxes that support the army, the ordnance, a great part of the navy; abolish the new military schools and all their enormous expences; return again to cheap and peaceful government; lay aside the bayonet and the broadsword, and be content with the old-fashioned sheriff's wand and constable's

staff. Do this, and there will be quite enough left to discharge the just debts of the country and to support the Crown with sufficient splendour, though Wheat should again fall (as I hope it will) to the old 5 shillings a bushel of JETHROTULL; and agriculture will flourish and farmers will thrive as much as they have done for the last twenty years; and, what is still of more importance, pauperism will almost disappear, hospitality will revive, and honesty, the constant companion of competence, will curtail the long and dismal lists of crimes, commitments, convictions, banishments, and executions, which now fill the mind with horror and dismay. "Here" say the writers, "we take our stand. The English farmer cannot grow corn, unless, "by an *importation duty*, "the foreign farmer be made to bear part "of the English farmer's taxes".—But, he will not bear part then; for, he will not bring his corn, and it is meant that he should not. Here I take my stand. Reduce the taxes of the English farmer, and then he will grow corn enough without the aid of foreign supply; and the manufacturers, eating cheap food, will be able to sell cheaper than the manufacturers of other nations; and, thus, *all* will thrive together; *make corn dear*, by continued heavy taxation, and *all* will decline together, except the military and naval official part of the community, who will, in the end, obtain a predominance, such as they possess in the Austrian, Prussian, Russian and German dominions, and English freedom and English manners and English morals and English tastes and English learning and eloquence will take their flight for ever to the other side of the Atlantic.—I hardly think it possible, that such men as Mr. Coke and Mr. Western should be the partizans of a measure having such a tendency. They may doubt, whether it be practicable, *without injury to the fund-holders*, to reduce the taxes so as to enable the farmer to sell wheat at 5s. a bushel. For my part, I have no doubt at all upon the subject; but, before I give myself the trouble of proving, and my readers the trouble of reading what I have to say upon the subject, let the advocates of a new and odious measure give us their arguments to prove, that the measure is indispensably necessary to the discharge of the just debts of the country and to the support of our government agreeably to

the constitution. It is for those who propose such a measure to shew, *that it cannot be done without*; and this they must shew before any just man will give his consent to it.—The measure would be *no protection to the farmer*; it would do him *no good*; it would do the *land-owner* no good: what it gave in prohibition, it would take away in tax, and give it to the military, naval, and official part of the community, the tendency of which must inevitably be to give these a predominance over all the peaceful arts and professions, and to produce all the lamentable consequences which I have above described.—For these reasons, I, who am a farmer by taste as well as in fact, and who am deeply interested in the prosperity of agriculture, detest and abhor, from the bottom of my soul, the idea of any measure tending to raise, or keep up, the price of corn; and, if there be but one man in all England found to petition against such a measure, I will be that man,

COTINENTAL AFFAIRS.—It is impossible to peruse the information which now daily arrives from the Continent, without experiencing the most awful sensations as to the critical state of affairs in that quarter. It is true, appearances are very often deceitful, and lowering clouds frequently subside; but there never was a period known in universal history when the "din of preparation" seemed so great. Let us turn our eyes from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, peace and tranquility is no where to be found. In Italy, all the convulsions of the thirteenth century appear to have revived. The dawn of liberty having opened on that delightful country, its inhabitants cannot without difficulty return under the yoke of slavery. We find the court of Vienna in the most feverish alarm on the subject. Long accustomed as the Austrian monarchy has been to look with anxiety to the entire possession of the Adriatic Gulf, from the possession of the ports of which, she might indulge a *prospective* hope of possessing "ships, "colonies, and commerce," it cannot be, but with the utmost apprehension, that she finds the voice of public opinion decidedly against her views. Little doubt can be entertained by the most commonplace politician, that a great motive which influenced Austria to join the Allies, at

the critical period when by Francis's unnatural desertion of his son-in-law—a desertion so totally unlooked for, that it produced, as it could not fail to do, the most decisive consequences.—I say, the Emperor Francis must have been greatly stimulated to this act, by the jealousy with which he viewed the Iron Crown on the head of Napoleon; shutting out, as it did for ever, all his Italian prospects. The information from Italy is rather barren; but no doubt can be entertained that Austria, finding Murat necessary to her views, has entered into a secret alliance with him to secure his throne, on condition that the upper part of Italy shall become Austrian. Insurmountable difficulties have been thrown in the way of this project. Among others, the sudden revival of the King of Sardinia, who, in the present rage for the resuscitation of legitimate monarchs, has, of course, asserted his claim to his "lawful possessions." But great part of the former kingdom of Sardinia had so often changed owners, that it was impossible almost to recollect its dispersed masters. Austria has therefore been contented to secure at present what she could lay hold of, leaving to time and fortune the completion of her ultimate views. The sacrifice of the free state of Genoa to the Sardinian throne has been a part of this system. This measure is said, in almost all our newspapers, to be tyrannical and oppressive; to be in palpable contradiction to every declaration of the allied powers; and violatory of every profession they made as to the liberating of Europe. True, or false, as these accusations may be, I have little doubt the poor Genoese must submit to "existing circumstances." I have also my fears that Murat himself will ultimately fall. Alone as he stands among the *legitimate* monarchs, can it be supposed that his existence will be endured, reminding them of the great man by whom they were set up, and put down at pleasure? Constant reports and hints are circulated in all the continental papers, of the advantageous exchanges offered to him for his present kingdom; and if, like Betularnois, he should not choose to go with a *good grace*, he has every reason to dread the result. It may not happen immediately; but if the new organization of Europe remain, his eventual fate may be considered as already sealed. As to the Pope, he is so little thought of under

the present system, and his very name so seldom occurs, except when he himself introduces it, that there is every appearance of his sinking fast, as I fervently hope he will, into his old denomination of Bishop of Rome; when Pope, conclave, and cardinals would soon be forgotten, was it not for the persecutions which religion, from time immemorial, has brought upon mankind.—In Spain, the *beloved* Ferdinand has outraged every feeling, which the laws of policy and humanity ought to have dictated. His friends and his foes have fallen in one universal conscription. Neither age nor sex is spared. The reign of priesthood is revived, in all its horrors. That bloody tribunal the Inquisition, is proceeding with gigantic strides. Horror and desolation mark its progress, and universal destruction is the only trace it leaves behind. In France, little of tranquillity appears to have been established. Louis XVIII. whom all parties agree to be a mild, beneficent, and good man, appears to be too much under the influence of the priests to be as popular as he might be, if he would shake off their odious yoke. The revolution in that country, unexampled as it has been in extent, both of moral and political influence, has so completely opened the eyes of all mankind, that the delusions of religion now excite little else than ridicule. If I am to believe the *Times* newspaper which, to use an appropriate phrase on this subject, is always apocryphal, a most serious convulsion was on the point of lately breaking forth in Paris, in consequence of a *fanatic monk*, wishing, and endeavouring, to revive one of those monstrous absurdities which disgraced the dark and barbarous periods of ignorance and superstition. Nor was it prevented until the king had been twice sent to, and, from its increasing violence, the most alarming consequences were to be apprehended; and all this because a wretched priest thought proper to deny the rights of sepulchre to a respectable woman, who had for sixty years been an artist in a profession certainly more harmless, if not more rational, than his own. From every thing which I can perceive in that country, her affairs are in a most unsettled state. Soult, who wishes to out Herod-Herod, has excited a flame in the matter of General Exelmans, which will require more skill

and ability than he possesses, to extinguish.—Proceeding northward, the affairs of Holland next meet the eye. Here, we find the most unnatural union between the Dutchman and the Brabanter: men as opposite in their pursuits, composition, and constitution as two animals of the same species can possibly be. An army of 75,000 troops, in the pay of England, one half our own countrymen, is in garrison in that country. Where the people are satisfied, such an army is unnecessary, and if they are not satisfied, twice the number will not make them so.—It is utterly impossible to describe the state of Germany, for here calculation is perfectly lost. Report contradicts report, in endless variety. One thing alone is clear, that the allied sovereigns, who established the late crusade, in the most solemn professions of the most pure *disinterestedness* are now adopting the very system of Napoleon, even to the expressions he made use of in that system. The ear is fatigued with the word “Indemnity,” and I was in hopes that, in common decency, it would have been left out of the vocabulary of the Allies. On the contrary, it appears that the Vienna Congress is occupied, day and night, in carding out fresh “indemnities” for the conquerors of their great prototype, the fallen Napoleon. Russia and Prussia are said to be determined on seizing their defenceless prey, and to possess themselves by force of what is denied to them by reason, justice, and common honesty. Was there a single act in the whole life of the French Emperor so base and atrocious as the attempt attributed to these monarchs to root out the whole family of the King of Saxony? The deposition of Ferdinand of Spain, was but child’s play to this.—He signed his abdication, and Joseph had a *pretence* at least to his throne, not only by this act of Ferdinand, but by the will of at least one half of the population of the country. But, in Saxony, the whole nation, to a man, concur in abhorring this tartar-like usurpation; and it never can be carried but by the loss of much human blood. The same argument precisely applies to Poland. That ill-fated country has been ever the prey to lawless violence and ambition; and the *magnanimous* Alexander is accused of following, with undeviating accuracy, the blood-stained steps of his ancestor, the *immortal* Catherine. But how shall I describe

the monstrous aggression which all Europe, and, I lament to say, Great Britain also, have committed against the brave Norwegians. The historian will blush, when he indites the page in which he records the detestable fact, that a British Fleet blockaded the Norwegian ports, to starve that wretched country into submission to their new masters, by preventing the entry of all the common articles of necessity, even to food; and this in violation of the general wish of the whole country, expressed in the strongest manner almost by acclamation. The mind revolts at a picture like this; and yet this is the state of peace and happiness which the allied Sovereigns have so pompously sounded throughout Europe they were about to confer upon mankind. It remains to say a few words as to our own *favoured* country. In the year 1792, when the *heaven-born minister* involved us in twenty-two years war, had any man ventured to assert, that in the year 1815, we should have incurred a debt of nearly a THOUSAND MILLIONS, and that the boasted “free Englishman,” should be subject to a tax by which his most secret concerns were laid open to investigation, he would have been treated either as a fool, or a madman. Yet so it is, and so it will continue, unless something like the public spirit of former times is revived. The operation of corruption has been so general, that it has extended its baneful influence, more or less, in every quarter. The vile hireling press has had its full share of the mischief. Men’s minds, during the continuance of the late war, were too much occupied with foreign politics, to devote sufficient of their time and attention to what was passing at home. The evil, therefore, has taken deep root, and it will require all our energies to root it up. It is a sacred duty every one owes to the country, and I cordially hope that duty may be fulfilled.

FINANCE.

Mr. CORNBETT.—I have read with peculiar attention an account in the *Morning Chronicle*, purporting to be a detail of the proceedings of the late Winchester Meeting on the subject of the Property Tax.—I have looked this over in the most careful manner, and am of opinion, from its internal evidence, that this must be a garbled statement, and that Mr. Perry

has not given it as it really took place. I very much lament this, because in the present degraded state of the *British Press*, the *Morning Chronicle* and *Statesman* are the only daily newspapers in which the public has a chance of finding any thing like the truth; and if Mr. Perry, no matter from what motives, is to be induced to withhold from us any thing of importance on *our* side of the question, and Mr. Lovell is to be continued in his imprisonment in Newgate, no matter how or why; in these cases, the only two sources we have of *genuine* information will be completely shut up, and we must look to the polluted streams of the *Times* and the *Courier*, for whatever filth and falsehood they choose to cram down our throats—However, taking Mr. Perry's account (for we have no other,) to be an accurate one, I beg leave to trouble you with a few observations, that occur to me even from so imperfect an account of the proceedings of that day.

The public cannot but be much indebted to *you* for the manly manner in which you met the question, and, without reference either to Whigs or Tories, without thinking either of Lord Grey or Lord Grenville, or Mr. Pitt's six per cent. or Mr. Fox's ten per cent. at once declaring openly and above board, that in the present state of our expenditure, this tax must go on, or a substitute for it be provided. The fact is, the Government cannot go on without resources to the amount which it produces. It is understood that the war with America cost upon an average a *million a month*. Speaking from memory only, I believe the Property Tax produced about twenty millions a year. Thus, therefore, at the first blush, it would appear that even during the continuance of the American war, this tax produced a surplus of eight millions, and that, therefore, when the war ceased, of course the Property Tax ought to cease also. But the very opposite is the fact; and although by the favourable issue of the negotiations at Ghent, a very considerable saving will no doubt be made; yet it appears to be totally forgotten, that we have an army in America of from 30 to 40,000 men, and another in Holland of nearly twice that amount. The army in America cannot be brought home for at least six months to come; and that in Belgium, I suppose, will not be brought home at all,

but remain there to take care of our friend the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands, or whatever he is called, and to protect him and his new dominions from the apprehensions he entertains from his new subjects and his old neighbours. It seems to be totally forgotten also, that Commissary General Sir Hugh Robert Kennedy, Knight, and Commissary General Sir Charles Henry Dalrymple, Knight, and Commissary General Sir Charles Edward Eylmir, Knight, (one Scotch, one Irish, and one English, to properly represent Mr. John Bull in his *triple* capacity) are at present most actively occupied in, what is called according to the technical phrase of office, winding up the accounts of the Peninsula, where a sum of no less than *thirteen millions*, for which bills either are or will be drawn upon the English treasury, remains to be provided for.

The enormous expence which must attend the bringing home of our American army; the unsettled Ordinance accounts; the charges of Transport, and various other branches of the public service, which, supposing the ratification of peace to arrive in the earliest possible time, must of necessity continue so long, that this year will probably expire before any effectual reduction can take place, will obviously create an expence so enormous, that not only will the Property Tax, or some other equally productive, be necessary to meet it, but a loan of at least twenty millions will be required for the service of the current year.—The trifling reduction which has taken place in the navy, can hardly be said at all to diminish our expence in that branch of service; and I am quite satisfied that the Prince Regent's week's merry making at Jubilee fair, and the feasting and dancing of the Allied Sovereigns, who honoured us with their company last Summer, will cost a much greater sum than will have been saved by the paying off the few ships that have been placed in ordinary.

No effectual reduction has certainly taken place at home. If we except the reduction of the Militia, and a few supernumary officers of the line placed on half pay, nothing that can be called an important saving has been made. It is true, a few second battalions have been reduced. But how? Why by drafting the men to their respective first battalions; and thus the only diminution of expence is the mere difference between

the full and half pay of a set of meritorious and deserving officers, who are sent to the right-about now they are no longer wanted; while all the extraordinary and expensive establishments of the Treasury, and the Horse Guards, remain untouched, and, I suppose, will be untouchable. The third Secretary of State-ship was expressly created as a mere *war* establishment. A variety of corps of different sorts and descriptions, such as the *Royal* Artillery Drivers, the *Royal* Staff Corps, the *Royal* Waggon Train, and various other similar non-descripts were all *war* establishments. Sir Digby Hamilton, Knight, Waggon Master General, and temporary rank Major General, was, as his very designation purports, only a *war* establishment. Yet this colossus, as well in size as in expence, still hovers about the Horse Guards, shedding his baneful influence in all directions.

How is it possible then that the Income Tax can be dispensed with, while such tremendous draughts as these are made upon the public purse? We begin at the wrong end. Instead of meeting to petition for the repeal of this tax, we should petition for the diminution of the expence which occasions its necessity. In that case we should have reason on our side, for it is palpable and apparent that while the present most frightful expence is suffered to continue, it is impossible to suppose but that a system of taxation sufficiently productive must be adapted to meet it.—I remain, &c.

CIVIS.

AMERICA.

SIR,—The acquaintance I consider myself to have formed with you, through the channel of your valuable Register, and feeling confident you will pardon my presumption, induce me to intrude the enclosed on your attention; and if not contrary to your regulations, and you should deem it worthy of insertion in your useful publication, I can only say it will particularly oblige a young man, who has imbibed from your instruction and example an ardent love of liberty, and who has witnessed the late efforts of the Americans to maintain their independence, with admiration, and the termination of the contest with the greatest satisfaction. Should my request be thought too presumptuous, I shall at any rate be re-

paid by the consciousness that the sentiments are the offspring of an honourable feeling, and consequently will meet your approbation. I am, &c.

Buckinghamshire.

R. H. M.

ON AMERICA.

HAIL! happy land—the blest abode,
Of those, indignant at Oppression's no; sd;
With thee a hospitable home they find;

Where no proud Tyrant dares maintain,
In haughty pemp, his iron reign;
Where no vain titles are conferr'd,
Upon Corruption's servile herd;
But where EQUALITY alone
Has built upon a rock its throne;

They fly, America, to thee,
To taste the sweets of LIBERTY;
Undaunted plough th' Atlantic wave,
And buoy'd by Hope, all dangers brave;
They leave the grov'ling slaves of Courts
behind,
To seek the promis'd land, th' Asylum of
mankind.

Hail! land of FREEDOM,—Genius there
Protected, thrives beneath thy fostering
care,
The mind unshackled, and restraints un-
known;

THE RIGHTS OF MAN are there display'd,
Of no despotic law afraid;
Religion, heav'nly Maid, is FREE,
And teaches pure Morality;
No subtle Priests with Tyrants join'd,
Endeavour to enslave Mankind;
But free in action as in word,
The voice of JUSTICE there is heard;
Who executes, with even hand,
The equal laws, which WISDOM plann'd;
May thy example, to surrounding Nations
shewn,

Hurl Priestcraft to the dust, and Despotism
from his throne.

THE CONGRESS.

MR. COBBETT.—Although it may be hazardous to canvass, at present, the *motives* of our generous, and just allies, yet I think that their proceedings form a very prominent subject for general animadversion. Perhaps, previously to entering into any review of their conduct, it may be as well to say a few words relative to the exaggerated expectations, generally formed as to the result of the deliberations of these dignified and immaculate characters. It was certainly imagined by a great majority of those who huzzacd and attended, from morning to night, every movement of our recent royal visitors, that every thing would be settled by them upon the fairest and most honorable basis. The applauses bestowed upon them were intended as much to reprobate the conduct of him whom fate had overthrown, as in approbation of those who had been the secondary agents of his ruin. We gave credit for their professions; we anticipated a generous and most magnanimous policy from the *Liberator* Alexander, and Frederick, the wise and the sedate. It is now said, however, by the *Courier*, the *Times*, and almost all our Newspapers, that a little *Bonapartcan* leaven is mixed, even in the composition of these *legitimate* Kings. There appears, say these journals, to be a singular assimilation to the political system of the recent Ruler of France in all the proceedings of the Congress. Their ideas of regal justice seem not very distant from the policy of usurpation. Aggrandisement is the word with all of them. They seem almost inclined to dispute the climax of injustice with Napoleon, and to pay as little regard as himself to the rights of their interiors. His *audacity*, they add, is wanting; but his *rapacity* is not left far behind. I have often heard it remarked, that the views of Buonaparte completely identified him with the *legitimate* and *hereditary* sovereigns of the day. He was as fond of governing imperiously, as careless of the rights and welfare of his subjects, and the rights of his neighbours, as if his ancestors had sat for centuries on thrones, and the sceptre had descended to him from some *ancient robber*, instead of having been forcibly grasped by the rude hands of a modern one. And it seems

in no slight degree to confirm the opinion which so many entertain upon this subject with myself, that the *only monarch who has uniformly been the decided enemy of Napoleon*, remains the victim of his *sincere* hostility, without exciting either the friendly commiseration, or the notice of those monarchs to whom he set the *first example* of resistance and resolution. I am not justifying his conduct; he was too fond of war, and perhaps *deranged*; but God knows if these are just reasons for the deposition of *legitimate* kings, the “decks would soon be swabbed,” of half the regal list of *former times*. The person I allude to is Gustavus of Sweden, who has lost his own kingdom in the cause for which ourselves and our magnanimous allies pretend to have been fighting—the restoration of the old order of things on the continent. Now, Sir, has not this Gustavus a much greater right to claim “*indemnity*” than any of them? And would it not do more credit to the character of the Russian Autocrat, to set the crown of Poland upon the head of Gustavus, than to pocket it himself, or give it to his brother? It was my intention to have seriously canvassed the *claims* of Russia to Poland; but, really, Sir, it would be paying them a compliment which they do not deserve. Reason need not combat the principles that have no foundation but power—no right but force. JUVENIS,

PUBLIC REJOICING.

MR. COBBETT.—The public who so greedily rejoiced, and feasted, and illuminated, and were beyond measure elated at the downfall of Buonaparte, as an event that could not fail to do for England all their hearts could desire; (in which, by the by, they now begin to see they were mistaken,) that public having suffered the late happy peace with America, which I consider to be far more beneficial to the true interests of our country and the world, to pass by without any illumination, or other more rational mode of expressing their joy, I, who am sorry for the omission, have considered what it would have cost me to illuminate on that occasion, and determined to devote that sum as far as it will go, to the purchase of your valuable Register. By so doing, I shall materially gratify myself, pay the debt of gratitude to those principles, whose aim it has always been to bring about that

peace, and as far as humble efforts go, to contribute to their spread and encouragement. I shall also shew my admiration of the writer, whom I consider to be the *only one* I know, that has set the matter of America in its true light; and whom I respect, (as far as I know, which is only by his Register, as a sound patriot, clear writer, and an honest man. If you were to publish this in your Register, perhaps it might induce others to do the same, or something like it; and it is an opportunity for the friends of freedom, to encourage her cause, without any extra expence to themselves. For few, or none, of the friends of peace, I presume, (save those who abstain from principle,) would have declined to light up, if it had been generally the case. I speak more particularly to the inhabitants of towns. Those in the country, who would have spent money on the occasion, in other ways, but did not, because they had not the opportunity, may also adopt the same plan. I embrace this occasion, Sir, to thank you for your past efforts, for your country's good. Go on, I entreat you, in the useful work you have so long, and so admirably conducted. The time is coming, I hope, when your labours will be justly appreciated, and produce good fruit. War having ceased, corruption has lost half its food. The necessity of strict economy, and the ill effects of extravagant expenditure, and the chimerical ideas we have entertained, will occasion reflection, and *that* must shew us the *true causes* of the mischief, and dispose the whole community to admire, and imitate those principles which would have prevented it; and to follow which affords now the best chance of restoration to that happy state we were once in. Heartily wishing this consummation, I am your admirer and well-wisher,

W. W.

STATE PAPERS.

Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

I transmit, for the information of Congress, the communications last received from the Ministers Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of Ghent, explaining the course and actual state of their negotiation with the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain.

JAMES MADISON.

Dec 1, 1814.

No. 1.—Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, to the Secretary of State, dated Ghent, Oct. 25, 1814.

SIR,—We have the honour of transmitting herewith, copies of all our correspondence with the British Plenipotentiaries, since the departure of Mr. Dallas. Although the negotiation has not terminated so abruptly as we expected at that period that it would, we have no reason to retract the opinion which we then expressed, that no hopes of peace as likely to result from it, could be entertained. It is true, that the terms which the British Government had so peremptorily prescribed at that time, have been apparently abandoned, and that the *sine qua non* then required as a preliminary to all discussion upon other topics, has been reduced to an article securing merely an Indian pacification, which we have agreed to accept, subject to the ratification or rejection of our Government. But you will perceive that our request for the exchange of a project of a Treaty has been eluded, and that in their last note, the British Plenipotentiaries have advanced a demand not only new and inadmissible, but totally incompatible with their uniform previous declarations, that Great Britain had no view in this negotiation to any acquisition of territory. It will be perceived that this new pretension was brought forward immediately after the accounts had been received that a British force had taken possession of all that part of the State of Massachusetts, situate East of Penobscot river. The British Plenipotentiaries have invariably referred to their Government every note received from us, and waited the return of their messenger before they have transmitted to us their answer; and the whole tenor of the correspondence, as well as the manner in which it has been conducted on the part of the British Government, have concurred to convince us, that their object has been delay; their motives for this policy we presume to have been, to keep the alternative of peace or a protracted war in their own hands, until a general arrangement of European affairs should be accomplished at the Congress of Vienna, and until they could avail themselves of the advantages, which they have anticipated from the success of their arms, during the present campaign in America. Although the Sovereigns who had determined to be present at the Congress of Vienna have been already several weeks assembled there, it does not appear by the last advices from that place that the Congress has been formally opened. On the contrary, by a declaration from the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers, who were parties to the peace of Paris of 30th May last, the opening of the Congress appears to have been postponed to the first of November.

A memorial is said to have been presented by the French Ambassador Talleyrand, in which it is declared, that France having returned to her boundaries in 1793, can recognize none of the aggrandisements of the other great Powers of Europe since that period, although not intending to oppose them by war. These circumstances indicate that the new basis for the political system of Europe will not be so speedily settled as had been expected. The principle thus assumed by France is very extensive in its effects, and opens a field for negotiation much wider than had been anticipated. We think it does not promise an aspect of immediate tranquillity to this Continent, and that it will disconcert particularly the measures which Great Britain has been taking with regard to the future destination of this country, among others, and to which she has attached apparently much importance. We have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your very humble servants, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, J. A. BAYARD, M. CLAY, JONA. RUSSELL, ALBERT GALLATIN.

No. IX.—NOTE from the British to the American Ministers.—October 21, 1814.

The undersigned have had the honour of receiving the note of the American Plenipotentiaries, of the 13th instant, communicating the acceptance of their article, which the undersigned had prepared on the subject of the pacification and rights of the Indian Nations. The undersigned are happy in being thus relieved from the necessity of recurring to several topics, which though they arose in the course of their discussions, have only an incidental connection with the differences remaining to be adjusted between the two countries. With a view to this adjustment, the undersigned preferring, in the present state of the negotiation, a general statement to the formal arrangement of articles, are willing so far to comply with the request of the American Plenipotentiaries, contained in their last note, as to waive the advantage to which they think they were fairly entitled, of requiring from them the first project of a treaty. The undersigned having stated at the first conference the points, upon which his Majesty's Government considered the discussions between the two countries as likely to turn, cannot better satisfy the request of the American Plenipotentiaries than by referring them to that conference for a statement of the points, which in the opinion of his Majesty's Government, yet remain to be adjusted. With respect to the forcible seizure of marines from on board merchant vessels on the high seas, and the right of the King of Great Britain to the allegiance of all his native subjects, and with respect to the maritime rights of the British Empire, the undersigned conceive, that after the pretensions asserted by the Go-

vernment of the United States, a more satisfactory proof of the conciliatory spirit of his Majesty's Government cannot be given, than by not requiring any stipulation on those subjects, which, though most important in themselves, no longer, in consequence of the maritime pacification of Europe, produce the same practical results. On the subject of the Fisheries, the undersigned expressed with so much frankness, at the conference already referred to, the views of their Government, that they consider any further observations on that topic as unnecessary at the present time. On the question of the boundary between the dominions of his Majesty and those of the United States, the undersigned are led to expect from the discussion which this subject has already undergone, that the North Western boundary, from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi (the intended arrangement of 1803) will be admitted without objection. In regard to other boundaries, the American Plenipotentiaries, in their note of August 24, appeared in some measure, to object to the propositions then made by the undersigned, as not being on the basis of *uti possidetis*. The undersigned are willing to treat on that basis, subject to such modifications as mutual convenience may be found to require; and they trust that the American Plenipotentiaries will shew, by their ready acceptance of this basis, that they duly appreciate the moderation of his Majesty's Government in so far consulting the honour and fair pretensions of the United States, as in the relative situation of the two countries, to authorize such a proposition. The undersigned avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to the American Plenipotentiaries the assurance of their high consideration. (Signed) GAMBIER, HENRY GOULBORN, WILLIAM ADAM.

No. X.—NOTE from the American to the British Ministers.—Oct. 24, 1814.

The undersigned have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Note of the British Plenipotentiaries of the 21st instant. Amongst the general observations which the undersigned, in their Note of the 24th August, made on the propositions then brought forward on the part of the British Government, they remarked that those propositions were founded neither on the basis of *uti possidetis*, nor on that of *status ante bellum*. But so far were they from suggesting the *uti possidetis* as the basis on which they were disposed to treat, that in the same Note they expressly stated, that they had been instructed to conclude a peace on the principle of both parties restoring whatever territory they might have taken. The undersigned also declared, in that Note, that they had no authority to cede any part of the territory of the United States, and that to no stipulation to that effect would they sub-

scribe; and in the Note of the 9th September, after having shown that the basis of *uti possidetis*, such as it was known to exist at the commencement of the negotiation, gave no claim to his Britannic Majesty to cessions of territory founded upon the right of conquest; they added, that even if the chance of war should give to the British arms a momentary possession of other parts of the territory of the United States, such events would not alter their views with regard to the terms of peace to which they would give their consent. The undersigned can now only repeat those declarations, and decline treating upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, or upon any other principle involving a cession of any part of the territory of the United States. As they have uniformly stated, they can treat only upon the principles of a mutual restoration of whatever territory may have been taken by either party. From this principle they cannot recede; and the undersigned, after the repeated declarations of the British Plenipotentiaries, that Great Britain had no view to acquisition of territory in this negotiation, deem it necessary to add, that the utility of its continuance depends, on their adherence to this principle. The undersigned having declared in their Note of the 21st of August, that although instructed and prepared to enter into an amicable discussion of all the points, on which differences or uncertainty had existed, and which might hereafter tend to interrupt the harmony of the two countries, they would not make the conclusion of the peace at all depend upon a successful result of the discussion; and having since agreed to the preliminary article proposed by the British Government, had believed that the negotiation, already so long protracted, could not be brought to an early conclusion otherwise than by the communication of a project, embracing all the other specific propositions which Great Britain intended to offer. They repeat their request in that respect, and will have no objection to a simultaneous exchange of the projects of both parties. This course will bring fairly into discussion the other topics embraced in the last note of the British Plenipotentiaries, to which the undersigned have thought it unnecessary to advert at the present time. The undersigned renew to the British Plenipotentiaries the assurance of their high consideration. (Signed)

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, JAMES A. BAYARD,
HENRY CLAY, JONATHAN RUSSELL, A. GALLATIN.

No. XI.—Copy of a Letter from the American Commissioners to the Secretary of State, dated Ghent, October 31, 1814.

Sir.—The detention of the Chauncey at Ostend, enables us to send the inclosed Note from the British Plenipotentiaries, which we have just re-

ceived. We have the honour to be, with perfect respect, your obedient servants, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, J. A. BAYARD, H. CLAY, JONATHAN RUSSELL, A. GALLATIN.

No. XII.—NOTE from the British to the American Ministers.—October 31, 1814.

The undersigned have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed to them by the American Plenipotentiaries on the 24th instant, in which they object to the basis of *uti possidetis* proposed by the undersigned, as that on which they are willing to treat in regard to part of the boundaries between the dominions of His Majesty and those of the United States. The American Plenipotentiaries in their note of the 13th instant, requested the undersigned to communicate to them the project of a treaty, embracing all the points insisted on by Great Britain, engaging on their part to deliver immediately after a contra project as to all the articles to which they might not agree, and as to all the subjects deemed material by the United States, and omitted in the project of the undersigned. The undersigned were accordingly instructed to waive the question of etiquette, and the advantage which might result from receiving the first communication, and confiding in the engagement of the American Plenipotentiaries, communicated in their notes of the 21st instant, all the points upon which they are instructed to insist. The American Plenipotentiaries, have objected to one essential part of the project thus communicated, but before the undersigned can enter into the discussion of this objection, they must require from the American Plenipotentiaries that, pursuant to their engagement, they will deliver a contra-project containing all their objections to the points submitted by the undersigned, together with a statement of such further points as the Government of the United States consider to be material. The undersigned are authorised to state distinctly, that the article as to the pacification, and rights of the Indian nations having been accepted, they have brought forward their note of the 21st instant, all the propositions they have to offer. They have no further in demands to make, no other stipulations on which they are instructed to insist, and they are empowered to sign a Treaty of Peace forthwith in conformity with those stated in their former note. The undersigned trust, therefore, that the American Plenipotentiaries will no longer hesitate to bring forward, in form of articles or otherwise as they may prefer, those specific propositions upon which they are empowered to sign a Treaty of Peace between the two countries. The undersigned avail themselves of the present opportunity to renew to the Plenipotentiaries of the United States the assurance of their high consideration. (Signed) GAMBIER, H. GOULBURN, WM. ADAMS.

Capt. Blakeley's official Account.

Copy of a Letter from JOHNSON BLAKELEY, Esq.
Commander of the United States Ship of War
Wasp, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated
United States ship Wasp, September 11, 1814,
lat. 40. N. long. 16. W.

SIR,—After a protracted and tedious stay at L'Orient, I had at last the pleasure of leaving that place on Saturday the 27th August. On the 30th captured the British brig Lettice, Henry Cockbain, master, and 31st August the British brig Bon Accord, Adam Burny, master. In the morning of the 1st September discovered a convoy of ten sail to leeward, in charge of the Armada, 74, and a bomb ship; stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out the British brig Mary, John D. Allen, master, laden with brass cannon taken from the Spaniards, iron cannon and military stores, from Gibraltar to England, removed the prisoners, set her on fire, and endeavoured to capture another of the convoy, but was chased off by the Armada. On the evening of the same day, at half-past six, while going free, discovered four vessels nearly at the same time, two on the starboard, and two on the larboard bow, hauled up for the one most on the starboard bow, being farthest to windward. At seven the chase (a brig) commenced making signals with flags, which could not be distinguished for want of light, and soon after made various ones with lanterns, rockets and guns. At 26 minutes after nine, having the chase under our lee bow, the 12 pound carronade was directed to be fired into him, which he returned; ran under his lee to prevent his escaping, and at nine minutes after nine commenced the action. At 10 o'clock believing the enemy to be silenced, orders were given to cease firing, when I hailed and asked if he had surrendered. No answer being given to this and his fire having recommenced, it was again returned. At 12 minutes after 10, the enemy having suffered greatly and having made no return, to our two last broadsides, I hailed him the second time, to know if he had surrendered, when he answered in the affirmative. The guns were then ordered to be secured, and the boat lowered to take possession. In the act of lowering the boat a second brig was discovered a little distance astern and standing for us. Sent the crew to their quarters, prepared every thing for another action, and awaited his coming up; at 36 minutes after 10, discovered two more sail astern standing towards us. I now

felt myself compelled to forego the satisfaction of destroying the prize. Our braces having been cut away, we kept off the wind until others could be rove, and with the expectation of drawing the second brig from his companions, but in the last we were disappointed. The second brig continued to approach us until she came close to our stern, when she hauled by the wind, fired her broadside, which cut our rigging and sails considerably, and, shot away a lower main cross tree, and retraced her steps to join her consort, when we were necessitated to abandon the prize; he appeared in every respect a total wreck. He continued for some time firing guns of distress, until probably delivered by the two last vessels who made their appearance. The second brig could have engaged us if he had thought proper, as he neared us fast, but contented himself with firing a broadside, and immediately returned to his companions. It is with real satisfaction I have again the pleasure of bearing testimony to the merits of Lieutenant Reilly, Tillinghurst, Baur, and sailing-master Carr: and to the good conduct of every officer and man on board the Wasp. Their divisions and departments were attended and supplied with the utmost regularity and abundance, which, with the good order maintained, together with the vivacity and precision of their fire, reflects on them the greatest credit. Our loss is two killed and one slightly wounded with a wad. The hull received four round shot, and the foremast many grape shot. Our rigging and sails suffered a great deal. Every damage was repaired the day after, with the exception of our sails. Of the vessel with whom we were engaged, nothing positive can be said, with regard to her name or force. While hailing him previous to his being fired into, it was blowing fresh (and then going ten knots) and the name was not distinctly understood. Of her force, the four shot which struck us are all thirty-two lbs. in weight, being a pound and three quarters heavier than any we had belonging to our vessel. From this circumstance, the number of men in her tops, her general appearance and great length, she is believed to one of the largest brigs in the British navy.—I have the honour, &c. &c.

J. BLAKELEY.

P. S. I am told the enemy, after his surrender, asked for assistance, and said he was sinking. The probability of this is confirmed by his firing signal guns for some time after his capture. The action took place in lat. 47. 30. N. long. 11 W.

HAMPSHIRE MEETING.

Property Tax.—Trick of the London Press.

HAVING taken a part personally at this meeting in my own county, it was not my intention to have made its proceedings a subject of observation in print, because it seems rather unfair to avail myself of an advantage, not possessed by those gentlemen, from whom I had the misfortune to differ in opinion. But, I am compelled to do this, on the present occasion, in my own defence, seeing that the London daily newspapers have *wholly misrepresented* the proceedings; have *garbled* every thing that they have touched; have *suppressed* the Petition which I moved; have exhibited me as guilty of the most glaring inconsistency, and as having behaved in a *disorderly and often ridiculous manner*. I shall, I trust, therefore, be excused for giving an account of the Proceedings, through the only channel that I have access to, especially as the discussion embraced some *great political principles*, in which the nation are, of course, deeply interested. When I have given an account of the Proceedings, I will give an account of the *Trick of the London daily Press*, and endeavour to open the eyes of the public to the *true character* of that venal instrument of all that is hypocritical and corrupt.

Before we come to the Meeting itself, we ought to notice the *previous steps*. A Requisition to the Sheriff, signed by 53 gentlemen, was left with the *Deputy Sheriff at Winchester*. These gentlemen were, principally, land-owners as well as farmers, but none of them distinguished as belonging to either of the *Parties*, as they are usually termed. After this Requisition was set on foot, another was put in circulation by what is, ludicrously enough, called the *Whigs*; and, though the former petition was *first* in the hands of the Deputy Sheriff, the Meeting was called upon the *latter*, on the ground,

that it *first reached the High Sheriff*, notwithstanding that, in all *other cases*, an application to the former is looked upon, and, in *law*, is an application to the latter.

These circumstances would have been almost unworthy of notice, if they had not had an effect upon the proceedings of the day; but, as will be seen presently, they had a very material effect upon those proceedings, and tended to shew, in no very amiable light, the character and real views of the party, by whom the second Requisition was urged forward. For my part, I signed neither of the Requisitions, and, until my arrival at Winchester, had had no communication with any one upon the subject. I had determined upon the course to pursue, and left co-operation to chance, being ten thousand times more anxious to inculcate a sound principle or two, as to the rights and liberties of my country, than to relieve myself from the Property Tax, and all the other taxes put together!

About *eleven o'clock*, that is to say, about *an hour* before the Meeting took place, some gentlemen joined me at the inn where I was. Sometime after this, I drew up a petition to offer to the Meeting, in case the one to be presented by the Whigs, should not be such as I approved of. So far was I from having time to *copy* the paper, I was drying the ink at the fire, when word was brought us, that the *Meeting was begun*. Cramping the paper into my pocket, without reading it even once over, I hastened to the Castle, and entered the Court-house in the middle of a speech of Mr. PORTALL, who, I learnt, had opened the business of the day. The fairest way for me to act as to this Speech, is to insert the report of it as I find it in the *Times newspaper* of the 26th of January. The speech was *an hour long*; but, really, the reporter has had the ability to bring into about ten minutes compass all the material points of it. The Speech was delivered with

great clearness and eloquence; but, generally speaking, there was nothing new in it, which the report here inserted does not contain:—

“ Mr. PORTALL came forward to move for a petition to be presented to the House of Commons, against the revival of this tax. He, as being a Commissioner for collecting this tax, had many opportunities of considering the machinery of it, and witnessing its unavoidable oppression: on this account, he did not hesitate to put himself forward on this occasion, although there were many present of superior weight and property in the county. He should begin by entirely disclaiming all party motives, and therefore he should not consider who was the man who first proposed the tax, or who it was that increased it. If he felt any confidence that this most obnoxious tax would be suffered to die away of itself at the period which the legislature had marked out for its decrease, he should not have thought it necessary to disturb its expiring moments. Ministers had, however, both by their demeanour and their language in the House, as well as out of it, by their refusing to answer questions, and by their sending private letters to their friends whom they supposed to have considerable local interest, shewed pretty clearly to the country, that it was their intention to propose the renewal of the tax. If this tax was really as good in itself as any other tax by which the necessary supplies were to be raised, he should not have such great objections to it. He was convinced, however, that this tax which professed to be equal and impartial, was in fact the most unequal and the most partial. It was said to be a tax upon profits, and yet no deduction was made on account of the necessary expense of repairs. Was the expense that a landlord or farmer was obliged to incur for keeping the premises in repair, to be called their profits? Were the three-fourths of the tax upon land which the farmers are obliged to pay to be called a tax upon their profits? When a lease was taken for 21 years, subject to a heavy fine on the renewal, the deduction was made on account of this fine. The case was still harder for agricultural men and tradesmen,

“ who by their mental energy, and bodily health, were just in a condition to maintain their families, and from whom much of the fruits of their industry was torn by the operation of this tax. What could be more unjust, than that such men should be obliged to pay the same tax for an income so acquired, as if their income had been the regular produce of large sums invested in the funds? This was not like the other taxes which were paid indirectly or collaterally. It was a tax on the thing itself. If he had ten guineas on his table, the tax-gatherer took one of them. This appeared in its principle to be something of a highwayman's tax. It was extorted, not by the means of a pistol, but by the surcharges and surveys. The surveyor administered to the party the oath of purgation, and then the inquisition followed. This tax went to destroy all confidence between man and man. No man dared to speak of his circumstances, for fear of being exposed to the surveyor. In this country there were men who would not be afraid to take a lion by the beard, but who trembled before the surveyor, who is, in fact, the greatest bug-bear in the land. It might be asked, how came it that such a tax was ever suffered? It was because it was then stated that the enemy was at our doors, and that every thing which we valued was at stake. Under such circumstances, the country was not very particular in enquiring into the means which were proposed for our safety. The Legislature had expressly stated those circumstances in the first act, the 38th of the King, and mentioned in the preamble, “that the safety of his Majesty's Crown, the security of our holy religion, our laws, lives, and properties, were at hazard.” If Ministers now wished to renew the tax, it would be for them to shew that the same circumstances now exist. The Legislature had always shewn the greatest anxiety about the time in which the act was to expire; and after fixing that time in all their acts, they added “and no longer.” The period at which its expiration was fixed, was the 6th of April, after the conclusion of the war then existing. If ever there was a pledge given by the Legislature to the country, that a tax should expire at a



"certain time, that pledge had been given in this instance. The country had performed its part of the contract, and submitted to the tax with unexampled patience, as long as the war continued. They had now a clear and irrefragable right to the benefits of the engagements on the other side, and to expect that the tax should not be renewed. If the tax were now renewed, it would not only be a gross violation of the contract, but it would be an aggravated breach of trust, by making the very violation of their contract a sort of precedent for further violations. It was his firm opinion, that if the tax were but submitted to for another year, it would never be taken off. New circumstances and new pretences would then arise; and rather than give up the tax, Ministers would prefer another war, perhaps with the *Dey of Algiers*, the *Nabob of Arcot*, or some of those gentlemen. He should object to any modification of the tax. If it were reduced to one per cent. or one-fourth per cent. he should equally object to it, as an unfit tax to be introduced into a free country. Every man who is now summoned before the surveyor goes up like a culprit, and feels like one. The difference is, that by the law of England, every man is presumed innocent until he is found guilty; whereas, before the surveyors, every man is presumed guilty, until he is found innocent. He did not mean to cast the slightest reflection on the surveyors personally, but without such a course, the tax could not be raised.— There was another subject which affected the people of this country almost as much as the property-tax. Among those taxes which were called war taxes, and which by law would expire about the same time with the property tax, there was one of no less than two shillings a bushel on malt. *This bore no less on the comforts of the poor and middling orders, than it did upon the interests of agriculture.* He had, therefore introduced into the petition a prayer, that this tax also should not be revived. As this was not regularly introduced in the requisition, it was only by the pleasure and sufferance of the Meeting, that he could incorporate it with his petition. (*The sense of the Meeting on this point was testified by loud applause.*) He concluded by

"moving a resolution, that it was expedient to present a Petition to the House of Commons against the revival of those taxes.

"SIR W. HEATHCOTE shortly seconded the Resolutions, and observed that he had voted against the new Malt Duty.

This motion being made and seconded, Mr. HUNT rose to speak; but was called to order by Mr. PORTALL, and the Sheriff decided, that he could not be permitted to speak till Lord NOTHESK had read a petition; that is to say, Mr. Portall was permitted to make a long speech and a motion, which motion was seconded, and Lord NOTHESK was to make another motion, and that was to be seconded also, before any person on the other side was to be permitted to speak! If this was fair and regular, it must be acknowledged, that Hampshire has its peculiar mode of conducting debates and discussions.

The petition was then produced and moved, and, having been read, was seconded by SIR HARRY TICHBORNE. Here Mr. HUNT requested that the first requisition might be read. It now appeared, that that requisition included, by name, the *War Tax upon Malt*, which, as the reader will perceive, had been embodied into the *Whig Petition*, though not mentioned in the *Whig requisition*. The motive for this act of irregularity was clearly this: that the Whigs knowing that, if they left it out, an amendment would be moved, and that, thus, they would be defeated upon their own dunghill, seeing that the Malt Tax is full as burdensome and as odious as the Property Tax. The getting over this irregularity by "taking the sense of the Meeting," as it was called, amounted to just nothing at all; for, by the same rule, any thing might be introduced into the Petition; and yet, as the reader will presently see, great efforts were made to set my *Petition* aside upon the ground, that it contained matter of complaint, not specified in the requisition.

Having thus shewn the tactics of the Whigs this far, and exposed the motive, whence they were led to introduce the Malt Tax, I now proceed to the discussion of the Petition, into which we were permitted to enter, though we had not been permitted to oppose Mr. Portall's resolution. The *Whig Petition*, as the Times newspaper observes "was then read by the Under-Sheriff. It was of acc-

“siderable length, as it embraced the
“different points of Mr. Portall’s speech,
“and the preambles of the different Acts
“of Parliament on this subject. It also
“alluded to the new creation of *Knights*,
“and observed, that as the Prince Re-
“gent had been advised to reward the
“splendid services performed by the navy
“and army, his civil subjects also, who
“had discharged all their duties during
“the arduous contest, and patiently sub-
“mitted to such heavy burthens, con-
“ceived themselves entitled to some con-
“sideration for their discharge of duty,
“and an alleviation from this most op-
“pressive tax.”

I opposed this Petition, which I represented as more resembling a lawyer’s brief, in form and language, and a bill in Chancery against the Regent, in matter, than a County Petition against a Tax. I observed, that the passage, alluding to the new creation of *Knights of the Bath* was peculiarly objectionable; that it signified to the House of Commons a sort of envious and vain feeling; a poor sneaking after a share in the baubles of Knighthood, which was very disgusting, and in which I was sure the Meeting did not participate.—[Here I was interrupted by Mr. Portall calling to order. I was told, that I was *wandering from the subject before us*. The reader will judge what the Order of the Bath had to do with a Petition against the revival of the Malt and Property Taxes; but, he will, I am sure, clearly see, that, as the allusion formed part of the Petition, I was strictly in order, while I was objecting to that part of the Petition.]—I next observed, that the name of *highwayman’s tax*, applied to the Tax on Property by Mr. PORTALL, formed a curious contrast with another part of his speech; for, there he had told us, that the tax was imposed at a moment, when the enemy was at *our door*, and that the tax was “*necessary to the safety of his Majesty’s Crown, the security of our holy religion, our laws, lives, and properties!*” What! I observed, and do the Meeting, then, really believe, that *the king* and *our holy religion* stood in need of *highwaymen* measures to insure their safety? And, can the Meeting, can the people of England, look foreigners in the face, and prate about English liberty, while they confess, that we have lived for nearly twenty years under the operation of power, resembling

that of *highway robbers*. But, I observed, if this was really the case, *who* were the highwaymen, this being a question of very material importance to the Country, who had, during all this time, elected and re-elected the men who imposed and supported this tax; that Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE, who had seconded Mr. Portall’s motion, was one of the first imposers, one of the supporters; that the *party*, whose friends had now brought forward the Petition, had raised the tax from six and a quarter to its present amount, and that they had done it, too, in the most odious, insulting, and unfeeling manner.—(Here I was called to order again, though I was only asking *who* the highwaymen were, if it was a highwayman’s tax.)—I next observed, that, seeing that the Gentleman thought the imposing of the tax the act of highwaymen, and, as it is well known, that highwaymen generally begin by *stopping the mouth*, that they next *bind the persons* of their clients, and *conclude by ramming their hands into their pockets*, I should not wonder if the Gentleman were to tell us, that the Parliament who imposed this tax had proceeded in somewhat the same way, and that the laws shackling the *Press* and diminishing *Personal liberty*, passed during the same period, ought, at any rate, if we abstained from such irreverend descriptions of them, to receive our reprobation as well as the law imposing a tax on property. Upon this ground I was proceeding to state *what those laws were*, and to shew how law-making proceeded, step, by step, until it arrived at that stage, when, as the Gentleman had asserted, it assumed the character of a highwayman’s conduct. I was beginning with the law, which made it *high treason* to send a bushel of potatoes or a pair of shoes to the Republicans of France who, by the bye, had now some food to spare for us.—[Here I was stopped this matter being wholly inadmissible, having nothing at all to do with the subject of the Requisition; though, as the reader will perceive, it had quite as much to do with it as the *Order of the Bath* could possibly have.]—I next observed upon what Mr. Portall had stated as to the *cause of the tax*, and *how it came to be laid*, and said, that it was a *false alarm* that prevailed at the time; that the enemy was *never at our door*; that he never did attempt to land, and that there never

was a time when the people of England, of their own force, were not able to defend the country; that no army, and, of course, no tax, was wanted to preserve the country against any enemy that it ever had; and, that it was very clear, and had long since been so, to the whole world, that the war was made, and the tax raised, for the purpose of *crushing republican liberty in France*, and of stopping, by that means, its extension all over the world.—I was proceeding to shew, that, in part, this object had been accomplished; but, that we had *ruined ourselves by the success*.—[Here, however, I was stopped; though, I thought, that I had as much right to go into this matter as the other side had to state *their* notion of the *cause* and *object* of the tax.]—I next observed, that the Petition on the table, though it included the *War Malt Tax*, did not go nearly *far enough* for me; that I should move an amendment, including all the war taxes, in the first place, being of opinion, that it was a matter of indifference in what shape, or under what name a tax was raised, if raised all; that, in the end, it must be paid by the public at large, and that it signified not one straw to any man, whether he paid it, as the old saying is, in meal or in malt. But, that I did not stop here; that I was for praying, that *no other taxes* might be imposed instead of the war taxes, and was for expressing the opinion of the Meeting, that there was *no necessity* for any other taxes. All this, however, I observed, was a trifle, in my estimation, compared with the laws, passed during the war, respecting the *Press* and respecting *personal liberty*, some of which were still in existence, and, therefore, I should propose to pray for the repeal of these laws also.—After a great deal of further interruption from the opposite party, I moved a Petition, the *substance* of which only I can give, having been deprived of the document itself in the manner hereafter to be described. The Petition, moved by me, was in substance as follows:

That the war taxes had now no longer any pretence for their continuance, seeing that peace with all the world had been happily restored:—That no new taxes in their stead would be necessary to support the *credit* and *honour* of the nation, provided that

a system of economy and peaceful government were adopted in place of the enormous expenditure, and that immense military establishment, which was wholly unknown to our forefathers, and which now threatened to swallow up all the civil powers and distinctions of the country:—That all pretence for alarm having now ceased, the laws passed during the late war, cramping the liberty of the Press, and also personal liberty, ought now to be repealed:—That therefore, we prayed, that all the war taxes might cease, agreeably to law; that no other taxes might be imposed in their stead; and that all the laws, passed during the war, which diminish the liberties of the people might also be repealed.

Mr. HUNT seconded the motion, and, though many attempts were made by Mr. PORTALL to interrupt him even while he was *answering* the arguments of that gentleman, he proceeded in a way, and with an effect that made *faction* feel very sore. —He observed, that the *war malt tax* was introduced by the other side, not from choice but from compulsion; that they had foreseen, that unless they introduced it, they would be beaten on their own ground. —He observed, that the worthy Baronet, (Sir William Heathcote) had taken great credit for having opposed the war tax upon malt, but, perhaps, that might be accounted for by the fact, that this was a great *barley* country, and that the worthy baronet was owner of no small slice of this same country; that as to numerous other laws that he had assisted in passing and supporting, though of infinitely more consequence to the people, he had appeared to feel less acutely.—He observed, that he heartily rejoiced at the conclusion of peace with *America*, and thanked the King's ministers for having acted so wisely; and that, though the Meeting would feel with him deep regret that the war had not sooner terminated, and before so many disasters had taken place, he was sure that every Englishman would feel consolation in reflecting that, if the trident of the seas had been snatched from us in a few instances; if we had

now and then suffered defeats on an element called our own, it had been from the *arms of free men*, and not from those of the *hircings of despots*.—In alluding to Mr. PORTALL's assertion, that the Income Tax, being laid on in a time of great public peril, it was suffered to pass with *little opposition or comment*; he observed, that the *contrary* was the *truth*; that no tax ever met with such strenuous opposition; that the now RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE TIERNEY, in particular, called it by names almost as odious as that now applied to it by Mr. Portall; that he even went so far as to declare, that the people would be fully justified in *resisting it by force of arms*; but that this was the *out of place* sentiment of Mr. TIERNEY, who afterwards, when *in place*, voted for raising this same tax from six and a quarter to ten per cent.—[Here Mr. PORTALL made a very strenuous effort to stop Mr. HUNT; but the Sheriff said he was in order; as well he might, seeing that Mr. HUNT was only shewing that what Mr. PORTALL had stated as to the silent acquiescence of the country, when the tax was laid on, was *not true*.]—Mr. HUNT continued by observing, that the gentleman deprecated all enquiry into the conduct of those who had laid on, or raised, the tax; but, that it was material for the meeting to recollect, who it was that had imposed and augmented what had been called a *highwayman's tax*, and especially when the faction, who had brought forward this charge, were heard endeavouring to throw the blame upon the present ministers, and to excite and keep up suspicions against them.—He entered into a curious and interesting calculation as to the tax upon *Barley*, before its juice reached the mouth; shewing that every load of *Barley* (40 bushels) paid nearly *twenty pounds* in tax before it came to the lips of the labouring man, though the price now received by the farmer was not more than *seven pounds*; so that in every pot of beer which the labourer bought at a public house (if the proportion of the farmer's taxes were included) he swallowed *more than four-pence in tax*.—But, he observed, in conclusion (after a variety of other observations), this meeting presents a very curious spectacle. He said, that he had many persons in his eye, who, in that very place, had frequently met to address

the Government, to approve of the undertaking and the continuing of the late wars, in the prosecution of which they offered and pledged "*their last shilling*" and their *last drop of blood*." And yet, said he, though the government do not ask, and never have asked, for a single drop of their blood, being contented with the *shilling alone*, this singular forbearance is repaid by the virulent and gross abuse, which we have this day heard bestowed upon it, and that, too, by the party, who had its full share in the very measure now so bitterly complained of.

Mr. PORTALL rose to answer what had been said on our side. He objected to the amendment because it included matter, not notified in the requisition, and insisted strongly, that, in asking for so much, we ran a risk of *losing all*. He complained, that an unfair advantage had been taken of him in the comments made on his expressions respecting the *highwayman*; said that the words dropped from him *incautiously*, and that they certainly called for an apology. But, it is but justice to observe, that no part of his speech was so much applauded as this.

When I came to *reply* I was interrupted. It was contended that the business was now *closed*; that Mr. PORTALL had made his motion, that we had answered, that he had now *replied*, and that there the discussion closed. But, the reader will see, that it was not his motion but *mine*, which was now under discussion. His had been made, *seconded*, put, and carried, without our being permitted to speak. Then came Lord Northesk's motion. That was put aside for a while by my amendment, which was now about to be put. What right, then, in this stage of the proceedings, could Mr. PORTALL have to the *last speech*?

The question was now to be taken upon my amendment; but before the question was put, I did obtain a hearing; and amongst other things, I said nearly what is, as follows, stated by the COURIER.—"In the Hampshire Meeting on Tuesday, Mr. COBBETT, among other things, said the: "Gentlemen who brought forward the Petition had acted *disingenuously*; they had said nothing of the difficulties of the Government. "Did they mean to say, that the Government could go on without the Property Tax? Did they wish to substitute any other tax?—(Cries of, we have

“*nothing to do with that! and, order!*”) He would ask them if they were ready to vote that the army should be disbanded?—The HIGH SHERIFF said he must take the sense of the Meeting, whether Mr. COBBETT should be allowed to go on in this manner. Mr. COBBETT said, he was ready to shew that Government could not go on without this Tax.—Mr. PORTALL said, they had nothing to do with that at present—Mr. COBBETT said, they could not shew him that Government could go on without this Tax. It was, therefore from the *factiousness of party* that the question was brought forward. It was the *trick of a party to impose upon the people*, by telling them that they were to get this Tax off; but they could not get it off, without having another, equal in amount, substituted for it.”—I said this, or nearly this; but, the COURIER has dealt as unfairly by me as the Whigs dealt by the Meeting; because, I said, *along with this*, something which the COURIER has taken care to *leave out*: I said that I would defy the Gentlemen to shew, that the Government could pay the public creditors, or go on at all, without the *two tares* mentioned in their petition (amounting to a full *third part* of the present revenue), *unless* the whole of the army, about all the navy, and a part of the sinking fund into the bargain, were, at once lopped off; and that, therefore, to stir up the people to pray for the taking away of the revenue, without stating, at the same time, the means by which the Government *might go on without it*, as I had stated in my motion, was to act *factiously*, was to delude and deceive the people.—Strange to say, this was deemed *out of order*. One man proposes the abolition of taxes, another objects to his proposition because the Government cannot go on without the said taxes, and yet the second is deemed *out of order!*—I was for taking off the taxes, but then I was also for saying, at the same time, and in the same Petition, that it was our conviction, that the *Credit and Honour* of the nation might be *maintained without those taxes*; because, if the Meeting did not think this, their petition must proceed either from faction or ignorance.

The Amendment, moved by me, was put and lost, not by a “*large*,” but by a very small majority; after which the

PETITION, moved by the Earl of Northesk, was carried by a like majority. It was then voted to be sent about for signatures, to be presented by the County Members, who, by a vote of the Meeting, on the motion of Mr. HUNT, were instructed to support it, when presented. The thanks of the Meeting having been unanimously voted to the High Sheriff, (Mr. Norris of Basing Park) he, in answer, observed, that he hoped, the next time he met the County, he should have to congratulate them on the Death and Burial of the *Property Tax*.

Whoever was at the Meeting, and who reads this, will say, that I have here given, substantially, a *fair account* of the proceedings. I had not the smallest hope of carrying my motion. I had not signed any requisition; I had consulted nobody; I had not talked upon the subject to more than four persons out of my own family. I cared not a pin about the repeal of the Income tax, *unless* all the war taxes and all the laws about the *press* and *personal* and *political liberty* were included; and the only disappointment that I met with, was, *that so large a part of the Meeting were with me*.—What has been said of the *disingenuousness* of the Hampshire Petition will apply to almost all the other petitions against the Property Tax. Westminster and the City of Worcester (and there may be some others) are exceptions. But, with these exceptions, it is a *clamour* against a tax, and merely against a *tax*. It is an outcry for relief, without a word said as to the *causes* of the burden, or as to the means of doing without it. Mr. PORTALL, at our Meeting, said that he should approve of taking away a part of the *Sinking-fund*; the same has been said at other Meetings. Perhaps this may be practicable; but, if it be done without a total disbanding of the army and a discharge of nearly all the navy, will the funded property retain its value; or, any value at all? If the fundholders saw, that the taxes were so reduced as to enable the country to prosper under them, they need not care about the Sinking-fund; but, what will be their prospect, if, out of 40 millions of revenue, only 20 millions are wanted for the army and navy alone, while their own share of that revenue, exclusive of the Sinking-fund, amounts to 25 to 28 millions? The remedy is, then, a reduction

of the Navy to its state of 1788; a total discharge of the regular army; and an organization of a military force for the defence of the country upon the plan of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, which puts arms into the hands of all those who vote for members of parliament, which gives a vote to every man who pays a tax of any description or to any amount however small, and which impartially calls forth every able man to the performance of that first of all duties, the defence of his native land, its liberties and laws.

TRICK OF THE LONDON PRESS.

THE effect of this Trick I mentioned in my last. The reason why I enter fully into an exposure of it, is, that the public, and that the Americans and French, may be able to form a correct judgment of the state of the English Daily Press, and may estimate its productions accordingly. I am the more desirous of doing this at the present moment, because the London newspapers, and especially the most venal of them, are labouring hard to pave the way for some measure (it must be an act of Parliament) to enable them to be sent abroad *duty free*, in order, say they, "that England, that the *true character* of England, that the *principles and conduct* of England, may *be known* upon the Continent of Europe, where, now, owing to the influence of the *French press*, England has *lost*, and is still losing ground, both in *weight and character*."—It is surprising, that they should have forgotten *America*. That, say what they will, is the country, where we ought to endeavour to recover our character. But, do these men suppose; that the nations of the Continent do not know how to judge of the principles and conduct of England without the illuminating influence of their balderdash; their Lottery and Quack puffs; their paltry party quarrels; their garbled reports; their endless strings of *paid-for paragraphs*? SIR JOHN MURRAY, in the out-set of his most able defence, was obliged to occupy the time of his judges for half an hour in stating his *complaints against the press*, the paragraphs in which had actually caused him to be *condemned* by the public before he was brought to trial; and, he alluded particularly to an infamous paragraph in the TIMES news-paper, which coupled

his conduct with that of his *brother*, who is long since dead. The attacks upon SIR GEORGE PREVOST were of the same character. THE MORNING CHRONICLE, in the most foul manner, assaulted this gentleman's character, attributed *our* failures to his cowardice or his folly, and this too, without the smallest foundation. Indeed, there is scarcely any man, or any woman, who becomes at all pre-eminent in the eye of the public, and who cannot or will not *pay* the London Daily Newspapers, whose characters, and, in some cases, whose property and whose life, is safe. The public have lately seen that the trifling private concern of my accident by fire, could not escape them. They could not let even that pass, without an attempt (it proved *vain* to be sure) to deprive me of the benefit of my having *insured* the premises, by insinuating that I set fire to them myself, a crime which is *death* by the law. The recent attempt of these papers to *prevent Mrs. Perceval from marrying*, is an instance of their baseness in another line. There is no doubt of their having been *paid* for it any more than there is of their being paid for the puffs on *private* characters which they daily publish; and for their attacks on private characters. They have carried on this trade for years; and the traffic has increased, because the severity of punishments for what are called political libels, has naturally put the Daily-press into worse and worse hands.—And, yet, these are the people, who represent themselves as the organs of English Honour! Their papers, they tell us, would *enlighten all Europe*, if they could but export them *duty free*! Is it not a bounden duty on every one, who is able to do it, to expose the tricks of this vile press? Do not morality and political principle call aloud for this exposure? Last year, at this season, these prints were bellowing forth invectives against those who asked for a Corn Bill; they were marshalling the worst passions of the multitude against the owners of land and the growers of corn, whom they accused of a wish to *starve the people*. They are now abusing those, who think a Corn Bill unnecessary, and ascribing to them *sedition motives*. And, this; this (oh, impudence!) is the press, which is to *ENLIGHTEN all Europe*!

Now, as to the Hampshire Meeting, the facts are these; there were several newspa-

per reporters at Winchester for the purpose of reporting the proceedings on Sir John Murray's Trial. About an hour before the County Meeting took place, one of these gentlemen came to me at the *Ten where I had put up*, to ask me, whether I should have any papers, or memorandums, which might assist in making the report of the proceedings more complete, as he thought it would be *important to obtain such papers*; to which I answered, that, if I should have any such, he should have them, (and as I know him) I observed, that I should be glad to see them in *his hands*. After the Meeting was over, the same gentleman came to me, while I was at dinner, to apply for a copy of the Petition which I had presented, in order that it might be forwarded for insertion, with the rest of the proceedings, in the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Herald*, the *Morning Post*, and the *British Press*. I told him, that I had no copy; but, at his request, and upon his engaging to forward it for insertion, I sent to the Deputy Sheriff, obtained the original and had it delivered to him. Before I left Winchester, I saw the same gentleman again, Mr. HUNT of Andover and Mr. HINXMAN of Chilling being present. This gentleman then informed us that the PETITION was sent off to be inserted in the Report, we being anxious, that it should appear in print *if any thing of ours did appear*; because our principles and wishes would then defy misrepresentation. But, upon being informed by him, that the four papers before-mentioned had COLLECTED as to reports from Winchester; and that *each had one fourth of the report sent to it, and, after settling up, sent its part to each of the other three papers*. Mr. HUNT asked, *which of the papers my part and the petition was sent to*. He was told, to the *Morning Chronicle*: "Then," said he, "it will never appear. That part hits Perry's faction too hard for him to print it." I was of a different opinion; but Mr. HUNT knew his man better than I did. Perry did suppress the PETITION, and suppressed it too from the other three papers as well as his own! I have the authority of the gentleman, who received the Petition from me, to assert, that it was sent to the *Chronicle Office* along with the report; and that it was "marked in"; that is to say, made part of the report itself. To-day (Thursday) I have

received it from the gentleman, who had it from me, and who, at my request, got it back from London on Tuesday last. I have before gives the substance of the Petition: I here give it word for word:—

"To the Honourable the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the Freeholders, Landholders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Southampton, paying Taxes;

"SHEWETH,—That the Taxes, usually denominated War Taxes, and which by law expire in a short time, cannot be pretended to be necessary any longer, since the nation is now, happily, at peace.

"That these Taxes, especially the Taxes on Property, Beer, and Malt, are grievously oppressive, and have produced distress, misery, and degradation throughout the whole of the middle and lower classes of the people, who smart under them to an insupportable degree.

"That the Taxes, which will remain, after all the War Taxes shall have been taken off, will be much more than sufficient for the maintaining of the credit and honour of the nation; provided that a system of economy and peaceful government be adopted instead of the enormous expenditure, and the all-perpetrating military establishment, which now exist, and which latter, though wholly unknown to our forefathers, now seem to threaten to swallow up all the ancient civil powers and distinctions of the country.

"That it is, in the opinion of your Petitioners, owing chiefly to the laws, passed during the war, against personal liberty, the freedom of the press and of public discussion, that the above evils have been so long endured.

"Therefore your Petitioners pray, that you will repeal all the laws, passed during the war, against personal liberty, the freedom of the press and of public discussion, that you will not revive or renew any of the Taxes, called War Taxes, and that you will not authorise the raising of any other Taxes in their stead.—And your Petitioners, &c."

Such, reader, was the paper, which Mr. PERRY suppressed, though he found it incorporated into a report, sent to his office, and though it had been obtained from me

under an express promise, that it would appear. It was thus kept out of three other papers, and kept from the Register too, until after the Saturday's Register was published. I do not blame the reporters. They acted fairly and honourably by the public? but, the conduct of Mr. PERRY has been precisely the contrary. It was due, not to *me*, but to *truth*, that this petition should be published. It had been rejected at the county Meeting; but there was nearly one half of the meeting in its favour. It did, too, embrace objects, which, one might have expected a printer to feel peculiar interest in; but, strange as it may seem at first sight, there are, perhaps, no persons in England such determined enemies of the *real freedom of the press* and of *free public discussion* as the proprietors of these paid-for-paragraph newspapers. They thrive by *falsehood*; and, therefore, whatever has a tendency to the triumph of *truth*, they abhor. They resemble those insects which fatten in a poisonous atmosphere. —And these are the men, who are to *enlighten* all Europe! These are the men, whose publications are to wipe away all stains from the English character! These men are to perform this work, who, in fact, have been the principal cause of all our degradation both at home and abroad.

SIR JOHN COX HIPPLESLY.

I send, with great pleasure, the following letter for publication. I do not regularly see the Bath newspapers, and did not see the publication which is mentioned in the letter.—I am glad to perceive, that an English gentleman is anxious to deny, that he made use of expressions, worthy only of such men as the proprietors of the *Times*, the *Courier*, and the *Chronicle*; and, though I cannot blame him for expressing his reprobation of "the President and his Party," I wish he had not made use of that phrase, seeing that the President can have no party, which is not supported by a *majority of the people*; seeing that he has no power but what the people voluntarily put into his hands; that he is elected by the free voice of a people, every man of whom who pays a tax has a vote; that he can neither make war or peace without the approbation of a Congress also chosen by a *free people*, and in which Congress there are no *selling and buying of seats*, nor among the

the electors any *bribery or corruption*. This being a fact, well known to all the world, I cannot help wishing that a respectable English gentleman had refrained from the use of a phrase, fit to be applied only to the head and members of governments of a very different description.

TO MR. CORBETT.

SIR,—As you have gone to some length of animadversion upon an expression which was stated, originally, in a Bath weekly paper, and have fallen upon me, at the Somerset Meeting, I trust to your candour that you will give equal publicity to this fact—that in the same paper in the following week, an express denial appeared, "that any such expression was made use of by me," either in speaking of the Americans, in the aggregate; or of their President and his party, of whom nevertheless I am ready to admit, that I did speak in terms of strong reprobation, without adopting terms so uncharitable and even absurd as those imputed to me. I am, Sir, your very obedient Servant,
J. COX HIPPLESLY.

STATE OF THE NATION.

MR. CORBETT.—It must be in the recollection of your readers, how often and how emphatically you have raised your warning voice against the tremendous war system, and war expenditure of our once happy country. Your calculating acuteness has been shewn in nothing more strikingly than in the full realization of the predictions which you have, again and again, offered to the consideration of our *unthinking* people, on what would be the effects of a protracted course of warfare to this country—a course of warfare as unique in its management, as awful in its termination. It could not, Sir, have ever entered into your imagination, though always on the alert in political discernment, to have conceived it possible for the councils of a nation to have obstinately pursued a scale of expenditure that could not be sustained by even the united resources of Europe at large:—Had this truly gigantic exertion been instituted for objects connected with rational liberty, and ~~now~~ for the re-establishment of despotic rule, the virtuous and the intelligent part of mankind might have been gratified by the *generosity* of the effort, though they must have deplored the incorrigible folly that had urged so unnatural an adventure.—

It is almost inconceivable, though an undeniable fact, that the people of these realms, during these twenty years, have been witnessing the prodigious efforts made by their Government, to repress the growing power of France, at an immeasurable expence, as if the object could not be purchased at too high a rate, without adverting to the ways and means of meeting and enduring the ultimate burthen. The ruin of this country has been its *paper credit*. This *Pandora's box* of civil and political mischief, has unhappily overwhelmed our *unthinking* people (*thinking* belongs no to them) with dismay and impending ruin. Well then? how does the land lay? The expences that have been incurred, the interest of the heavy loans contracted, must be paid; peace has been obtained; Bonaparte has been deposed; and the Sovereigns of Europe are sitting in solemn judgment, on what they would have to be, the future political arrangement of the world! Now, Sir, if these splendid reveries could be carried into effect as easily as they may be imagined, we might some day see them realised. But how does the case stand? Why, the British Government has been all along foremost in the field of expence as well as in that of battle. It has tried all sides, over and over again, and has at length, proved to a gaping and astounded public, that though it has, eventually, as it were, gained all; though it has effected every object for which it began the contest, it has actually lost infinitely more than it has won; nay, that the very winnings themselves have turned out to be, (as you, Sir, have always held must be the case) its bitterest, its most irretrievable losings. In short, we have been at the expence, by all conceivable means and devices, of overthrowing the Emperor Napoleon, and of delivering from his influence the various nations of Europe, who are now beginning to discover the advantage of being at liberty to cultivate the soil, to manufacture raw materials, and to traffic in such a way as might best suit their respective interests; and all this without either feeling or acknowledging any dependence on English commerce. All they seemed to require from England was *money*, and that, it must be confessed, they have had almost to the last guinea, and are probably further accredited for ~~and~~ that none, but those conversant with

the disposal of the *secret service money* of Government, can know any thing about. —If the British Government, when it began its career of expending, when it required for the objects of the war *unlimited millions*, could have contrived to have *bona fide* provided, that all the nations receiving its subsidies, and for whom the British sword was actually unsheathed, should for ever disclaim, and abandon, all right and title to manufacture for themselves, and that they would be wholly dependent on commercial supplies from England, then indeed, some prospect would be afforded of an extended trade, and of liquidating in time the abyss of debt into which the national property is so deeply sunk. But Sir, this is not the case; it could not be the case. We have, therefore, been fighting the battles of others, and have most profligately and irretrievably sacrificed British interests to foreign and ruinous objects.—That either the British agriculturist, manufacturer, or artisan, should now have any chance of successful competition with the nations of Europe, is a vain expectation.—The miseries of an exhausting taxation are exhibited at all points. All classes of men severely feel the consequences resulting from a wasteful expenditure of public money, and, too late, begin to perceive that a *defensive* system of warfare was, and always will be, best adapted to the insulated situation and civic privileges of the British nation. The European war is at an end; that with America is also on the eve of closing; we are without a market for our agricultural produce, without a demand for our manufactured articles, and our artisans are for the best part without employment! In exchange for these vouted advantages, we have the renown of having extravagantly subsidised in turn most of the different powers of Europe; of sending a first rate Plenipotentiary to these subsidised Potentates; of engaging in treaties offensive and defensive with them; of at least *amply sharing* in the pleasing task of remunerating the services, *ordinary* and *extraordinary*, connected with the abrupt and strange termination of the late European war; and finally, though not least in either tinselled grandeur, or aristocratic fame, we may boast, as the legitimate offspring of these portentous times, *Knights Grand Crosses, ditto Commanders, and ditto Companions,*

in vast abundance, all animated with a chivalrous ardour for military glory that will at least render a disposition to war, if not its actual existence, the order of the day. How far this new batch and hot-bed scheme of military aristocracy, exclusively in the erection and patronage of the royal authority, can be regarded as consistent with the constitutional privileges of British freedom, no one is more competent to judge than yourself; and were the subject to fall under your usually able discussion, it may be justly presumed, that it would be salutarily operative in restraining the inordinate attempts, and, indeed, rapid strides that have been made, are making, and will hereafter be made, for subjugating this land of ancient freedom to a military sway, not unlike that experienced by the *Cossack tribes* of the Autocrat of all the Russias! It is high time for Britons to turn with aversion from the senseless, the enslaving mummery of court pageantry. *Freemen* should avoid them as hostile to independence, and disdain them as utterly contemptible. The Americans, by their triumphant bravery, evince what a handful of men, determined to live and die under the *sacred banner of freedom*, can achieve. The issue of the contest they have had to sustain, is engraved on the heart of every friend of civil liberty in characters of indelible delight, and will be recorded in the historic page for her admiration, her solace, and the encouragement of posterity. American independence is as invulnerable and as immortal as the nature of human steadfastness can render it. A scheme of Government, founded on a correct estimation of civil and political rights, is at once natural, and practicable, and, as such, must be for ever entitled to an irresistible preference, in the feeling and judgment of those, who have the envied happiness of being born and bred under its auspices. The cause of civil liberty has gained infinitely more, by the heart-cheering proofs that have been recently given of *transatlantic* patriotism and courage, than it either has lost, or can lose by the jargon, the toppery, or the servility of European politics.

Jan. 29, 1815. A THINKING BRITON.

LORD COCHRANE—PERRY AND THE WHIGS!

In the most conspicuous part of the *Morning Chronicle*, of yesterday, Mr. Perry inserted a string of resolutions, which that nest of iniquity, that vile crew at the *Stock Exchange*, have thought proper to agree to, as a sort of set off to Lord Cochrane's *unanswerable* letter to Lord Ellenborough. Nothing surely could be more detestable than this! Even that sink of corruption the *Times*, inserted only a modest paragraph, noticing the meeting of the Sub-committee, and without even naming Lord Cochrane; thus shewing a degree of moderation towards an oppressed opponent, which the Whigs, and Perry their organ, had not decency to evince.—These resolutions (which Perry has evidently been *paid* for inserting) state, over and over again, the hacknied evidence of the hackney coachman, and the hackney post-boy, on the subject of the colour of De Berenger's coat; which evidence has been completely falsified, in the most incontestible manner. Lord Cochrane has already so ably and so effectually vindicated himself, that it would be supererogation in me to say a syllable on this subject. It is the detestable conduct of Perry and the Whigs, in becoming the trumpet of the Stock Exchange Committee, that I wish the public not to overlook. Lord Cochrane has been ever the steady opposer of *places, pensions*, and *corruption* in all its branches. Nothing more is wanted to explain the deadly hatred of Perry and the Whigs.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER VI.

"If we were to use Violence in defending the
"Faith, the Bishops would oppose it."

SAINT HILARY, lib. i.

TALLEYRAND [in a memoir read at the National Institution of Paris concerning the commercial relations of the United States of America with Great Britain in the year 1794] says "That RELIGIOUS TOLERATION in its fullest extent, is one of the most powerful Guarantees of social tranquillity: for where *Liberty of Conscience* is respected every other cannot fail to be so." A sentiment like this from a man who stands unrivalled for his knowledge in Political Science ought to have some weight. How opposite are the opinions of this enlightened

statesman, this second Machiavel, to the blind mistaken notions of those stupid kings, who would fain attempt to produce harmony among their subjects by endeavouring to enforce their adherence to one particular set of Tenets. How absurd is it to suppose we can make people of different educations, and capacities ever think alike; that we can enable persons whose understandings are unequal to comprehend every thing with the same facility, and to render men of various ages and constitutions, capable of seeing with the same ease and perspicuity through the same pair of spectacles. If Kings and Priests were the architects of the human brain, they might with some justice dictate its operations; but since our faculties are produced by NATURE, directed by NECESSITY, and uncontrolled by their fiat; and since they have no more government over their own minds than they have over ours, it is the most arrogant presumption, the most ridiculous folly, and the most diabolical tyranny, to persecute us for our opinions. Do not our ideas of any subject depend entirely on the manner in which it is represented to us, or the state of our understanding to receive the impression? Are not all our notions the effect either of our education, or the circumstances and situations in which we have been placed? Who then can command opinion, or constrain belief? Where is the merit or the crime either of BELIEF or DISBELIEF, since neither of them are in our power, but dependent entirely upon the state of our intellects on the quality of the evidence offered to our senses? How weak and childish too, is the plan of promoting social tranquillity by force and persecution? Is it not palpable that clemency and moderation are much more calculated to produce harmony, loyalty, and peace, than threats and imprisonment? The Emperor Charles the 5th was an ambitious tyrant, and a persecuting bigot, who caused a system of faith to be prepared for Germany, and marched at the head of his armies against those cities which refused to receive it. When grown old, he gave up the idle pomp of a court, the trumpery appendages of royalty, and the false glory of a Warrior, to spend his last days in the monastery of St. Justus, in Plazencia. One of his pastimes in this solitude was mechanics, in which he was assisted by *Tarrians*,

a very celebrated artist of that age. He spent much time in the construction of clocks and watches, of which he kept a great number in constant motion, but found to his mortification, after various trials, that he could not bring any two of them to equal time. This circumstance, it is said, caused him to reflect with wonder and with shame, on his own weakness in having wasted so much labor, and been guilty of such barbarities, in the more futile speculation of compelling his subjects to think exactly alike, concerning the inscrutable mysteries and ineffable beatitudes of our Holy Religion. If the genius of luxury and sloth, of folly and vanity, of pride, robbery, slaughter, and ambition, can ever spare the tyrants of the present day a few moments to turn over the page of History, in order to review the lives of former despots, what a lesson must the foregoing relation afford them. But it seems that government is the only science that is not suffered to be improved by experience; for we find, notwithstanding the many useful precepts that may be deduced from the annals of the world, and the fate of nations, that power and profit to themselves, instead of peace and prosperity to the people, are still the ruling principles of most monarchical and aristocratical governments. It is for this reason that they all take to themselves a *State Religion* for their handmaid, in the same manner that a man takes a wife to assist him in his domestic concerns. They find it a powerful auxiliary to arbitrary sway, in as much as the priesthood of the state religion, though fattening upon the industry of the people, are mediately or immediately, dependent upon them for their appointments; consequently they become convenient tools in their hands to keep the public mind in *acquired ignorance*; and, as we have seen in former times, to preach up non-resistance, passive obedience, the divine rights of Kings, the sacred obligation of paying tithes, or any set of opinions, that may suit the Government or their own interests.—A state religion, by monopolizing all consequence, perfection, and privilege to itself, naturally creates an envious distinction in society; causes its members to look upon others with contempt; and, by depriving those of their civil rights whose conscience will not permit them to come within its pale, necessarily fomented jealousy and

discontent.—I know it is the belief of many, that a State Religion is necessary for the well being of the community, and that if deprived of it we should be reduced to the greatest anarchy and confusion. That morality is requisite to preserve good order, I admit; but, at the same time, I must contend, that a wise Government might by its *civil* code alone, sufficiently protect the morals of the people, and secure the public peace, without requiring or compelling them to conform to any particular mode of Faith.

On the fundamental principles of morality, most people are agreed, because they are taught by *experience* that the observance of them is essential to their happiness both individually and collectively; but when the innumerable chimeras of faith and superstition are introduced and enforced, the flames of strife and contention are immediately kindled, the harmony of society is interrupted, the dearest ties of friendship and kindred often severed, all the baser passions of the heart called into action; and this too by the very systems which pretend to teach us meekness humility and brotherly love. If it be objected, that morality alone is not sufficient to restrain the bulk of mankind, and that *certain* exotic doctrines must be kept in vogue to facilitate the government of the vulgar, I would answer, that neither the sincere nor the *political* lover of religion can have just grounds to fear on that account. The admirer of general piety cannot for a moment conceive that steeple houses, and priests, have any thing to do with morality, or that it requires pompous ceremonies and pantomimical mummeries to keep the spark alive. On the contrary, if he reflect seriously, he will agree with me, that it is much more likely to perish beneath the weight of the innumerable formalities, and tradesman like attentions of a state religion. The crafty statesman who like *Strabo*, a despiser of all kind of superstition for himself, yet contends that some buyers are necessary for the vulgar, need not fear that exotic doctrines would be less taught or of less effect if not enforced by law. If he has any insight into the state of society, or the nature of man he perceives that the greater part of our species must necessarily be deprived of the means and opportunity of thinking for themselves, and consequently that there will always be priests, conjurers,

and all those sort of persons who derive their existence from teaching, pleasing, or bamboozling others. He will also perceive that there is no more reason to expect that religion, religious houses, and dealers in religion, would be done away with if not commanded by law, than there is to suppose than an act of parliament expedient to prevent the practice of eating and drinking. Conventicles of dissenters, are supported in a much more equitable way than the steeple houses of the state religion; they are upheld entirely by the voluntary contributions of those who are pleased with the performances exhibited there. But while a man subscribes towards an Institution congenial with his ideas, is it not a great hardship that he should be *compelled* to pay tithes and rates, to a priesthood whose doctrines he may not approve, and to build, repair, and beautify their costly temples, although he has never set a foot in them. Some would call this mode of conduct *EXTORTION*, a term too coarse for me to use; but I express my sentiments by saying, that the Merry Andrew who raises his booth in Smithfield during the period of Bartholomew fair, gains his livelihood in an *honest* manner, because he only receives his stipulated price from such as are pleased with his cunning tricks, or dextrous exploits. He does not go round from house to house, throughout the neighbourhood, and *extort* so much a head from the inhabitants, merely because their residence stood contiguous to his show; nor does he tell them for their only consolation, that they *might* have come and witnessed his *juggling* if they had choe. It will easily be perceived, that I wish every man to deal where he likes best, but not to quarrel with his neighbour for purchasing the same article at another place. Surely no *fair tradesman* would presume to demand the price of his commodity from those who have not partaken of it. A state religion is a institution that can only thrive under the auspices of aristocracy or kingship; it is seldom cherished in democracies. In the genuine republic of America no such a thing can exist, because their constitution acknowledges a *universal right of conscience, worship, and artizanship*. This being the case, a man's religious opinions do not disqualify him from becoming a member either of the

representative or executive departments of government, which being composed of persons of all denominations, prevents the people from having one particular system crammed down their throats; and if such a measure was attempted it would gain no stability, because the citizens of the United States possess the *happy privilege* of dismissing their public servants, from the lowest to the highest, at stated periods, in case they misconduct themselves; for even the head servant in that country is not, like that of some others, *incapable* of doing wrong or being cashiered.—To prove that this unlimited toleration is more productive of harmony than the blind intolerance of other governments, I shall conclude with the remarks of Talleyrand in the same work to which I referred in the beginning of this letter.

“—Inclination, or if you please, habit, incessantly attracts the Americans towards England: interest does so still more; for the first and most important consideration in a new country is, without doubt, to increase its riches. The proof of such a general disposition manifests itself every where in America: we find evidence of it in every part of their conduct. The customs, with regard to religion, are themselves strongly tinged with it. I will mention the result of what I have observed in this respect; its connexion with my subject cannot fail to be perceived. We know that in England, religion has preserved a powerful influence over the mind; that even the most independent philosophy has not there dared to divest itself of religious ideas; from the time of Luther, all sects have found their way thither; that all have maintained themselves, and that many have there taken their rise. We know the share which they have had in the great political changes; in short, that all have been transplanted into America, and that some of the states owe their origin to them. It appears, at first, as if these sects would, after their transmigration, preserve their original state, and it is natural to conclude that they might likewise agitate America. But how great is the surprise of the traveller, when he sees them all co-exist in that *perfect calm* which, as it would seem, can never be ruffled;

“when, in the very same house, the father, the mother, the children, each follows *peaceably*, and *without opposition*, that mode of worship which he prefers! I have been more than once a witness of this spectacle which nothing that I had ever seen in Europe could have prepared me to expect. On the days consecrated to religion, all the individuals of the same family set out together; each went to the minister of his own sect; and they afterwards returned home, to employ themselves in their common domestic concerns. This diversity of opinion did not produce any in their feelings, or in their habits; there were no disputes, not even a question on the subject. Religion there seems to be an individual secret, which no one thinks that he has a right to doubt or to investigate. Thus, when there arrives in America, from any country of Europe, an ambitious sectary, eager to afford a triumph of his doctrine, by inflaming the minds of men, far from finding, as in other places, persons disposed to enlist under his banner, he is scarcely even perceived by his neighbours; his enthusiasm is neither attractive nor interesting; he inspires neither hatred nor curiosity; in short, every one perseveres steadfastly in his own religious opinions, and uninterruptedly prosecutes his temporal concerns. This apathy, which cannot be roused by the most furious spirit of proselytism, and which it is our present business to point out, not to account for, certainly takes its immediate rise from the *perfect toleration* of the different sects of religion. In America *no form of worship is proscribed*, *no one established by law*; and therefore there are no disturbances about religion. But this perfect toleration has itself a principle; which is, that religion, although it is there every where a *real sentiment*, is more especially a sentiment of habit; all the ardor of the moment is employed about the means of speedily improving worldly prosperity; and hence results the chief cause of the entire calm of the Americans, respecting every thing which is not, according to this constitution of their minds, either a medium or an obstacle.”—I am, dear Sir, your's, &c. ERASMUS PERKINS.
London, Jan. 30, 1815.

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.—As our Government has not thought it expedient, like the free Government of America, to publish any part of the proceedings at Ghent, and as the American newspapers have not, since the commencement of the war, been delivered regularly on their arrival in this country, I have been under the necessity of laying the official documents before my readers as they reached me, without any regard to the order of their dates.—This irregularity has occasioned a chasm in the publication of these documents, which I intend to fill up, as they arrive, in future numbers of the Register. It may be thought, that as the war is at end, the proceedings at Ghent have now lost all their interest. To me, however, who regard that war, its causes, the wonderful events that took place during its continuance, and the consequences it must produce, as the most astonishing occurrences recorded in history, and as of the greatest importance to the cause of freedom, and the happiness of the human race. To me, who contemplate the subject in this light, no official document, however minute, that bears any reference to this glorious struggle, can appear as a letter or a newspaper without being to me a most interesting subject. The following documents illustrative of the more important topics under the discussion of the parties, as underscoring of notice.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary of the United States to the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty.

"Ghent, Aug. 24, 1814.

"The undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary from the United States of America, have given to the official Note which they have had the honour of receiving from his Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries the deliberate attention which the importance of its contents required, and have now that of transmitting to them their answer on the several points to which it refers. They would present to the consideration of the British Plenipotentiaries, that Lord Castlereagh, in his letter of the 4th of November, 1813, to the American Secretary of State, pledges the faith of the British Government, that 'they were willing to enter into discussion with the Government of America for the conciliatory ad-

judgment of the differences subsisting between the two States, with an earnest desire on their part to bring them to a favourable issue, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British Empire.' This fact alone might suffice to shew, that it ought not to have been expected that the American Government, in acceding to this proposition, should have extended its terms, and furnished the undersigned with instructions authorising them to treat with the British Plenipotentiaries respecting Indians situated within the boundaries of the United States. That such expectation was not entertained by the British Government might also have been inferred from the explicit assurances which the British Plenipotentiaries gave, on the part of their Government at the first conference which the undersigned had the honour of holding with them, that no events, subsequent to the first proposal for this negotiation, had, in any manner, varied either the disposition of the British Government, that it might terminate in a peace honourable to both parties; or the terms upon which they would be willing to conclude it. It is well known that the differences which unhappily exist between Great Britain and the United States, and which ultimately led to the present war, were wholly of a maritime nature, arising principally from the British Orders in Council, in relation to the trade, and from the interpretation of the same on behalf of American merchants. The boundaries of the Indian territory had never been a subject of difference between the two countries. Neither the principles of reciprocity, the maxims of public law, nor the maritime rights of the British Empire could require the permanent establishment of such boundary. The novel pretension now advanced could no more have been anticipated by the Government of the United States, in forming instructions for this negotiation, than they seem to have been contemplated by that of Great Britain in November last in proposing it. Lord Castlereagh's Note makes the termination of the war to depend on a conciliatory adjustment of the differences then subsisting between the two States, and on no other condition whatever. Nor could the American Government have foreseen that Great Britain, in order to obtain peace for the Indians, residing within the dominions of the United States, whom she had induced to take part with her in the war, would demand that they should be made parties to the treaty between the two nations, or that the boundaries of their lands should be permanently and irrevocably fixed by that treaty. Such a proposition is contrary to

(To be continued.)

No. II.—CORN BILL.

TO THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE.

The "AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY," who hold their meetings at Winchester, have framed a PETITION to Parliament for a *Corn Bill*; that is to say, for some law to prevent corn from being brought from a *bad*, until the price of English corn, is *higher than it now is*; or, in other words, *a law to make corn dearer than it now is*. This Petition they have published in the County papers, and, it appears, that they have sent blank Petitions to the several Market-towns in the County, there to be signed, for the purpose of being presented all together.—For the greater part of the gentlemen, who have adopted this measure, I entertain respect; and those whom I do not know, are, I presume, equally entitled to the respect of their several neighbours. The motives, too, of these gentlemen, I suppose to be laudable.—But, I am convinced, that they have taken an erroneous view of the matter, and that the measure they recommend would be injurious to the people at large and to land-owners and occupiers themselves. Therefore, if any sufficient number of persons are willing to stand forward in opposition to the above-mentioned petition, by the means of an open Meeting of the County, I shall be happy to join in such opposition.—In making, however, this proposition, it will be justly demanded of me that I state the *reasons*, on which the opposition is to be founded; and this I shall now do in as clear a manner as I am able consistent with brevity.—The Petition states, that all the *expences* of a farm are *nearly as high as ever*, and that the taxes are full as high. The latter is correct; the former is not. Our wages at Botley were from 15s. to 18s. a week; they are now from 10s. to 12s. a week. Bricklayers, Carpenters, Smiths, Wheelwrights, have all come down one fourth in their prices. *Horses*

have fallen in price a full *third*, if not a half. *Timber* has fallen in an equal proportion. The food *for the horse* and the *seed for the land* must always be in price upon a perfect level with the market corn.—Well, then, what are the *other expences* of a farm? The *rent* and the *tythe*. The latter must keep pace with the price of corn, seeing that the tythe owner always takes his tenth, whether it be of cheap corn or dear corn; and, as to the rent, if the tenant has now the worst of it, the landlord has had the worst of it, and will have the worst of it again if corn should become dear from causes other than bad seasons.—Besides, the real great cause of the present low prices, is, the *three* abundant and dry harvests which we have had in uninterrupted succession; for, though, in *some parts*, the wheat was much blighted last year, the deficiency of crop, was far from being *general*, and it was the wheat *only* that was not a most abundant crop, and of that grain there was a *prodigious quantity* on hand of the crop of the year before. Now, when a farmer grows five quarters upon an acre, is it reasonable for him to expect as *high* a price per quarter as when he grows two quarters and a half? Are not the five quarters at 40s. a quarter as good as two quarters and a half at 80s. a quarter?—The consequences of making corn dearer than it would be, are *first*, the making of all other food dearer; *second*, the ruin, in a short time, of many of our manufacturers, because it is impossible to believe that we could expect goods as cheap as those which would be made in countries where food is to be had for a third part of the price of that which would be eaten by our manufacturers, and amongst the articles of our manufacturers, the raw materials for many come from our own soil, as wool, skins, flax, lead, iron, tin, copper and coals; *third*, persons of fixed incomes, who are great consumers of our produce as well as employers of our tradesmen, would

go to France, and to other countries, where they could live upon cheap food, in cheap houses; and have cheap servants, horses and carriages; and, soon after these would follow many of our manufacturers, and these the most clever and enterprising; *fourth*, our commercial ship-building would follow the fate of the manufactures, and also the employment of our ships as carriers, seeing that the ships of other countries, particularly of America, would be built so much cheaper and would also sail so much cheaper.—These are only a part of the consequences to be apprehended from any measure, calculated to make corn dear; but they are quite sufficient to induce me to oppose such a measure. If I am asked, how the English farmer is to contend with the French farmer, while the former has so many and such heavy taxes to pay, of which the latter knows nothing, I answer, *take off English taxes*, 'till the English farmer is able to contend with the French farmer; and *then* I'll warrant it, that we beat the farmers of France, that we undersell them, and that our manufacturers live as cheap, and sell cheaper than any manufacturers in the world. I am clearly of opinion, that taxes may be taken off to this extent without any injury to the credit, the safety, or the peace of the country; but I must be very plain upon this head, and expressly say, that with those who do not think that this ought to be done, I wish not to join in any petition against a Corn Bill; because I am certain, that it is impossible for MORE THAN ONE HALF OF THE PRESENT TAXES TO BE RAISED, UNLESS THE PRICE BE KEPT UP, ON AN AVERAGE OF YEARS, TO ABOUT 120s. PER QUARTER OF GOOD WHEAT. To reduce the taxes one half, the whole of the standing army must be disbanded; the Horse Guards must lose its brilliancy and power; the navy must come back to its state of 1763; and a vast reduction must be made in the Civil List.—I am for THESE REDUCTIONS and for NO CORN BILL. With persons who are for NO CORN BILL and are AGAINST THESE REDUCTIONS I cannot join; because it would be joining in senseless clamour and popular delusion.—There is yet another point of great importance to men-

tion. During the late war, several laws were passed restricting the *liberty of the Press and of public discussion*. I will join in no Petition, which does not include a prayer for the repeal of these laws, for a repeal of the *Alien Act*, and for a constitutional reform in the representation of the people in the *Commons House of Parliament*. With those who regard the Belly and the Purse, and are careless about their rights and liberties as Englishmen, I wish to have nothing to do. For the sufferings of such persons I have no compassion; and, indeed, the more they suffer the better I am pleased.—To men of other minds I now address myself.—It is inconvenient to most people to go to any particular place to sign a *Requisition to the Sheriff*; and, therefore, I publish the following *Circular Requisition*, in imitation of the *Circular Petition of the Agricultural Society*. This Requisition may be copied upon a sheet of paper and signed by as many persons, in any town or place, as choose to sign it. The paper, thus signed, may then be sent to me, at *Botley near Southampton*, before the 1st day of March; and, if I receive Requisitions, the signatures to the whole of which amount to one hundred, I will wait upon the Sheriff with them. If I do not, I shall have done my utmost in opposition to the Corn Bill; I shall leave the dear loaf and heavy taxes to jog quietly on together; and to hear the whinings and grumbings of those who feel the grievance, and yet want the spirit to use the lawful means of getting rid of it, will be an ample compensation to me for the portion of the grievance that will fall to my lot.

To the High Sheriff of the County of Southampton.

SIR,

We, the undersigned Freeholders and other Landholders, Tradesmen and Manufacturers, of the County of Southampton, perceiving, that, in various parts of the Kingdom, evil disposed or misguided persons are endeavouring to prevail on the Legislature to impose duties on the importation of Corn, and, being convinced, that such a measure would grievously oppress the labouring classes, would be ruinous to tradesmen and manufacturers; would, in the end, be injurious to the growers of corn and the owners of land themselves,

and might possibly disturb the peace of His Majesty's Dominions, request that you will be pleased to convene a Meeting of the County on a day as little distant as may be convenient, in order to take into consideration and to discuss the propriety of presenting a Petition to the two Houses of Parliament, earnestly praying that no such measure may be adopted; and also praying for the repeal of laws, hostile to our rights and liberties, passed during the late war, and for a constitutional Reform in the Representation of the People in the Commons' House of Parliament.

Date —

N. B. The letters, conveying the Requisitions must be *post paid*; as it is not reasonable that I should be put to any expence on account of it.

No. II.

AMERICA.—*Proofs of the real freedom of her people.—Mr. Randolph's Letter.—Triumph of Republican principles.*

Our Newspapers take infinite delight in speaking of the *Hertford Congress*, the *Maryland Resolutions*, &c. which indicate a disposition in part of the people of America to resist those laws, passed by the Congress, which they deem *oppressive*, and they found this projected resistance upon the old principle, that resistance of oppression is a RIGHT inherent in freemen.—Our Times, Courier, Chronicle, and other corrupt party papers, applaud this conduct in the discontented part of the Americans.—Fools! they do not see, that the very fact of such intended resistance being openly declared through the *American press*, without even a thought of it being dangerous so to do, is the greatest compliment that they can possibly pay to the American Government, and the strongest proof that they can give us of the real freedom of her press and her people.—Fools! to tell the world so much about this openly proposed resistance, when its passing like a summer cloud, unheeded, is the sure and certain proof of the perfect freedom of the Republican Government, which, in practice, secures the right of resisting, as well as complaining of, oppression.—Fools! do they not know,

that, by an act, passed, in *England*, during the war against the French Republicans, and still in existence, any man who shall do what these American Writers and Printers are now doing, is liable to be hanged, have his head cut off, his bowels ripped out, his carcase quartered, his quarters placed at the disposal of the King, and his estates and property confiscated!—Fools! to proclaim such proofs of the difference of the two Governments! The act, to which I allude, says, that "if any person shall attempt, by force or restraint, to compel the King to change his measures or counsels, or shall, in order to put any force or restraint upon, or to intimidate, or overawe, both Houses, or either House of parliament, or shall express the same by publishing any printing, or writing, or by any other overt act, every such person shall be deemed a TRAITOR."—Now, this is what is doing daily through the press of America, where some of the Printers are actually advising the people to resist the laws of the Congress by force of arms, and to compel the Congress and President to do what these writers say is for the good of the country. So far are these writers and printers from apprehending any danger from such conduct, that they complain that they produce no effect by their labours. Mr. Madison and the Congress let them alone. If the people chose to resist; why, it is the people's affair; the measures and counsels must be changed, and all is quiet again. There can be no danger to Mr. Madison or the Members of the Congress, who gain nothing by governing the country; and who can only want to do the best for their own proper estates and liberties, in common with those of the rest of the community.—Such a Government can want neither treason laws nor troops to protect it; because the people may put out the rulers, and appoint others when they please, and because those rulers have no private interest to make them regret the loss of power.—There is a Mr. RANDOLPH, of Virginia, who, a great partisan against the President and the war, has published a long letter to the people of America, which our Times and Courier have republished, and upon which the Times makes the following remarks, which are very interesting to intelligent readers, because they shew clearly the mortification

of these hirelings at the language which even *their favourites* are compelled to use in America in order to avoid universal execration.—“A New York paper of the 27th of December contains a long letter from the celebrated Mr. Randolph, a Statesman no less distinguished by his staunch nationality and republicanism, than by his persevering opposition to Mr. Madison’s Government. The Convention of the New England States at Hertford, and the strong probability that their proceedings would terminate in a dissolution of the Union, have called forward Mr. Randolph as a vehement advocate against a measure which this gentleman considers so menacing to liberty. Happily for him these alarms are at an end. Our Diplomats at Ghent have not only *signed the death-warrant of the Hertford Convention*, but have abandoned to the vengeance of their countrymen the people of Nantucket, who had declared for neutrality, as well as those of Maine, who had sworn allegiance to his Majesty. We have forcibly reunited States ‘destined,’ in the prophetic language of Mr. Randolph, ‘to become *within the present century a mighty nation*,—‘a confederacy which has already given a *deep blow to our maritime pride, and threatens, at no distant day, to dispute with us the empire of the ocean*.’ It is of importance that we should urgently call the attention of our readers, as Britons, to this language—language proceeding not from a promoter, but from a *steady opponent of the war*; not from an admirer, but from an *open despiser of the American cabinet*. Yet even this man, in the moment of actual bankruptcy to the Government, and of impending dissolution to the union of the States, can *triumph over Great Britain*, and *augur the speedy subjection of her power*! What will he say, when he learns that the uplifted rod of vengeance was stayed by a treaty, in which we affected to consult only ‘the honour and the fair pretensions’ of America? He will *not even give us credit for our liberality*; for as the general tenour of his letter shews him to be convinced that our conduct in the war has been *mean, and dastardly, and barbarous*, so he will attribute to nothing but *cowardice* the abandonment of all

“our high pretensions at the peace. Mr. Randolph, unlike most of his countrymen, professes to be proud of the ‘English blood in his veins,’ and to look back with pride on the names ‘of Alfred, and Bacon, and Shakspeare, and Milton, and Locke.’ He avows, that during ‘our magnanimous stand against the Tyrant before whom all the rest of Christendom had bowed,’ he put up fervent prayers for our success; but the fact which he alleges in proof of our having abandoned the high ground on which we then stood, and descended to the level of a jacobinical hostility, is one which deserves, and will perhaps hereafter demand some investigation. ‘Let not her orators,’ says he, ‘decline against the enormity of French principles, when she permits herself to arm and discipline our slaves, and to lead them into the field against their masters, in the hope of exciting by their example a general insurrection, and thus rendering Virginia another St. Domingo.’ What grounds there may be for this charge—a heavy one it undoubtedly is—we profess not to know; but we do trust it will not turn out, upon enquiry, that we have sanctioned the American treachery of bribing our seamen to desert, by an example of conduct still more to be reprobated. In regard to the principal object of his letter, Mr. Randolph is grossly inconsistent. He professes an ardent love of liberty, not jacobinical, but of ancient English growth. He argues, that this liberty must perish in America if the present constitution be overthrown; and yet he tacitly admits that under that constitution every spark of real liberty has become extinct. ‘Atheists and madmen,’ says he, ‘have been our lawgivers.’ ‘The press is under a virtual imprimatur.’ ‘The union is held together by no common authority to which men can look up with confidence and respect.’ ‘Cougess is *felu de se*.’ In short—‘Our Government is, in fact, already changed.’ It was from these very considerations, and not from any hostility to the real interests of America, that *we earnestly wished the strong hand of Britain would have overthrown the chaotic system of these “Atheists and madmen,”* and without pretending to establish an injurious supremacy,

"would have held out to all the States *whoknew how to value the gift*, a liberal and BROTHERLY ALLIANCE, such as that so eloquently sketched in Burke's address to the North American colonists—perhaps *the most beautiful and affecting State Paper ever penned.*"—

Now, reader, do you happen to know, whether the sublime BURKE penned this "most beautiful and affecting State-Paper" before, or after, he got his pension for life of 3,000*l.* a year?—Fool! he wished did he, for "a brotherly alliance" with those states, who "knew how to *value the gift.*" Oh ass! Insufferable fool! how will the Americans laugh at the idea of a "brotherly alliance" with and and and Oh, that I could speak out! But, faith, they will speak out for me on the other side of the water. "A brotherly alliance!" I told the fool long ago, that he knows nothing of the Americans. I told him, that, whatever *noise* the aristocrats might make about a separation of the Union, they would draw in their horns, when the pinch came, and even join the rest of the people against us. It is very true, however, as this man observes, that, in the treaty of Ghent, "we signed the death warrant of the *Hertford convention;*" but, so far ought we to be from lamenting this, we ought to rejoice at it, seeing that that convention had for its real object the forcing into power a set of aspiring men, who aim at the debasement of their country by the introduction of distinctions incompatible with republican freedom. If those men had succeeded in their undertaking, America would have become an object of contempt, instead of being, what she now is, an object of envy. The flame of real liberty it was the design of these vain men to extinguish. Ought we not to rejoice, that the death warrant of such a nest of conspirators was signed by our worthy Regent? We do not like conspirators at home; why ought we to like them abroad? The leaders of the "British convention," in Scotland, who wanted a reform of Parliament, were transported to *Rotany Bay*. The leaders of the New England Convention, will be merely "*sent to Coventry.*" They may, perhaps, now and then, meet with a republican to spit upon them; but, that will be the utmost of their punishment. By the time that the *new treaty*

of commerce, now preparing between America and France, has been two months in force, and we see the sea covered with American ships, the Members of the Hertford Convention will have been as completely forgotten as the insects, on which they have trodden, going to and from the place of their sittings.—The triumph of republican principles is now complete in America. The press has never, in any one instance, been shackled; every one has been free to say, to write, to publish, just what he pleased, though the country was invaded in many parts at once, and though the Houses of the Congress and President were in flames. No law for the security of freedom has ever been suspended; no restraint put upon the tongue or the pen of any man, other than the natural, the just, restraint imposed by public opinion, by a sense of shame, or by a fear of the contempt and hatred of men's neighbours. The President and the Congress have stood in need of no guards to defend them. All has been free and safe at heart, and every hostile arm at the disposal of the country for its defence against the foreign enemy.—The fool of the *Times* keeps harping upon the *bankrupt state of the American Government.* Oh, fool, fool! Why, this only adds to the praises of the republican system, which gets the better of all such difficulties; which knows no weaknesses from such a cause; which, with or without money, pushes out its squadrons, arms its people, and obtains peace on honorable terms. This fool has so long been used to talk of money as the sinews of war; to look upon *subsides* and *mercenary troops* and *secret services* as the means of defending a country, that he supposes, that the moment a government is poor, the country must be subdued, if any one will be at the trouble of attacking. The fool does not perceive, that national defence, in America, is the business of the people themselves; that the President has no more to do with it, as to his private interest, than any other man; and, in short, every citizen having something to fight for, the Commonwealth is defended, with all its institutions, laws and liberties, though there be not a shilling in the public treasury. PAINE observed very truly, that a rich government made a poor people. In America the people are rich and the government poor; and that, apparently, is

the state of things which that queer sort of a nation prefers. We like a different state of things. We like a rich and splendid government, decorated with Crowns, Caronets, Mitres, Robes and Gowns, dignified Wigs, Maces and Golden Coaches, and tall strait beautiful men on horseback and on foot dressed in scarlet, blue, and gold. Our taste is, out of all doubt, the best; but, then, we may let the poor hoghanmoghan republicans quietly enjoy their meals of beef, geese, ducks, and turkeys. They are feasting the belly; we the eyes. If ours is the most refined taste, let us pity the republicans, and suffer them to feast in quiet.

MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.—There can be no doubt, from the proceedings on the trial of General Excelman, that *Joachim Murat* is, at this moment, regarded as an enemy by the present reigning family of France. I am sorry for this, because, although I have no very great liking for Kings, I consider *Murat* to be one of the best Sovereigns that has appeared in Europe for, at least, a century. According to the most correct information, his subjects are entirely devoted to him, and this would not be the case if he were a despot, or abandoned to the gratification of unnatural, or inordinate passions, instead of making the welfare of his people the chief object of his care. But, however much he may be hated by the Bourbons, and by the priests, who, I have no doubt, were the authors of the late attempt to poison him, *Murat* appears to be on the best possible terms with the Emperor of Austria, who possesses the means of making his ally be respected; should there be any question on the part of France to question his right to the throne of Naples. With regard to what is said about *Joachim's* designs against the Pope, nothing has appeared in a shape sufficiently authentic, to enable me to form a correct opinion, though I should be well pleased to hear that the temporal, as well as the spiritual power of his Holiness, had received an irrecoverable blow.—In the midst of the dangers which threaten *Murat*, addresses of congratulation are pouring in from all parts of his kingdom, in which his great merits, not only as a Sovereign, and a Statesman, but as a man, are much, and, in my opinion, deservedly dwelt upon.—

None of these addresses have yet been translated; but their general tendency may be easily inferred, from the following *Answer* of the King to the address presented by the Nobility of Naples. This answer also shews, that *Murat* himself entertains no fears as to the safety of his throne or the independence of the nation:—"The address of the Nobility of my kingdom was highly flattering to my heart; the feeling and wishes which it expresses fully agree with my views and sentiments. Never did the Nobility shew itself more worthy than on this solemn occasion, when setting aside its own pretensions, and forgetting its ancient privileges, it has spoken for the good of the Sovereign and of the State. It has spoken the language of patriotism and honour. The Neapolitan nation will eternally honour the name of so many long celebrated families, of so many distinguished by late services; and my successors will know how to distinguish them, who have now, by their disinterestedness, acquired fresh glory. The nobility wish for institutions which may insure the duration of a liberal Government. This wish must be that of the whole nation, and I know that it is so. It would have been already fulfilled had not political storms impeded my views. Our first want is the independence of the nation. This is obtained—it is secured by the valour of my army. We may now employ ourselves in the internal organization of the kingdom, and all my thoughts are directed to this important object. Institutions suitable to our times are equally necessary for the good of the nation, and for the splendour and security of the throne. I declare that it gives me less pleasure to govern, than in the midst of this people whom I so greatly love, and which has shown so much love to me, to found a regular Government, surrounded by the Counsellors of the nation, to preserve it from passion and error; a Government, which will always be approved by the brave Neapolitan nation, because its only object can be their happiness. If the Nobility leave to their successors the glorious character they now display, my successors will find in them, as I do, the brightest support of the throne."

THE INQUISITION.

SIR,—I beg leave to call the attention of your readers to the following most extraordinary proclamation, which I have copied from the *Times* newspaper of the 1st instant: "*Madrid, Jan. 12.*" By order of Don Francisco Mier y Campillo, Bishop of Almeria, and Inquisitor-General, a proclamation, in substance as follows, has been affixed to the doors of all the churches: "[It begins with reciting the Pope's Bull (formerly published) against free-masons, &c. and then proceeds as follows:]—We have learned that a number of Spaniards, yielding to the frightful yoke of our oppressors, and drawn into foreign countries, have had the weakness to connect themselves with those societies which lead to sedition, insubordination, to every error, and to all crimes; we at the same time trust that such individuals, restored to liberty and their country, will recollect that they are Spaniards, and will, after the example of their ancestors, submit with docility and respect to the voice of the Supreme Pastor, and of our legitimate Sovereign. With the advice of the Members of his Majesty's Council, and of the Holy Inquisition, we offer now to receive, with open arms, and all the tenderness befitting our character and functions, those who within a fortnight from the date of the publication of the present edict, shall voluntarily and spontaneously give themselves up to us: but if any one (which God forbid!) continue obstinate in the path of perdition, we will employ, to our great regret, severity and rigour, and subject them to all the penalties inflicted by the civil and canon law. We order the present edict to be read in all the churches of the kingdom, and to be fixed up at all the church-doors, from whence it must not be taken down without our permission, under pain of the greater excommunication, and 200 ducats fine." This proclamation cannot but excite in the minds of all liberal men, the most lively sensations of alarm.—For several days past all accounts from Spain have brought the information, that it was the intention of Ferdinand the VIIth to adopt, at the advice of M. Cevallos,

measures of conciliation towards the suffering inhabitants of his kingdom. It is therefore with increased astonishment that I have perused the above document. A long residence in that country, and a very perfect knowledge of its customs, enables me to judge very accurately of the inclinations, and manners of thinking, of the great body of the people. I have, therefore, no hesitation in most positively stating, in defiance of whatever the hireling press may say to the contrary, that the establishment of the dominion of the priests, is in complete contradiction to the general wish of the people. The effect of the Inquisition is little understood in this country. It is either greatly exaggerated, or, by its apologists, extenuated into nothing. I will endeavour to explain to you, Sir, its general operations upon society, which is by far the most important way in which it ought to be considered, affecting as it does the interior economy of every family.

The chief seat of this tribunal is at Madrid, where it is under the government of the *Inquisitor General*, a numerous council, and a very extended suite of subordinate officers. In every city, and even to the smallest towns in the kingdom, a miniature *fac simile* of this establishment exists, composed precisely in the same way; with this single difference, that in the provinces the inquisitors are not publicly avowed, only guessed at. In every family, there is either a resident priest, or one who daily visits, or investigates its most minute concerns. If he resides in the house, he regulates at his will, the entire government of its inmates. No circumstance the most trifling can take place, without his knowledge or concurrence, even to visitors received, or visits paid. In families not rich enough to render the residence of a priest sufficiently comfortable, the daily visitor is as much master of every action that passes within doors, as though he resided in the house. The chief inquisitor, in towns of moderate size, is not always a priest. He is very often the principal inhabitant; that is to say, the person possessing the most consideration. In this case, the appointment is received by him from the *Inquisitor General* at Madrid; and he is obliged to undertake the office, and perform its functions, however repugnant they may be to his feelings.—Thus it of

ten happens that a gentleman, who is invested with the office of Provincial Inquisitor, receives an order to arrest and place in solitary and close confinement (as is the case with all the inquisition prisoners) his dearest friend, even his wife, and his only child, of whose offence he is haply in perfect ignorance, whose ultimate destination is entirely unknown to him, and the horrors of whose confinement he cannot ameliorate, without the certainty of being himself subject to the same. The provincial prisons of the Inquisition are held in such awe, and wrapt in such mystery, that no human being dare make enquiry as to their contents.—The arrests take place invariably at midnight, and the prisoner is removed by unknown attendants, at that solemn hour, and in profound silence, from provincial prison to provincial prison, until all trace of him is lost. If he is seized upon in one town, his examination does not take place for months, and then in another town in the very opposite part of the kingdom to that of his residence. Should he even return to his family, he dares not speak, nor dare they enquire, as to any thing that has occurred to him during his absence. The utmost secrecy prevails on every subject. The Inquisitors are unknown, even to each other, and where a provincial tribunal is summoned to assemble, an unknown messenger arrives at midnight with the order, which is delivered in silence, with some mysterious signs by which its authenticity is known, and the place of assembly pointed out. You will thus understand how this tribunal is enabled to carry its *espionage* into the most remote recesses of every family. The priests who, as I have already shewn, are every where, are thus enabled to communicate the most private transactions of every individual, and no one is safe. Anonymous information being always received, the *Holy Office*, in the first instance, transmits the charge to the Inquisitor in the neighbourhood of the accused, who summons immediately before him; the priest with whom the accused communes, and on whose report ulterior proceedings are adopted. You will at once see, therefore, the nature of the influence which this body possesses, and the absolute power which it holds over every class of society.

The principal cause of hatred which the Institution has to *freemasonry* is, that this latter institution possesses also its mys-

teries, its secret signs, and its correspondencies, by which it was able in some measure, to penetrate into the hidden operations of the Inquisition. The bond of secrecy that united its members enabled them to co-operate against that formidable tribunal, and was a sort of counterpoise to its effect. The clergy therefore decided upon its annihilation, and the proclamation now before you is a measure taken for that purpose. Ferdinand, a tyrant at heart, found that the priests were his best support, their principles being in unison with his own, and at their request, no doubt, this horrid mandate has been issued.

When Ferdinand returned to Spain, he found the liberal policy of Bonaparte had given universal freedom to all mankind. The annihilation of the Inquisition was a death-blow to the clergy, inasmuch as from that very moment, with one accord, the resident priests were dismissed from each family, and the visits of the other class no longer tolerated. Priesthood thus was rapidly falling into decay, and had the Regency and the Cortes continued another year, Ferdinand's whole efforts to re-establish them would have been in vain. Tyranny always looks to the priesthood for support. In fettering the mind of man, a tyrant is best enabled to establish his dominion, and we find throughout universal history that there never existed a despotic monarch, who did not place his chief reliance upon the influence of priestcraft. It was upon this principle that Ferdinand on his return looked up to this body to support him, in those measures which he had determined on; and they, in their turn, were delighted to find that a prospect once more opened to them of recovering their fallen power.

The army, on whom the king was obliged to place a considerable reliance, had not yet sufficiently thrown off the influence of superstition, to oppose the shoals of monks, and priests, who were again let loose upon them. Ferdinand did not temporise. He acted in the most decisive manner, and by boldly seizing upon and destroying the friends of reason and liberty, he consolidated his power, and proceeded to the universal destruction of every thing that had been done in his absence towards the restoration of personal and mental liberty. In these efforts he was seconded, of course, by the whole

body of the priests. Several of the principal generals of the old school, who had never shaken off the bands of fanaticism, and looking up to the prospective rewards for the services they might render towards enslaving their fellow citizens, immediately joined the monarch with their whole weight. It is with regret I have to state that there were *British* Officers found who would join in so monstrous an union against that liberty, the blessings of which a reference to the land of their birth ought to have strongly inculcated on their minds. To the high honor of others, they refused to continue in so despicable a service. On the return of Ferdinand, he found the following British Officers in his army:—Generals Roche, Dyer, Whittingham, Doyle, Carrol, and Downie. Of these Dyer, Whittingham, and Carrol, resigned their Spanish commissions on the suppression of the Cortes, and have returned to their native service. Sir John Downie had been a commissary in the British army, which employment he quitted and received a commission from the Provincial Junta of Seville. This was afterwards confirmed by the Cortes: from whom also he asked, and received one of the *crosses*, as they are called, of the order of Charles the IIIrd: and, in compliment to whom our Prince Regent knighted him. Thus to the Cortes he owed his all!—On the arrival of the Spanish monarch Sir John Downie was at Madrid, where he had been all the period of the French campaign, occupying himself with politics at the seat of government, instead of sharing the dangers of the seat of war; and, strange to say, was one of those who were employed in the *honourable* office of establishing the Inquisition, and imprisoning that very same Cortes from whom he received his employment. Every other British officer in the Spanish service rejected, with scorn, this vile employment.—Sir John Dyer wrote a most impressive letter, in which he resigned his commission in the Spanish service, preferring honourable retirement to being the tool of a despot! However, the Inquisition was re-established; all the ordinances issued by Bonaparte and the Cortes, for its eternal suppression, were declared void, and additional vigour was given to its authority. In the mean time, the Lodges of Free-masons,

which had, since the residence of the French in the Peninsula, become very numerous, were actively employed in endeavouring to counteract its operation. To the secret means of communication which this society possessed, is to be attributed the escape of those patriots to Gibraltar, who were afterwards demanded by the sanguinary Villa Viciosa, the governor of Cadiz, on whose mandate Sir James Duff, the British consul there, claimed, and for whose delivery to the blood hounds of the Inquisition, to the honor of the British Parliament, (though not until motion after motion had been made on the subject by the opposition,) General Smith received so severe a reprimand; and which was, it is supposed, the ultimate cause of his recal. Thus when the Inquisitors found that the lodges of Free-masons, had counteracted some of their projected schemes of blood, it became necessary to put them down. They were proscribed accordingly; but the secrecy attendant on their composition setting ordinary measures at defiance, recourse has been had to the proclamation that has been the subject of this letter. I have at present intruded too much perhaps on your valuable columns. I shall, in a second letter, communicate to you an interesting detail of the very artful and extraordinary methods adopted by the clergy to bring over Ferdinand so entirely to their views, which have produced the present state of misery and dismay in which all Spain is involved. I am, &c.

CIVIS.

P. S. Having mentioned the case of the two unfortunate Spaniards, who were shamefully given up to the vengeance of their Government by a British officer at Gibraltar, I cannot omit noticing the circumstance that one of these persecuted individuals, having escaped the *holy* blood-hounds, has reached this country, and, in consequence of what lately passed in parliament respecting his disgraceful arrest, has addressed a letter to the public, through the medium of the newspapers. This gentleman's name is *Antonio Puigblanch*, and the following is the account he gives of his reasons for leaving Cadiz, and of his subsequent apprehension at Gibraltar:—"There being strong reason to believe at Cadiz, about the middle of last May, that Ferdinand the VIIIth, instigated by bad

"advice, was about to overturn the constitution, and at the same time having reason to fear the re-establishment of the *Inquisition*, against which, exercising the right allowed me by the laws during the existence of the Cortes, I had written a work, entitled, *The Inquisition Unmasked*, I endeavoured to place myself in safety. With this view, having procured a passport from Senor Valdez, then Governor of Cadiz, and which, for the greater security, I got countersigned by Sir J. Duff, I went by sea to Gibraltar, with an intention of coming to London. In the same passage-boat with me was a Captain retired from service, by name *Don Diego Correa*, who was also leaving Spain in consequence of the threatened revolution in public affairs, and with whom I had no previous communication, although I knew him by repute to be a brave soldier, and a good patriot. We had been three days at an inn at Gibraltar, when, about eleven at night, an Adjutant of the fortress made his appearance, with a picquet of infantry, and took us prisoners to the guard-house. Next day we were examined, and our declarations taken; and after two days more had elapsed, we were delivered up to the Spanish Consul, who sent us to the Commandant of the camp of St. Roque, at Algeiras."—Towards the conclusion of this letter, will be found the following very severe and pointed strictures on the conduct of Sir James Duff:—"The charges brought against me in Sir James Duff's letter, viz. that I am the author of *The Inquisition Unmasked*, is as little entitled to attention as the preceding. Such a charge is the more preposterous, as being brought against me by a citizen of a free and enlightened nation, which, from principles of religion and a just resentment, must detest that tribunal. I could not have believed, without seeing it in print, that this would have been regarded as an imputation upon my character: and the Consul of his Britannic Majesty has proceeded in this point as the most janatic vassal of his Catholic Majesty might be supposed to have done."

LOOK AT HOME.

MR. COBBETT.—I agree with you, that John Bull's attention has, of late

years, been too much given to foreign politics, to look well to his affairs at home. The time, however, is now arrived for his doing so; and, upon finding domestic matters much out of order, John is astonished, puzzled, and perplexed. With his hands in his breeches pocket, feeling his purse, John looks forward, and is alarmed. Then measuring its contents, by the grip of his intelligent fingers, he looks back, and heaves a deep sigh!—But, Sir, it is for those benevolent minds, who told him, long ago, how to avoid his present dilemma (notwithstanding his former obstinacy,) still to assist him in averting future evils, and preventing, if possible, a recurrence of the past, This will be but consistent with our Tenets; and, with your permission, thro' your intelligent Register, I'll try my hand.

Your publication of the 28th, contains, an ingenious article, under the Head, No. 1, *Corn Bill*, from the *Courier*; in which it is stated that "The English Farmer, cannot grow Corn, unless, by an importation duty, the foreign Farmer be made to bear part of the English Farmer's taxes; and here I take my stand."—You, in reply, say, "but he will not bear part then, for he will not bring his corn, and it is meant, that he should not—Here I take my stand."—The article from the *Courier* (looking at its purpose) is written with adroitness, and great ability; but you have, with equal adroitness, and with much greater aptness of argument, fully and fairly detected, and exposed, its plausible fallacy—after which you say—"Reduce the Taxes of the English Farmer, and then he will grow corn enough, without the aid of foreign supply."—But this Reduction, (as I know you are fully aware, tho' you choose to pause here,) cannot be expected to happen at least in time, and to the extent sought, for the relief of the Farmer; or rather, for the relief, I am disposed to think, of the former blunders of the Ministry. And why can it not? Why because our extravagance and prodigality, in spending, lending, and giving away the Wealth of the Nation, has been so rapid and so vast. We have contracted an immense debt, and must continue to pay the interest of an additional six hundred millions, incurred within these twenty years, to preserve our honour, and our credit from being sullied. We cannot, therefore, reduce

our taxes, I fear, greatly and suddenly. If we rest then, upon the grounds of the *Courier*, our Manufactures, and general prosperity must decline; and if upon an *immediate*, and an *efficient* reduction of our taxes, the Fund-holders must suffer, or the Wheels of the Government Mail be too much clogg'd, to perform their usual circumrotation. This, Mr. Cobbett, is a *puzzling dilemma*!—a situation of *distress* and *difficulty*, naturally suggesting two Questions.—*Who brought us into it?*—*What is to be done?*—In answer to the first, I say, that *those*, who have been supporting, and encouraging the War of *passion*, not of *prudence*;—*those* who denominated the voice of reason and of justice, *Jacobinism*; *those* who shouted, huzzaed, and bravadoed, echoing to a triumphant Majority of their said-to-be-Representatives in Parliament, at every new tax, and at every annual addition of fifteen or twenty millions of expenditure. Such, I regret to say, were a great portion of this easily-misled Nation, (the Agriculturists almost entirely) blinded, and half mad, by a *deceitful prosperity*, which they thought must still increase with *general wretchedness*; and which their self-nourished and destructive favor mistook for sincere and lasting reality.—As to the second question.—*What is to be done?*—What but, from *past errors*, to learn *future Wisdom*? This is the lot of humanity; and every thing which our *newly-awakened* reason, prudence, and economy can suggest, should, if possible, be instantaneously adopted:—Call the wisest Councils,—not of the present weak, and extravagant school, that has brought England into unexampled difficulties. Let every branch of our administration be rendered *economical*; cut off all superfluous expences; part with all irrational costly establishments; call upon our public Men, of *large fortunes*, to discharge, for a few years, *official duties gratis*; establish such *preventions*, with due care, that the same wasteful extravagance, the like *mania* for wanton warfare, with all its destructive costliness, never may recur. Let the Government honourably discharge its duties to the people; the People theirs to the Government. Let us but *do this honestly, wisely, promptly, and constitutionally*, and, like old English Patriots, we may still *fearless* look our Enemies in the face;—Still may our

Country lift her head amidst surrounding Nations!—and still may we find means, sufficient to meet all purposes.—Methinks I hear the manufacturers and agriculturists say, "Why, yes; all this may be true, but *how* are these matters to be carried into effect?"—By not *selling yourselves, first to trading members of Parliament*, then trading members cannot *sell you a second time*, in support of profusion, irrational wars, and the increase of taxation.—Ask *one and all constitutionally*, but *firmly* ask, for a radical reform in your representation.—Be *Englishmen*, and *English property*, but *justly, fairly, and honourably represented*; and corruption, tho' encouraged by the unthinking, and the prodigal, in the most wasteful profusion, *will not, cannot*, again bring this country into the distressing dilemma, which the lavish expenditure of the last twenty-three years has effected.—With this remedy, we should need *no importation duties upon corn*, nor be burthened with *more paupers*, or with *higher prices* for the necessaries of life than other countries.—Without this remedy, the evils we complain of must continue, seeing we have acquired the *Haven-born* taste for *millions over thousands*. England will then become a *Cipher* amongst the Nations of Europe!

TERTIO.

Jun. 31, 1815:

'HORRID BLASPHEMOUS IMPOSTURE!!!'

MR. COBBETT.—The following article, to which the Editor of the *Morning Post* has prefixed the above terrific title, appeared in that journal of yesterday:—"Paris, Feb. 1.—The Sixth Chamber of Correctional Police, this day, condemned to five years imprisonment, a hue of 200 francs, and the expenses of suit, a man named *Nagac*, who called himself *Le Bon Dieu*, on account of his alledged inspiration from heaven! It appeared, this audacious hypocrite had swindled many of his neighbours out of various sums of money—particularly the female sex—in consequence of his blasphemous pretensions."—From this article it appears, that in France things have considerably altered since Bonaparte was put down. During his reign, any man might have believed, professed, or pretended what he liked as to religion: Under the pre-

sent regime, inspiration is not permitted. Had Joanna Southcott, Parson Towzer, &c. gone over to that country, instead of making converts, they would have been sent to the gallies! Who, therefore, will attempt to deny, that *curs* is the *mildest* of all possible governments, and Lord Ellenborough the most *moderate* of all possible judges? Mr. George Houston, to be sure, who composed that most diabolical book entitled "*Ecce Homo*," is on the opposite side of the question. He wants to prove—what I shudder to think of—of course dare not repeat—and the poor man in France who set himself up as being "*Le Bon Dieu*," the good God himself, is sent (in order to convince the world of his mistake) to prison for five years! But his followers, I understand, swear, that this is a *certain evidence* of his divinity, and impiously appeal to historical proofs, whether an instance is not to be found, some where or other, of a man being even put to death for a similar offence, and yet becoming afterwards the founder of a religion so powerful, that to express a doubt of its divinity subjected every unfortunate disbeliever to fine, imprisonment, and its whole train of concomitant evils. I give you the text. I leave the commentary to your readers; and ain, &c.

Feb. 9, 1815.

PHILO-CIVIS.

THE LATE KING OF SWEDEN.

MR. COBBETT.—Of all the claimants among the *legitimate* sovereigns of Europe, to restitution of the territory and kingdoms, which they lost in consequence of the mighty events attending the French revolution, it was scarcely to be expected that the *ci-devant* king of Sweden would have come forward and placed himself in the list. At one period, no doubt, he was hailed in this enlightened country as a *magnanimous* prince, and extolled to the skies for his *virtues*, because he ventured to quarrel with Bonaparte; but our sagacious politicians were not long in discovering, that the *empty coffers* of his treasury were ill calculated to maintain a struggle with France. At first, our *generosity* enabled him to oppose something like a show of resistance to the "*Corsican Usurper*," but lavish as we were of our money at that period, we soon got tired of our magnanimous ally, and asserted that he was *mad* to think of resisting

the power of Napoleon. This unfortunate expression was immediately laid hold on by a faction: Gustavus was declared *insane* by his subjects, dethroned, exiled, and, ever since, has lived in retirement, on the scanty pittance which the humane and charitable were willing to bestow on fallen royalty. Now, however, he seems disposed to assert his rights, and if an article from Basle is to be credited, he has employed Sir Sydney Smith as his agent, to present a declaration to the Congress at Vienna, of which the substance is said to be a revocation, on his own part, and in behalf of his son, of the act of abdication by which he resigned the crown and government of Sweden.—Without attributing any improper motives to the interference of a British Minister in a business of this nature, I cannot help thinking that the appearance of this declaration at the present moment, is more for the purpose of alarming Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, than from any regard to the rights of the exiled monarch. How, indeed, can it be otherwise, when the case of the unfortunate sovereign of Saxony is considered?—As to him neither rights, justice nor policy are respected. It must, therefore, have been to promote some other object than that of asserting the *personal* claims of Gustavus, that he has been brought upon the carpet; and when the attempts which have lately been made by an infamous press, to bring the King of Naples into discredit are recollected, it will excite no surprise if it should turn out that the present is a scheme to favor some project, perhaps not yet fully matured, of dethroning Bernadotte. Whether this conjecture is well founded or not, a very short period will determine. Meanwhile I am your admirer. JULIAN,

Feb. 9th. 1815.

LEGION OF HONOUR.

SIR,—In your valuable Register of the week before last, your Correspondent *Civis*, has made a most unwarrantable attack upon the New Legion of Honour, by adding to the ranks of that "*most honourable Institution*," the person whom he calls "*Sir Digby Hamilton*," and classes with Sir Henry Torrens and Sir Harry Calvert, &c. I beg the favour of your being so good as to correct this

mis-statement, "the temporary rank Major General Waggon Master General" not having succeeded in his application to become a Member of the "Fraternity." It was indeed hinted that he was to have been one of the *Pen and Ink Knights*; but Mr. Canning having claimed Lord Cochrane's Vacancy, as you explained in a former Register, no Niche, *sufficiently capacious*, could be found for him.—Mr. Canning, it is said, generously offered to wave his claims in favour of the "Temporary Rank General," (in compliment to the Commander in Chief) but a doubt then arose as to the possibility of admitting him, as, in that case, Mr. Nalder, the worthy and respectable City Marshal, insisted upon being decorated with the Order, declaring that on the occasion of Sir Francis Burdett's commitment to the Tower, he had seen much more "*dangerous service*," in marshalling the carriages in order of march, than the "*Temporary Rank*" Major General ever saw in his whole military career, from his first "*official situation*" as Artillery Serjeant's Clerk, up to his present high office of superintendent of the Horse Guards! Lord Cochrane has certainly to regret his exclusion from the "honourable Order," under the present circumstances, for, unquestionably, he would have made many most *respectable* and valuable acquaintances, which he is now deprived of.

I beg leave to intrude one other remark:—As your Register is in very general circulation; no doubt some of your correspondents can favour me with information, as to what is the meaning of *Temporary Rank*; how long does it last; or does *temporary* mean "*permanent*?" Every "*Temporary Rank Officer*" in the whole Army has been long ago reduced: what therefore are the peculiar claims or merits of Temporary Rank Waggon Master Major General, Digby Hamilton, that a most invidious exception should be made in his favour? Have the fatal consequences, attendant on secret influence been forgotten? Or, are the *private services* of the "*Major General*," of such a nature as to demand that he should continue to receive a large annuity, and very great emoluments; such as forage for his horses, coals, candles &c. thus saddling the public with an enormous expence, without any apparent duty being performed for it? If this is an erroneous statement, some of your Cor-

respondents will set me right.—If not, perhaps through your channel the public will receive the desired information.

I am, &c. P. C.

Horse Guards, Feb. 2, 1815.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—The facts contained in the letters which appeared in your REGISTER within the last twelvemonth, exposing the abuse of power in the University of Oxford, afford a lamentable, but convincing, proof, that the head may be furnished with some learning, while the heart is without any feeling. It is evident that the persons to whom your correspondent's strictures apply, are those who have seen little or nothing of the world, or who have not had the good sense to profit by what they have seen; and whose ideas are consequently confined. His strictures apply to men, who are acquainted with books, but not with mankind; or who after having submitted to be slaves when under authority, avenge themselves by becoming tyrants.—I am confirmed in this opinion by a circumstance which your correspondent, I believe, will not deny, that so far as his statement regards the procuratorial office, the greatest abuses have, generally speaking, (though it must be owned there have been occasionally some striking instances to the contrary) been committed by the *youngest* men, and that the pro-proctors, who properly should only act in the absence of the proctors from the university, or by their immediate concurrence and advice, as the name of the officer imports, (*procurator*, i. e. the deputy's deputy) are more frequently to blame than their superiors in office. Indeed, it generally happens, that one or other of these young gentlemen, (for I do not accuse them all) through his extreme indiscretion, and ardent desire to shew and exert his power, will act in direct opposition to the good intentions of his superiors, who, unhappily, when an error has been committed by one or other of the said pro-proctors, think proper to support his authority, however ill-advisedly it may have been exercised. This is a very common cause of abuse, and of the injustice and cruelty which so frequently attend it. I remember an instance, not many years ago, of a quarrel in a house between two women, being construed into a riot, and on an information being laid by some ill-natured

person, the house was visited by one of the pro-proctors; though even if there had been a riot, it would not have come under his jurisdiction, but under that of a common peace-officer, as the university statutes, taken in their most rigid sense, only authorise its officers to enter houses in order to ascertain whether any members of the university are in them. The women, however, were taken before the officer who had the power of commitment, and instead of being dismissed by him with a reprimand, and a private hint being given to the pro-proctor to act with greater caution, were sent to prison. I cannot help observing, that out of six persons invested with so much power, there is great probability that one at least will be ill-conditioned or wrong-headed; and to see the extreme officiousness and increased activity of such a man as the termination of his short-lived power approaches, is highly ludicrous. It is sometimes the height of his ambition to procure a nomination to the office for two or three successive years.

Of the truth of your correspondent's statements, I am perfectly convinced by my own observations and inquiries; and I perfectly agree with him that neither the discipline nor morality of the University has been improved by the means he so justly censures. It may perhaps be said, that it is the duty of the officers of the University to exert themselves in the suppression of immorality. This I am ready to grant; but let it at the same time be remembered (to use the words of your correspondent, in his first letter) that "they are not justified in punishing offenders beyond the limits marked out by the law"; that "the profligate should be punished, and punished according to the known and equal law of the land, and not with greater severity than that allows; and that by good magistrates, reformation will always be preferred to severity of punishment." Your correspondent was too sanguine in his expectations that the windows of the cells in the prison would be immediately closed with glass. This is the case in the most modern and the best constructed prisons; but here it has not been done. I cannot help expressing my hopes, though, perhaps, I myself may be too sanguine in entertaining them, that the city magistrates will at some future time see the necessity of this humane alteration; that they will

consider imprisonment, in its legal sense, as merely implying confinement in a prison, which, considering the misery and privations necessarily attending it, even in its best state, must be very wretched, without subjecting the prisoners to any unnecessary hardship, or exposing their healths to irretrievable injury. As long, however, as this hardship continues, and in inclement weather, it is of the most severe description, as well as the extreme dampness of the prison, it is hoped that the humanity of the Vice-chancellor, will duly consider each particular case before he consigns a female to a punishment that may prove so injurious to her health and constitution. If we look into history, we shall find that Parliamentary interference has never been of much advantage either to the Universities or the Clergy. I confess, however, that such interference, whatever may be the consequence, would be more satisfactory than the constant irritation arising from a scene of cruelty and oppression, which will always exist, more or less in a place where the inhabitants are deprived of the protection of the common law of the land. I shall only add, that the good sense of those whom it may more immediately concern, should suggest to them, that in these days, such measures as were lately put in practice, and which, it is hoped, will never be revived, are not well adapted to perpetuate privileges.

Oxford, Feb. 1, 1815.

H. S.

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

Continued from page 160.

the acknowledged principles of public law, and to the practice of all civilized nations, particularly of Great Britain and the United States. It is not founded on reciprocity. It is unnecessary for the attainment of the object which it professes to have in view. No maxim of public law has hitherto been more universally established among the Powers of Europe possessing territories in America, and there is none to which Great Britain has more uniformly and inflexibly adhered, than that of suffering no interposition of a foreign power in the relations between the acknowledged Sovereign of the territory, and the Indians situated upon it. Without the admission of this principle, there would be no intelligible meaning attached to stipulations establishing boundaries between the dominions in America of civilized nations possessing territories

inhabited by Indian tribes. Whatever may be the relations of Indians to the nation in whose territory they are thus acknowledged to reside, they cannot be considered as an independent power by the nation which has made such acknowledgement. That the territory of which Great Britain now wishes to dispose is within the dominions of the United States, was solemnly acknowledged by herself, in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, which established their boundaries, and by which she relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights, within those boundaries. No condition respecting the Indians residing therein was inserted in that Treaty. No stipulation similar to that now proposed is to be found in any treaty made by Great Britain, or within the knowledge of the undersigned by any other nation. The Indian tribes for which Great Britain propose now to stipulate, have themselves acknowledged this principle. By the Grenville Treaty of 1795, to which the British Plenipotentiaries have alluded, it is expressly stipulated, and the condition has been confirmed by every subsequent Treaty, so late as the year 1810—"That the Indian tribes shall quietly enjoy their lands, hunting, planting, and dwellings thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but that when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, they are to be sold only to the United States: that until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude on the same; and that the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and of no other power whatever." That there is no reciprocity in the proposed stipulation is evident. In prohibiting Great Britain and the United States from purchasing lands within a part of the dominions of the latter power, while it professes to take from Great Britain a privilege which she had not, it actually deprives the United States of a right exclusively belonging to them. The proposition is also utterly unnecessary for the purpose of obtaining a pacification for the Indians residing within the territories of the United States. The undersigned have already had the honour of informing the British Plenipotentiaries that, under the system of liberal policy adopted by the United States in their relations with the Indians within their territories, an uninterrupted peace had subsisted from the year 1795, not only between the United States and all those tribes, but also amongst those tribes themselves, for a longer period of time than ever had been known since the first settlement of North America. Against those Indians the United States have neither interest nor inclination

to continue the war. They have nothing to ask of them but peace. Commissioners on their part have been appointed to conclude it, and an armistice was actually made last Autumn with most of those tribes. The British Government may again have induced some of them to take their side in the war, but peace with them will necessarily follow immediately a peace with Great Britain. To a provisional article similar to what has been stipulated in some former treaties, engaging that each party will treat for the Indians within its territories, include them in the peace, and use its best endeavours to prevent them from committing hostilities against the citizens or subjects of the other party, the undersigned might assent, and rely on the approbation and ratification of their Government. They would also, for the purpose of securing the duration of peace, and to prevent collisions which might interrupt it, propose a stipulation which should preclude the subjects or citizens of each nation respectively, from trading with the Indians residing in the territory of the other. But to surrender both the rights of sovereignty and of soil over nearly one-third of the territorial dominions of the United States to a number of Indians not probably exceeding 20,000, the undersigned are so far from being instructed or authorized, that they assure the British Commissioners, that any arrangement for that purpose would be instantaneously rejected by their Government. Not only has this extraordinary demand been made a *sine qua non*, to be admitted without a discussion, and as a preliminary basis, but it is accompanied by others equally inadmissible, which the British Plenipotentiaries state to be so connected with it, that they may reasonably influence the decision of the undersigned upon it, yet leaving them uninformed how far these other demands may also be insisted on as indispensable conditions of a peace. As little are the undersigned instructed or empowered to accede to the propositions of the British Government, in relation to the military occupation of the Western Lakes. If they have found the proposed interference of Great Britain in the concerns of Indians residing within the United States utterly incompatible with any established maxim of public law, they are no less at a loss to discover by what rule of perfect reciprocity the United States can be required to renounce their equal right of maintaining a naval force upon those Lakes, and of fortifying their own shores, while Great Britain reserves exclusively the corresponding rights to herself. That in point of military preparation Great Britain, in her possessions in North America, ever has been in a condition to be termed, with propriety, the weaker power, in comparison with the United States, the undersigned believe to be incorrect in point of fact. In regard to the fortification of

the shores, and to the forces actually kept on foot upon those frontiers, they believe the superiority to have always been on the side of Great Britain. If by the proposal to dismantle the forts upon her shores, strike for ever her military flag upon her lakes, and lay her whole frontier defenceless in the presence of her armed and fortified neighbour, had proceeded not from Great Britain to the United States, but from the United States to Great Britain, the undersigned may safely appeal to the bosoms of his Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries for the feelings with which, not only in regard to the interests, but the honour of their nation, they would have received such a proposal. What would Great Britain herself say, it, in relation to another frontier, where she has the acknowledged superiority of strength, it were proposed that she should be reduced to a condition even of equality with the United States. The undersigned further perceive, that under the alleged purpose of opening a direct communication between two of the British provinces in America, the British Government require a cession of territory forming a part of one of the States of the American Union, and that they propose, without purpose specifically alleged, to draw the boundary-line westward, not from the Lake of the Woods, as it now is, but from Lake Superior. It must be perfectly immaterial to the United States, whether the object of the British Government, in demanding the dismemberment of the United States is to acquire territory, as such, or for purposes less liable, in the eyes of the world, to be ascribed to the desire of aggrandisement. Whatever the motive may be, and with whatever consistency views of conquest may be disclaimed while demanding for herself, or for the Indians, a cession of territory more extensive than the whole island of Great Britain, the duty marked out for the undersigned is the same. They have no authority to cede any part of the territory of the United States, and to no stipulation to that effect will they subscribe. The conditions proposed by Great Britain have no relation to the subsisting differences between the two countries: they are inconsistent with acknowledged principles of public law: they are founded neither on reciprocity nor on any of the usual bases of negotiation, neither on that of the *uti possidetis*, or the *status ante bellum*: they would inflict the most vital injury on the United States, by dismembering the territory, by arresting their natural growth and increase of population, and by leaving their northern and western frontier equally exposed to British invasion and to Indian aggression; they are above all dishonourable to the United States, in demanding from them to

abandon territory and a portion of their citizens, to admit a foreign interference in their domestic concerns, and to cease to exercise their natural rights on their own shores and in their own waters.— A treaty concluded on such terms would be but an armistice. It cannot be supposed that America would long submit to conditions so injurious and degrading. It is impossible, in the natural course of events, that she should not, at the first favourable opportunity, recur to arms for the recovery of her territory, of her rights, of her honour. Instead of settling existing differences, such a peace would only create new causes of war, sow the seeds of a permanent hatred, and lay the foundation of hostilities for an indefinite period. Essentially pacific from her political institutions, from the habits of her citizens, from her physical situation, America reluctantly engaged in the war. She wishes for peace; but she wishes for it upon those terms of reciprocity, honourable to both countries, which can alone render it permanent. The causes of the war between the United States and Great Britain having disappeared by the maritime pacification of Europe, the government of the United States does not desire to continue it, in defence of abstract principles which have, for the present, ceased to have any practical effect. The undersigned have been accordingly instructed to agree to its termination, both parties restoring whatever territory they may have taken, and both reserving all their rights, in relation to their respective seasmen. To make the peace between the two nations solid and permanent, the undersigned were also instructed and have been prepared to enter into the amicable discussion of all those points on which differences or uncertainty had existed, and which might hereafter lead in any degree whatever to interrupt the harmony of the two countries, without, however making the conclusion of the peace at all depend upon a successful result of the discussion. It is, with deep regret, that the undersigned have seen that other views are entertained by the British Government, and that new and unexpected pretensions are raised, which, if persisted in, must oppose an insuperable obstacle to a pacification. It is not necessary to refer such demands to the American Government for its instruction; they will only be a fit subject of deliberation, when it becomes necessary to decide upon the expediency of an absolute surrender of National Independence. The undersigned request the British Plenipotentiaries to accept the assurance of their high consideration. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, JAMES A. BAYARD, JONATHAN RUSSELL, H. CLAY, A. GALLATIN.

(To be continued.)

SIERRA LEONE.

SEVERAL years ago I endeavoured to draw the attention of the public to the proceedings of the Sierra Leone Company, of which Mr. WILBERFORCE was the protector, patron, and chief.—I endeavoured, but in vain, to make the public perceive, that the whole thing was a *deception*, originating in folly, or in a desire to gain popularity. I have now before me a pamphlet, written by Mr. THORPE, *Chief Justice of the Colony*, which proves, in the clearest manner, that my opinion of this thing was perfectly correct. The author, in the form of a LETTER, addresses himself to Mr. WILBERFORCE; and from this Letter I shall make two extracts, which I dare say, will be sufficient to convince the reader, that this specious project has *wholly failed* in its pretended object, and that it was very foolish, to say the least of it, to squander the public money on such an undertaking.

First Extract.

"The unbounded benevolence and unparalleled philanthropy attributed to you, I am confident will induce you to excuse this hasty and unornamented epistle; but my continuance in England being very uncertain, I am impelled precipitately to commit myself to you and to the public.—You have been for above twenty years considered the patron of Sierra Leone, and you are designated the 'Father of the Abolition.' The effect of my exertions for that colony, and the spirit of my decisions in support of the abolition, I hope will prove, that I have been as sincere a friend to the one, and practically as beneficial a promoter of the other, as any unassuming individual. Thus embarked, I should consider it a dereliction of principle, and a proof of insensibility, to neglect exerting myself at all times in this great cause; but the calamitous accounts I have recently received from Sierra Leone, and the

"awefully pending state of the abolition, imperiously demand from me some effort at this moment. Private exertion I have exhausted; from high authority I am personally excluded; therefore to public appeal I am driven. It is the only means by which I can fulfil my duty to the King, my attention to the colony, over which I judicially preside, and manifest my zeal for the civilization of Africa, and the abolition of the slave trade.—I shall commence with a review of what has been done from the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company;* whose avowed objects were to encourage trade with the west coast of Africa; to promote cultivation, advance civilization, diffuse morality, and induce some attention to a pure system of religion in Africa;† as also, not to suffer their servants to have the slightest connection with the slave trade; neither to buy, sell, or employ any one in a state of slavery; and to repress the traffic as far as their influence would extend.' This was a wise and truly beneficent plan, promising wealth to England, and happiness to Africa; but I have enquired, and found that no part of it was ever carried into effect.—The Company obtained, in a very short time, a superabundance of land, finely situated, and well circumstanced, on the Sierra Leone river,† in exchange for a few insignificant articles of merchandise; they collected together from London, Halifax, and Jamaica, near two thousand settlers at very little expense; they had zealous and affluent supporters in England; they had unprejudiced and tractable (though unenlightened) natives to negotiate with; and they had near two hundred and fifty thousand pounds capital; yet

* Vide their Report for 1794, printed by Phillips George-yard, Lombard-street.

† Falconbridge's Account, 1792; also the Agreement with King Naimbens and the Company.

"they very quickly made the natives
 "suspicious, the settlers discontented,"
 "their best servants were obliged to seek
 "establishments under the native chiefs,†
 "and although they had a monopoly of
 "the trade, and their will was the regu-
 "lation of profit, they sunk almost to
 "bankruptcy, from causes enveloped in
 "mystery, and applied to Government
 "for support and protection.‡ To the
 "Nova Scotia settlers they promised
 "land for cultivation; twenty acres for
 "each man;§ ten for his wife; and five
 "for each child; but this promise they
 "never fulfilled: || no man was allowed
 "above a fifth of the land to which he
 "was entitled; and implements to culti-
 "vate even such a portion, were difficult
 "to find, and too expensive to procure.
 "The settlers could not raise in the co-
 "lony even rice and yams for subsistence;
 "their very existence depended on a sup-
 "ply from the neighbouring rivers. Had
 "land been granted at the commence-
 "ment to the settlers as promised; had
 "they been enabled to cultivate and
 "raise provisions for consumption and
 "barter, they would soon have render-
 "ed themselves independent of, and less
 "profitable to the Company; whose
 "storekeeper purchased provisions from
 "the natives, paid for them in merchan-
 "dise,¶ and sold them to the settlers;
 "this might have produced little profit,
 "but it secured great control. Even the
 "plants indigenous to the soil remained
 "uncultivated. Cotton, coffee, indigo,
 "tobacco, &c. &c. were conspicuous;
 "but it was in all the wildness of nature.
 "Such were their efforts to promote cul-
 "tivation.—In civilization they proceed-
 "ed so far as to send two persons to
 "Teembo,** (a few days walk from Sier-
 "ra Leone) and educated half a dozen
 "African boys in England sufficiently for
 "common clerkships in the colony.—
 "As to religion and morality, they had a
 "Church of England clergyman for a

"few months,* and a missionary for a
 "few years; but they had Methodist
 "teachers and preachers in abundance;
 "the benefits derived from their precepts
 "may be imagined, from the missionary
 "assuring me on his leaving the colony
 "in 1812, relinquishing his house and
 "350l. per annum, 'that he could do no
 "good there, as the inhabitants were
 "too far sunk in sin and immorality.
 "'that he would remove to the Boollain
 "shore, try new ground, and endeavour
 "to instruct the natives, improve their
 "condition in this life, and prepare
 "them with a knowledge of, and con-
 "duct for, the world to come.' Lastly,
 "their servants constantly purchased the
 "natives,‡ worked them themselves with-
 "out pay, and hired them to others for
 "pay; suffered slaves to be brought in
 "and taken out of the colony; allowed
 "them to be seized and delivered to their
 "masters when they sought protection;
 "permitted their storekeeper to supply
 "the slave factories,§ slave ships, and to
 "feed the trade in every possible way.
 "Even in Mr. Ludlam's last administra-
 "tion of the government, two cargoes
 "of slaves, taken from the Americans,
 "were publicly sold at twenty dollars a
 "head.¶ So much for their efforts to
 "repress the slave trade, of which they
 "had professed such an abhorrence,
 "and which the act of parliament for
 "incorporating the company forbade
 "them to pursue. Is it possible the di-
 "rectors did not know, hear, or believe,
 "this, or any part of it? If disappro-
 "bation had attached to such conduct,
 "is it probable they would continue in
 "their confidence, after they had heard
 "of it, the persons who managed their
 "concerns? Or did they imagine by
 "trumpeting their abhorrence of this
 "diabolical traffic, fulminating against
 "every person implicated in it, and bla-
 "zoning the virtues of those who seemed
 "anxious to exterminate it, that they
 "would prevent those transactions from
 "being divulged; or if revealed, that

* Appendix, No. I.

† Some of them returned to the colony after the Abolition act passed, and reside there at present.

‡ Vide Parliamentary grants.

§ Lieutenant Clarkson, who signed the agreement.

|| Settlers remonstrated in vain, then ensued an insurrection.

¶ Falconbridge's Account, p. 189.

** Vide Company's Report.

* Falconbridge's Account.

† Given in evidence, on oath, before Governor Thompson and Chief Justice Thorpe.

‡ Abundance of proof of this in the colony.

§ Documents to prove this may be found in the High Court of Admiralty, as transmitted by Governor Thompson, in 1808-9.

"they could induce this nation to dis-
 "credit any authority that might dare
 "to give them utterance? The Omni-
 "scient will know and judge; impotent
 "humanity may conjecture! After six-
 "teen years experiment, trade having
 "failed; cultivation being retarded; ci-
 "vilization unattempted; religion and
 "morality debased; and the slave trade
 "nourished; every plan defeated, every
 "artifice exposed; the Company, desir-
 "ous of relieving themselves from the
 "enormous expense, prevailed on Go-
 "vernment to accept a surrender of the
 "colony,* and formed (to uphold their
 "old influence) a society (called the Afri-
 "can Institution; having taken leave of
 "the expense, they demanded to be paid
 "for their buildings, and did accordingly
 "receive a large sum from the treasury,
 "although they had before obtained (by
 "pleading poverty) one hundred thou-
 "sand pounds from Government for the
 "improvement of the colony: their books
 "and agents were removed; while many
 "of the poor settlers who had toiled for
 "them for years were left unpaid. The
 "case of some of these old, impoverish-
 "ed, and destitute people, I represented
 "before the chairman of the Sierra Le-
 "one Company, in a committee of the
 "African Institution; but no redress was
 "offered: I simply requested that all
 "their demands might be referred to
 "arbitration in the colony; and even this
 "was not complied with."

Second Extract.

"I have now, Sir, arrived at the time for
 "addressing you as the *Father of the Abo-*
 "lition. I presume, by accepting the ap-
 "pellation, you hold yourself thereto enti-
 "tled; yet, '*tis passing strange*;' for
 "Mr. Clarkson, (whose active humanity,
 "indefatigable industry, in the cause of
 "abolition, can never be sufficiently ap-
 "preciated or applauded,) was certainly
 "engaged in this great cause near twen-
 "ty years before he enlisted you under
 "his banners. The invaluable and ever
 "to be regretted Mr. Granville Sharpe,
 "was nearly fifteen years in the cause of
 "injured Africa, before you joined his
 "amiable band of philanthropists. Many
 "other worthy personages, whom Mr.
 "Clarkson's History records, were enga-

ged with him near ten years before
 "your accession; yet you are now held
 "up to this enlightened age, and would
 "be handed down to posterity, as the
 "parent that generated the abolition of
 "slavery, emancipated, enlightened, cul-
 "tivated, and civilized Africa! Be it as
 "it may: I have examined already the
 "means adopted to effect some of those
 "praise-worthy objects, and how far
 "they have succeeded; now I shall pro-
 "ceed to shew, how little your theory
 "extended to pure abolition, and that,
 "practically, you have not been in the
 "slightest degree successful. That you
 "most laudably assisted Sir William
 "Dobbin, and others, in procuring Bills
 "to be passed for meliorating the condi-
 "tion of slaves in their Transatlantic
 "passage, I delight in acknowledging;
 "but when I behold you for near twen-
 "ty years professedly struggling with the
 "great and all-commanding minister of
 "this country; whose administration of
 "this government you admired, and to
 "whose private friendship you were de-
 "voted; it is wonderful this benevolent
 "measure was not carried. You knew
 "Mr. Pitt was all powerful with his par-
 "ty, and the sole director of his admi-
 "nistration: you had a commanding,
 "connected phalanx of friends in Par-
 "liament; and on this occasion, you had
 "the people's support, and the finest feel-
 "ings of the nation to gratify; yet for
 "twenty years you did not carry this
 "Bill; though you apparently acted with
 "such a commanding associate. It is
 "evident you never did make it a "*sine*
 "qua non" of the continuance of your
 "support of Mr. Pitt's Administration:
 "the speaking on it, for it, and about it,
 "was "*ad captandum vulgus*:" it served
 "to uphold the pendulum in its vacil-
 "lancy between the minister and the peo-
 "ple. But what is still more wonderful,
 "a new Administration was formed, to
 "the members of which you were not
 "the devoted friend; of whose measures
 "you were not an unshaken admirer;
 "who were not in themselves all com-
 "manding in Parliament; yet by those
 "very men, without hesitation, or delay,
 "this Bill was carried in both Lords
 "and Commons. Did you ever tell Mr.
 "Fox, or Lords Grey and Grenville,
 "that the justice, policy, and humanity
 "of the abolition were so impressed on
 "your conviction, that you could not

* Transferred 1st January, 1808.

† Vide public account, 1800.

"conscientiously support any ministers, that would not assist you in carrying it into effect? The whole tenour of your language on the subject would have prompted and justified this demand; but you did no such thing; the integrity, the humanity, and the consistency of these distinguished statesmen, induced them to give their whole unbribed, and voluntary assistance, in accomplishing this great work. The Bill was evidently carried by their exertions; and cannot be attributed either to your perseverance or benevolence. —Allow me to look at the Abolition Act minutely, which I hope will not appear to be an offspring of your's, though the features rather proclaim the parent; for you avow it is not slave very, but the Slave Trade, you dislike. In your Letter to Prince Talleyrand, you say, 'The abolitionists took all opportunities of proclaiming that it was the Slave Trade, not slavery, against which they were directing their efforts.' The Abolition Act upholds the same principle; but it did not express the true uncontaminated principle, nor the fine feeling of this magnanimous country. —By the seventh section of the Act, 'slaves taken as prizes or forfeitures, may be enlisted for the land or sea service; or may be bound as apprentices, whether of full age or not, for a term of fourteen years;' and by sections 16th and 17th, it is laid down, that when the term of apprenticeship has expired, they may be apprenticed anew; and the service of a negro soldier is directed to be for life; so that here is involuntary servitude for life established by an Act of Parliament purporting to abolish slavery. The soldier may endure some sea sickness in crossing the Atlantic, I suppose, because he receives some compensation; but here is a permanent, sedentary slavery for life, under the name of apprenticeship, without any compensation, established by this liberating Act of our Legislature: and the seat of this new slavery is in Free-town, in the colony founded by the most benevolent men, on the most liberal plan: exalted as the freest spot on earth, to enlighten benighted Africa; and displayed to the world as the finest example of British liberty, and British philanthropy! But with sorrow I must declare, this

"substitute for the slave trade, appears evidently to have been a premeditated plan, well laid before the Act passed, from the interesting letter which your worthy Secretary, Mr. Macaulay, wrote to Governor Ludlam, dated London, 7th of May, 1807*. — You somewhat misconceive (says he) our ideas in this country on the subject of African slavery. While the slave trade lasted, I certainly was averse to giving any direct encouragement to the purchasing of slaves, with a view to the benefit of their labor for a certain given period; but I always looked forward to the event of the abolition, as removing many objections to that system. — Thus the Abolition act is to give us slaves without purchase, by seizing them from our allies; and then the framers of this magical act (which is to free and enslave at the same moment), acknowledge, that they look forward to its removing many objections to our purchasing Africans, for the same avowed and specific purpose ourselves! As I view and consider this whole plan, the act, the promoters, and the manner in which it has been enforced, I am scarcely able to suppress the language that would express my sensations; however, I must repeat what he says: 'You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this country, on the subject of African slavery.' This is, we are the most abominable hypocrites on earth; proclaiming to the world, that from the finest feelings of justice and humanity, we are abolishing the slave trade; yet, in the most surreptitious manner, we are determined to pursue it vigorously, and raise all tropical produce by slaves, not in the West Indies, but in Africa. — The West Indian planters and merchants suffered; and complained long since; but when they perceive the authors of their calamity planning to obtain plantations without purchase, labourers without expense, territory from the Gambia to Angola, and a monopoly of the exports and imports, I fear they will consider this an attempt at their inevitable ruin. The army having

* To be found with the others, as before directed.

† Pans for boiling sugar were long since sent to Sierra Leone.



"taken near three thousand of the finest
 "slaves, may have retarded the benefit
 "of this plan: but though slow, it will
 "be sure. A peace will leave the cap-
 "tured negroes without diminution, or
 "competition. The Brazil and Havana
 "produce will throw the West India
 "planters out of the foreign market;
 "and here will be an effort to undersell
 "them in the home market. But this is
 "too large a field for me; I shall only re-
 "mark, that Prince Talleyrand, many
 "years past, explained the advantages
 "that would arise to France, by culti-
 "vating colonial produce in Africa;
 "though he did not recommend the
 "confiscation of property, that by a fic-
 "tion might be turned to the very use
 "which caused it to be confiscated.—Sir,
 "I lament being obliged to speak of my-
 "self; but our relative situations with
 "respect to the slave trade and Sierra
 "Leone, being the cause of this public
 "address to you, it is necessary to shew
 "what we have done, what benefit has
 "arisen, and then to point out the best
 "mode my humble efforts can devise,
 "for insuring a secure, perfect, and uni-
 "versal abolition, by which Africa may
 "be raised from its degraded and be-
 "sotted state, to its natural elevation
 "in the civilized world.—It is evident
 "that the objects you had in founding
 "the colony of Sierra Leone, have com-
 "pletely failed. The dissipation of your
 "funds proved the injudiciousness of
 "your trade; cultivation and civilization
 "were not attempted. The native chiefs
 "considered your servants as faithless
 "and perfidious, your colony was a wil-
 "derness, your settlers poor and dissa-
 "tisfied, and the slave trade nurtured,
 "until Mr Thompson arrived as gover-
 "nor.† The abolition act has transferred

"the slave trade from England to Portugal
 "and Spain; it has thrown our colonies
 "back, and advanced the Brazils and Ha-
 "vannah more in six years, than thirty
 "had done before. Do not let it be
 "supposed, that I would have had the
 "sin and degradation of the slave trade
 "continue to be attached to England:
 "when justice immolates wealth on the
 "altar of humanity, it is an offering
 "grateful to her benevolent spirit; but
 "this Act has scarcely diminished the
 "number of slaves carried from the coast;
 "the Portugal and Spanish trade has so
 "wonderfully increased, that the dif-
 "ference is insignificant since ours was
 "abolished, and what is worse, it has
 "augmented the negroes' sufferings in
 "the trans-atlantic passage: the Brazil
 "ships are not only filled most unmer-
 "cifully, but the Spaniards (in general)
 "from the Havannah, fearful of our
 "cruisers, come without irons, and there-
 "fore, for security, stow those unoffending
 "beings into the hold, like lumps of Cam-
 "wood; never opening the hatchways
 "more than once a day, to convey food
 "in, and drag the dead out. It is thus
 "literally a fact, that securing them with
 "irons, was mercy compared to commit-
 "ting them to suffocation, by confine-
 "ment in the hold of their vessels; from
 "whence they cannot emerge to fresh
 "air, until they arrive at their final desti-
 "nation. I do not conceive we are ever
 "redeemed from the sin of this trade.
 "Africa, and the Abolition cause, can-
 "not derive any advantage by our not
 "carrying the slaves to the West Indies,
 "to make soldiers of them there, if we
 "make soldiers of them in Africa, and
 "then transport them to the West In-
 "dies; nor can our buying slaves in
 "Africa, and selling them in the West
 "Indies; or seizing them in Africa, and
 "employing them there, under the name
 "of apprentices, on the same labour for
 "life without pay or reward, benefit
 "Africa, or promote abolition. Certain-
 "ly fewer negroes may be enslaved by
 "us in this way than formerly; but I
 "think if a person purchases a slave,
 "and does not expect a constant supply,
 "he will be more likely to treat his slave
 "leniently, than the person who obtain-
 "ed him for nothing, and may expect a
 "supply on the same terms. The num-
 "ber might be diminished, but the cru-
 "elty will be increased."

* Four most extraordinary letters in Arabic from those chiefs to our universally beloved Sovereign, establishing this, and denominating the persons, are now in London, and translated.

† The true state of Sierra Leone, in 1808, will be clearly seen from documents sent to the High Court of Admiralty by Governor Thompson; from his correspondence with Lord Castlereagh (then Secretary of State for the Colonies); from the Protest of the Governor and Council against the Abolition Act; and the system of apprenticeship, transmitted for the Privy Council; and lastly, from Governor Thompson's memorial to the Treasury in 1813.

Now, reader, is it any wonder, that the French should call in question our *sincerity* as to the noise we make about the *abolition of the Slave Trade*? And, is it worth while for us to run the risk of another war, in order to make other nations abolish it? Surely, it will be asked, why we have not been able to induce Portugal to *abolish* it? But, the ground of our anxiety becomes but too plain, when we hear this author say, that the *Portuguese and Spanish colonies have gained upon ours in prosperity ever since we abolished it*. It is very true, that we can have no *right*, and that we can have no reason to plead in justification of our interfering thus with the affairs of other nations; but, we make a sorry figure, indeed, in prating so much about our *humanity*, while we are doing what is recorded in this pamphlet.—In sport, our *real* objects are known, and the consequences will be, that we shall not succeed.

PROPERTY TAX AND FINANCE.

The Parliament have met, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer tells us, that the Property Tax is *not to be revived or continued*; but, we are given to understand, that *other taxes* are to be imposed in its stead. The Property Tax produces fourteen millions annually. The revenue cannot be reduced at all, unless the army be *wholly disbanded*, or unless the *fundholders be ruined*, or unless *loans are to continue to be made*; and especially if *prices continue low*.—For, how are *other taxes to be raised*? They talk of doubling the *assessed taxes*. That is to say, of doubling the *rate*; but, that will not add to, but will diminish the *receipt*. These taxes have been kept up by the *high prices*. Without any addition to them, one half of the *payers* would lay down some of the taxed articles; and, if the rate be doubled, or augmented in any considerable degree, one half of the articles will be laid down. Not only will people lay down carriages and horses, and shut up windows to meet the *addition*; but many will go further. If they once *overcome their reluctance* to lay down their coaches and gigs, they will go the whole length, and move about *on foot* at once. I know several persons who will do this, and am myself of the number. If any addition

be made to my assessed taxes, away go ALL the *pleasure* part of my establishment. I shall keep *one good horse* to carry a person expeditiously in case of need, and about *five or six dogs*; and that shall be all. These are necessities of life; and these only will I keep, if one penny of additional expence be put upon me, in assessed taxes, in that of land, malt, salt, soap, candles, leather, sugar, or tea; and I will shut up windows, leaving myself only just light enough to enable me to move about the house without hitting my head against the door posts. In this way, I shall be able to make up for what I shall be compelled to pay in the taxes on the necessities of life. And will not this be done by *others*? The Tax Office will see what is going to take place by the *Notices* that they will receive within this month.—The remedy is, therefore, as I said before, to *disband the whole of the army*; pay the officers their just due in half-pay; reduce the navy to the state of 1788, when France and Spain, and Holland and Denmark had fleets; reduce the Civil List to its state of 1788; reduce all salaries in proportion; cut off all pensions granted during pleasure; dispose of that public property which is called crown land; curtail the expences in every department; let the fundholders see, that there are solid taxes to meet the interest due to them; then cease to raise money on account of the Sinking Fund; and we shall be able to go on without *taxes* and without *corn bills*.—And why should not this remedy be adopted? What do we want with an army constantly on foot? Our ancestors lived very safely, many hundreds of years without a *standing army in time of peace*. We are at peace now with all the world. What, then, do we want with an army? And, if we are to keep up these great military and naval establishments, we have really *lost* by the overthrow of Napoleon and the consequent peace; because, we have all the *expences* without the *profits* of war.

CORN BILL. No. III.

This measure has been mentioned in the House of Lords, upon the presenting, by Lord Hardwicke, of a Petition from the County of Cambridge, in which the Petitioners state, that they are wholly unable to contend with the growers of corn, in countries where the farmers pay

no *tythes*, no *poor-rates*, and comparatively very little in *taxes of any sort*.—Well said Cambridgeshire! So, then, here are “the loyal;” the old, loyal “*Uman-dry Gavaldry*,” the gallant men, whose swords glittered like lightning, a few years ago, against the poor Jacobins, who were safe enough under the warrants of the Secretary of State; here are these “the loyal” *par excellence*, crying out, by a side wind, against *tythes*, *poor-rates*, and *taxes of all sorts*; that is to say, against the *established church*, and against the very existence of that system of sway, to uphold which they often pledged themselves to spend their “*last shilling*, and the *last drop of their blood*.” What, then, would these men insinuate, that the French people are *better off* than we are; that they have *gained* by that revolution which has been so much abused; that, in getting rid of *tythes* and *taxes*, they have really been, upon the whole, benefited! Do they confess, that we are come out of the contest *worsted*? How does this agree with all the bonfires, and bell-ringing, and ox-roasting, and Serpentine River, and Green Park rejoicings? What! do they confess, after all, that we have *lost* by the 22 years struggle?—But *tythes*; why do they name *tythes*, unless to ask for their *abolition*? Nay, unless to ask for the sending of the Bishops and Parsons to grass? If, now, any one were to write against *religion*, and to say, that it was useless, how these persons would grind their teeth at him, and grin with delight at seeing him sent to starve and rot in a jail. How they would bellow forth *Atheist*, *Blasphemer*, and all sorts of vile appellations. If any one were to *ridicule* the rites and ceremonies of marriage, baptism, churching of women, confirmation, visitation of the sick, the Lord’s supper, absolution, consecration of church-yards, burial of the dead, how they would stare at him; how they would rejoice to see him ruined, and killed by inches. And yet, they aim a much more direct blow at all these things by insinuating, that they cannot sell bread so cheap as they would be able to sell it, if the *tythes*, which support the Church, did not exist.—We are upon the eve, I imagine, of some *great change* in public matters. The war has left all its heavy load behind it, and has lost all its profits. To raise the means of supporting that load, the government must adopt some

measure to *keep up prices*. The farmer who grows 100 quarters of wheat can get on if the government demand 50 quarters towards the payment of the debt expences, and the army, navy, and royal family and other things; but, if the government demand 90 quarters of it, the farmer cannot go on. And, it is quite useless to “*Exchequer him*”; for, dreadful as the fulmination may be, it cannot make him pay that which he *has not*.—Let me make this matter as clear as day-light.—Farmer Gripeum pays, in all sorts of *taxes*, direct and indirect, 200 pounds a year to the government. He grows 50 quarters of wheat. If his wheat be 120 shillings a quarter, the government demand about 32 quarters of it, but, if his wheat be 60 shillings a quarter, the government demand about 64 quarters of it, which is 14 quarters more than poor Gripeum grows, who is obliged, therefore, to sell cows, pigs, sheep, and every thing else before the year is out, to make up the deficiency, to pay his rent, labour, and to find him clothes. It is manifest, therefore, that Gripeum must be ruined if he cannot sell his wheat at a high price as long as the demand of the government continues to be heavy. But, then, if he sells his wheat dear, the baker must sell his *bread* dear; so that it comes, at last to this; heavy *taxes* make *dear bread*: it is the loaf that is taxed, and the consumer pays the tax.—If it be resolved, that the *taxes shall not be reduced*, a Corn Bill *must* be made; for, without it the *taxes* cannot be collected. I, for my part, expect to see wheat, before next harvest, 6*l.* a quarter; and this ought to be no subject of complaint with those *who are for the army’s not being disbanded*. They wish for the army to continue, and, really, I am for no dispute with them about the matter, but, then, they cannot suppose, that our ministers, liberal as they are, can keep up the army out of their own pockets. The question is this: are you for a standing army, or Cheap Bread.—Both you cannot have. There are no petitions against the former, and, therefore, it would be unreasonable and unjust to expect the latter.—It appears, that a county meeting in Kent has been held for the purpose of petitioning for a Corn Bill.—The *people* (for the people they are) overset the Meeting, and committed some violences. The *Courier* blames them; but did not this man, *last year*

promulgate the very errors, upon which these people have acted? Now he has found out, that the government cannot collect the taxes without a Corn Bill; and therefore, now he is for a Corn Bill!—There is one precious confession in this paper. It is as follows: "*The division of property in France, however disastrous its ultimate effects, has created a far greater and more universal tillage than existed before the Revolution.*" Pray, reader, mark well these words; and, pray do recollect, that this same man a thousand times told us, and swore to the fact, that Bonaparte took away all the able men, and left none but old men, women, and children to till the land! But, the main fact is: France grows *more food* in consequence of *her revolution*; her land is *tilled better* in consequence of *her revolution*; revolutions which put down aristocracy and priesthood produce cheap bread by causing more corn to be grown. This is what we are now told in the "*loyal*" newspapers. I am glad, at any rate, if the measure is to be adopted, that such men as Mr. Coke, Mr. Weston, and Mr. Whitbread, mean to leave it to the GOVERNMENT. It is, as I said last year, *their* affair, and not the affair of the farmers' and landowners. Not a word would I say, if I were Mr. Coke; not a vote would I give, for the measure. It is a question which lies wholly with the government, the army, and the fundholders. If prices are very high, all these may yet be supported; if prices are not very high, they cannot.—Where now is the famous OLD GEORGE ROSE, "*the friend of the people*?" Why does he not now come forward? Wheat is *dearer* than it was when he opposed the bill before. Where is the worthy old man now? His creatures at Southampton, too, are quiet as mice, though they have felt such benefits from the imports of wheat from France.—It would provoke almost any man but me to see himself robbed as I am by these newspaper writers. All that they now say in the way of argument to shew the necessity of high prices, was said by me, last year, in my address to the people of Southampton. They have absolutely nothing new; no, not a single thought. I, in that one article, furnished them all with the arguments that they are now filling

their columns with. But, they always avoid the point at the heart. They always avoid the exposition of this great fact: that *high prices are necessary to farmers only because the taxes are high.* They always avoid this point; this thrust at the left side.—I have shown before that all other expences keep pace with the price of corn; and that, as far as they go, cheap corn is as good as dear corn to the farmers. It is the *taxes*, the *taxes*, the *taxes*, the *taxes*. They do not keep pace with the price of corn. They fall upon cheap corn with the same weight as upon dear corn. Soap, salt, leather, sugar, tea, candles, tobacco, malt, land, horses, windows, houses, property, and many other things, are all taxed as heavily now as when wheat was 40 l. a load of five quarters. It is not the farmer who wants a Corn Bill: it is the Government, that it may be able to get taxes.—I now wonder what the City of London will do. Consistency calls imperiously on it for a petition against the threatened Bill; or, will it, too, like that fine, venerable old scientific placeman, Mr. Rose, find out a reason for not doing, *this year*, what it did, under similar circumstances, *last year*.

THE BELOVED FERDINAND.

MR. CORBETT—Since my last letter, I see by the public newspapers, that Lord Proby has made a motion in the House of Commons, for the names of all the English officers in the Spanish service, which he called, as it is reported in the *Times* newspaper, *odious*, and *detestable*. He spoke in terms of the utmost indignation on the subject, and the whole house appeared to enter into his feelings. Mr. Vansittart, it is said in the same journal, named Generals Whittingham and Roche, as being in the Spanish service. Now this was by no means treating these officers with fairness. General Whittingham is at this moment in England, having resigned his employment; General Roche is on the point of doing so: only two British officers remain at present in the service of Ferdinand, Sir John Donnie who is a Brigadier General, and Col. Doyle of the 87th. regiment, who is a Lieut. General. The latter has *never been employed in any service*, but that of drilling the Spanish recruits at a depot which

he has in the Isla De St. Leon, near Cadiz. He has for years resided there, and during all the various changes, he has still continued in his occupation, of finding arms and clothing from England for the Spanish forces; in which arduous employment, report says, he has amassed a large fortune. Of Sir John Donnie perhaps the following little history (of the authenticity of which you may rest assured) may not be unacceptable. He possessed early in the peninsular war, a very inferior appointment in the commissariat department, and gained a great deal of money, by sending home Merino sheep. Finding he had but little chance of promotion in the commissariat, he entered a volunteer into the Spanish service, at the time when the provincial junta, gladly gave any thing to all adventurers who offered. He proposed to the junta of Estremadura to raise a legion, which being of course accepted, he came to England, and succeeded in obtaining from the British Government, either clothing for them, or money to purchase it with. About this time, the French broke up from before Cadiz, and, in the month of July or August, 1812, he accompanied Colonel Skerrett, (who was unfortunately killed in the late affair at Bergen-op-Zoom) in his advance upon Seville, near which city an engagement took place in which Colonel Donnie was wounded. He then returned to England, and, as it is said, at the request of Lord Fife, the Prince Regent knighted him. On his return to Spain, the Cortes gave him the cross of the third class of Charles the Third, and the rank of Brigadier General. After which he went up to the army then in the Pyrenees, but as he did not obtain employment, he went to Madrid, where he remained until the return of Ferdinand. We hear no more of him, until the newspapers in England, produce some long *paid-for puff paragraphs*, of his having been "*selected by the king*," to act under the Inquisitor General, in conveying the members of the Cortes to the prisons of the inquisition. Ferdinand, perhaps not well pleased with the man, *who he might think would do any thing*, soon neglected him, and he "*obtained permission to retire*," to Seville, where he held an appointment as a sort of goaler in a little prison in that city, which he pompously designates with the high sounding title of "*inspector of the royal palace*."

This, Sir, is the real story of the only two British officers who are at present in the service of Ferdinand. Generals, Roche, Dyer, Whittingham, and Carroll, have all quitted it; and General Doyle is said to be on the point of doing so. Then Sir John Donnie will have all the *honors* of that service to himself, and much good may they do him.

There can be no doubt of the dreadful state, in which that delightful country is now plunged, owing to the tyrannical government, with which it is at present afflicted. Ferdinand is literally without a single minister; he employs the priests who surround him, occasionally in the different offices of state, but there is no department regularly filled. The responsibility is all upon himself, and a dreadful one it is. His old friends have all deserted him. The Duke of St. Carlos, to whom he owed his very life, who had followed him into captivity, and shared it with him, is banished to a small country house in the Sierra Morena, a desolate mountainous waste, which separates Andalusia from Castile. The Duke of Infantado, who was some time ambassador in this country, is also in disgrace, banished to an estate he possesses about thirty leagues from the metropolis. The Duke of Ijar, whose duchess is at present in London, and one of the best friends Ferdinand ever possessed, is also banished. In short, not a single man of either rank, talent, or public consideration, remains about the court. The priests fill every department, and the lowest adventurers have caused the removal of every friend to the country. Thus "*the church*" has been the cause of all the evils which oppress this unhappy country. It is impossible to describe the miserable state in which it is placed; distrust and suspicion, pervade all ranks; no man is safe; the priests have so completely become masters of every thing, that nothing can be done but thro' their intervention. In an arbitrary government, of the most despotic order, there is, of course no regular taxation; the king imposes what imposts he pleases by royal edict. But affairs are hourly getting worse; the loss of the American colonies will be a death blow to him. General Morillo has been for four months at Cadiz, endeavouring to assemble there something in the shape of an army, to reduce to obedience the

rebellious colonists. This officer was originally in the old marine; he served as corporal of that corps, in the battle of Trafalgar. When the revolution broke out, he joined a corps of guerillas in the south of Spain, and being a desperate soldier, shortly became a chief:—From having served in the regular army, his corps was known to possess a better state of discipline, than usually existed in those bodies. The Cortes, accordingly, at the recommendation of Lord Wellington, with whom he was a great favourite, gave him the permanent rank in the army of major general, and he was selected by General Elio, who was a principal agent in the restoration of Ferdinand, for the command of the South American expedition. He went to Cadiz in September last to arrange his little army which was to consist of 12,000 men. When he got there, he found only about half that number, without arms, ammunition, or clothing. No military chest, no means of support; the men and officers quartered on the inhabitants, by whom they were supported, and the whole affair in a perfect state of confusion. He remonstrated; he demanded supplies and money. The former were *promised him*, and the governor of Cadiz, the sanguinary Villa Vicencia, was ordered to make a requisition on the merchants of that city for 2,000,000 of dollars for him: this money not being forthcoming, the expedition remains still in *statu quo*. In the mean time the revolutionists have obtained complete possession of the whole of Spanish America, and have razed the fortifications of Monte Video to the ground—thus, all chance, all possibility of success is totally out of question, and General Morillo's expedition is deferred "*ad græcas calendas*." I have intruded upon you, Sir, I fear, at greater length than I ought to have done. I shall take the liberty of addressing you again next week, when I shall give you some interesting details of the secret measures, Ferdinand and his priests have adopted to enslave the country, which are known to very few persons here. I remain, yours, &c.

CIVIS.

INSPIRED WRITINGS.

SIR—As your Register is open to cool and dispassionate discussions, either on

politics or religion, I take the liberty, as a constant reader, to beg of you, to lay the following remarks before your intelligent correspondents: Though the subject is taken from *Theological* premises, yet it is purely historical; nor has it any relation whatever with any particular Church, creed, or faith. By the generality of divines, the term *holy inspired scriptures* is applied indiscriminately to the Old and New Testaments; which I cannot reconcile by reading the books of the *New*, and those historical works which relate to them. Therefore, I shall endeavour, in as clear and concise a manner as I possibly can, to place the subject in that light in which I view it. According to Dr. Lardner's chronological arrangement of the books of the *New Testament*, it appears that none of them were written 'till nearly 20 years after the death of Christ. The earliest of them were some of the Epistles. The Gospels were not written 'till more than 30 years after his death. They were written by different authors, at different times and places. Agreeable to the Rev. Jer. Jones on the *canon* of the *New Testament*, the first collective form of those books was in the beginning of the third century. They must therefore have remained in detached books more than a century after the death of the authors. In the Gospel of St. Mark Chap. XII. verse 24. Jesus said to the Jews, "*Do ye not therefore err because ye know not the Scriptures;*" in St. John, Chap. V. verse 39. He tells them to "*search the scriptures;*" and in Chap. X. verse 35. "*and the scriptures cannot be broken.*" Here, in all these instances, Jesus appeals to the Jewish books or writings called scriptures, which were in common, and well known to all of them; He must therefore have alluded to the *Old Testament* only, because no part of the *New* had any being at the time; consequently he would not appeal to a nonentity; to a thing that had no existence. In the Acts of the Apostles, Chap. XVII. verse 11. it is said of the Bereans that "*they searched the scriptures daily;*" Now as this book of the Acts of the Apostles was written after the accomplishment of those acts, and the scriptures of the Bereans were prior to those acts, it could not be any part of those holy scriptures which the Bereans were

then reading daily. In St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Chap. XV. verse 4. he says, "*For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.*" Here it is evident, that those scriptures which Paul speaks of to the Romans as being of comfort to them, were written "*aforetime*;" long before this letter of his to them; therefore this epistle [could not be then scriptures of the Romans. In II Timothy Chapter III. verse 15 and 16. St. Paul tells his friend Timothy that "*all scripture is given by inspiration of God*; and, "*that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures.*" This epistle of Paul is a part of the New Testament, but St. Paul does not here tell his friend Timothy, that this letter of his, which he was then writing to him, was to be considered as a part of the holy scriptures; no, because Paul only alludes to those scriptures, which his friend Timothy had known from his childhood. Hence, I think that nothing can be more clear, than that the authors of those narratives, and those admonitory letters, which comprise the book of the New Testament, do not any where assert, that what they were writing should be considered as a part of the holy inspired scriptures. Not only from the clear evidence of those books themselves but likewise by comparing them with other historical documents, it will be found that the apostles only alluded to those *holy inspired scriptures*, which did then exist, (the Old Testament) because the New had no being at the time. Moreover some of the apostles were dead before the others had written; consequently many of them were ignorant of some of those books; and all of them were unacquainted with them *collectively*, as they had no existence in such a state 'till more than a century after the death of the authors. It is not what may be thought of those books, from their intrinsic consideration that I solicit your attention, but because I have the opinion of many able writers, such as Mr. Evanson, Dr. Watts, Dr. Priestly, Dr. Horsley, &c. all of whom, I have no doubt, were sincere christians, and of unquestionable erudition and abilities; yet they all differed very widely in their judgments of those books. I only

wish to be informed of those historical means, whereby I may know, by whose authority those books, when formed into their present collective state, were designated *holy inspired scriptures*. It is my firm belief that if these books were more candidly examined, and more rationally considered, the truth, and rationality of christianity would be better understood; but instead of which, the schools teach their youth to read and think according to the creed of their respective Church: thus it is that the mind is nurtured into an established prejudice, superstition, and bigotry, which will ever remain so, unless reason, by free inquiry, resumes her government.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER VII.

"Remember that the disorders of the Soul are not to be cured by force and violence."

Cardinal de Camus.—Pastoral Instructions. 1688.

JULIAN, the Roman Emperor, who flourished in the fourth century from the Christian era, and when that religion had long been established in Rome, observing that wild beasts were less furious against mankind than the generality of christians towards those christians who thought differently from themselves, was determined to restore the ancient pagan system, which was particularly mild and tolerant, and, according to his views, better calculated to insure peace and harmony to society. For this he has been designated *the Apostate* by all christian writers since that period; but whatever epithets they may please to give him, or whatever abuse their spleen may bestow on his memory, they cannot deny that he was a great philosopher and a very acute and sensible man. His life, if written impartially, would afford much instruction; but christians are not likely to do him justice on account of their prejudices. His writings evince great judgement and discrimination, and will amply repay the Student for his labor in perusing them.—In his third Epistle, speaking of the christians by the name of Galileans, he has these remarkable words:—"I will not suffer them to be dragged to the Altars, nor the least wrong to be offered them. They are rather mad than wicked. Let us endeavour, if it is possible, to make them hear reason."

"and to gain them by *gentle* means; we ought not to hate, but to pity them. "They are already but too unhappy by "deceiving themselves in the most essential thing upon earth."—Now, although I am no courtly parasite, and have the misfortune to be devoid of that superstitious veneration for kings and princes, which disables many people from holding in just abhorrence the tyrannical Villain and the public Robber, because, forsooth, he is disguised from his fellow men by some high sounding but unmeaning nickname; is waited upon by a set of servants dressed like merry andrews, and rides in a gaudy chariot besmeared with the most ridiculous pictures called coats of arms.—Although, I say, I cannot pay a stupid homage to a set of worthless drones, merely because they are concealed beneath the pomp of title and the splendour of equipage, yet I trust I shall ever have the candour to praise merit, even when discovered in the Augean Stable of a Court.

Royalty is a soil seldom congenial to virtue and talent; consequently a single trait of goodness, or ability, in the character of a Prince, should attract our attention as the brilliant gem of the glow worm, shining with more lustre through the dark night of corruption. I am about to praise our gracious Prince Regent, because it strikes me that he possesses a mind superior to vulgar prejudices. I cannot conceive him entirely ignorant of the sentiments promulgated by the time serving writers of our daily Journals, or of the opinions of the great bulk of society, relative to a particular Sect of Christians, and the celebrated female, whose name will be handed down to posterity as their founder, with as much éclat as Arius, Socinus, William Penn, or John Wesley. The Newspapers have been continually attacking both her and her followers, in the most scurrilous manner, and calling for legislative interference to suppress her doctrines; and the populace have been constantly wishing that the holy prophetess herself was either *burnt*, or *imprisoned for life*. These matters cannot have escaped the attention of a prince, whose business it is to make himself acquainted with every thing which concerns the people who suffer him to be their head servant. He must be aware of their clamour, and the persecuting spirit which they have

breathed with regard to the late *Mrs. Southcott*. But perhaps his wisdom has taught him to turn a deaf ear to their thoughtless malice.—I am willing, in the present instance, to consider him possessed of sentiments as amiable and liberal as those of Julian, which I have quoted as my text, and to allow that he acts according to the dictates of sound policy. He knows that there is no species of superstition that human credulity will not embrace, if it is presented in the shape of religion. He is well aware too, of the manner in which we receive all our ideas; and consequently is convinced that the errors of the mind are not voluntary errors, and, therefore, can, never be cured by constraint or persecution. He is fully sensible that if these people are deluded, TIME, the tryer of all things, will do more to open their eyes than violent opposition, which would only strengthen them in their faith, because, like the Saints of old, they would deem it an infallible evidence of the truth of their system.—As an enlightened christian, and one whose mind soars far above the slavish priest-led-herd who bear that name, he is conscious that religious persecution cannot be defended upon the pure and simple principles of our holy religion as taught by Jesus, and therefore has determined that these people should be left to themselves, and permitted to worship the Gods after their own manner, instead of listening to the cry of "Crucify, Crucify," from an ignorant, bigotted, and misguided populace.—It is because I choose to consider that our good Prince has been governed by motives like these, that I attribute to him sentiments as amiable and as wise as those of JULIAN; but lest the ill-natured, or envious, should deny him the approbation I would give him for christian charity, or philosophic liberality, I will endeavour to prove that he deserves the same meed of applause for the enlightened policy his conduct, on this occasion, has displayed.—Some persons may say that the conduct of princes ought to be attributed to their advisers; but they should recollect, that it is their foolish and wicked actions alone that their ministers are accountable for, and that every act of grace, wisdom, and clemency, usually proceeds from the monarch himself. Upon this principle, therefore, I think proper to applaud the judgment and prudence

of our prince, in preventing any legislative interference with regard to the new millennial doctrine of our prophetess, and shall proceed to give my reasons for so doing.

Our Prince (acting for his father) is the sovereign head of the church, or state religion of this country, and "Defender of the Faith." This faith is a branch of a system called christian, from the name of its founder, and first instituted, as the almanacks tell us, about 1815 years ago.

(*To be continued.*)

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

Continued from page 192.

NOTE FROM THE BRITISH TO THE AMERICAN MINISTERS.

Ghent, Sept. 4, 1814.

"The undersigned have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Note of the American Plenipotentiaries, dated the 24th ultimo.—It is with unfeigned regret that the undersigned observe both in the tone and substance of the whole Note, so little proof of any disposition on the part of the Government of the United States to enter into an amicable discussion of the several points submitted by the undersigned in their former communication. The undersigned are perfectly aware, that in bringing forward those points for consideration, and stating with so much frankness, as they did, the views with which they were proposed, they departed from the usual course of negotiating, by disclosing all the objects of their Government, while those which the American Government had in view were withheld; but in so doing they were principally actuated by a sincere desire of bringing the negotiation as soon as possible to a favourable termination, and in some measure by their willingness to comply with the wishes expressed by the American Plenipotentiaries themselves. It is perfectly true that the war between his Majesty and the United States was declared by the latter power upon the pretence of maritime rights alleged to be asserted by Great Britain, and disputed by the United States. If the war thus declared by the United States had been carried on by them for objects purely of a maritime nature, or if the attack which had been made on Canada had been for the purpose of diversion, or in the way of defence against the British forces in that quarter, any question as to the boundaries of Canada might have been considered as unnecessary; but it is notorious to the whole world that the conquest of Canada, and its permanent an-

nexation to the United States, was the declared object of the American Government. If, in consequence of a different course of events on the continent of Europe, his Majesty's Government had been unable to reinforce the British armies in Canada, and the United States had obtained a decided superiority in that quarter, is there any person who doubts that they would have availed themselves of their situation to obtain on the side of Canada important cessions of territory, if not the entire abandonment of that country by Great Britain? Is the American Government to be allowed to pursue, so far as its means will enable it, a system of acquisition and aggrandisement to the point of annexing entire provinces to their dominions, and his Majesty to be precluded from availing himself of his means, so far as they will enable him, to retain those points which the valor of British arms may have placed in his power, because they happen to be situated within the territories allotted under former treaties to the Government of the United States? Such a principle of negotiation was never avowed at any period antecedent to that of the Revolutionary Government of France. If the policy of the United States had been essentially pacific, as the American Plenipotentiaries assert it ought to be, from their political institutions, from the habits of their citizens, and from their physical situation, it might not have been necessary to propose the precautionary provisions now under discussion. That, of late years at least, the American Government have been influenced by a very different policy: by a spirit of aggrandisement not necessary to their own security, but increasing with the extent of their empire, has been too clearly manifested by their progress ve occupation of Indian territories—by the acquisition of Louisiana; by the more recent attempt to wrest by force of arms from a nation in amity, the two Floridas; and lastly, by the avowed intention of permanently annexing the Canadas to the United States. If then security of the British North American dominions requires any sacrifices on the part of the United States, they must be ascribed to the declared policy of that Government in making the war not one of self defence, nor for the redress of grievances, real or pretended, but a part of a system of conquest and aggrandisement. The British Government, in its present situation, is bound in duty to endeavour to secure its North American dominions against those attempts at conquest, which the American Government have avowed to be a principle of their policy, and which, as such, will undoubtedly be renewed, whenever any succeeding war between the two countries shall afford a prospect of renewing them with success. The British Plenipotentiaries proposed that the military possession of the Lakes, from Lake Ontario to Lake Superior, should be

secured to Great Britain, because the command of those Lakes would afford to the American Government the means of commencing a war in the heart of Canada, and because the command of them, on the part of Great Britain, has been shewn by experience, to be attended with no insecurity to the United States. When the relative strength of the two Powers in North America is considered, it should be recollected that the British dominions in that quarter do not contain a population of 500,000 persons, whereas the territory of the United States contains a population of more than seven millions; that the naval resources of the United States are at hand for attack, and that the naval resources of Great Britain are on the other side of the Atlantic. The military possession of those Lakes is not, therefore, necessary for the protection of the United States. The proposal for allowing the territories on the southern banks of the Lakes above mentioned to remain in the possession of the Government of the United States, provided no fortifications should be erected on the shores, and no armament permitted on the waters, has been made, for the purpose of manifesting, that security and not acquisition of territory is the object of the British Government, and that they have no desire to throw obstacles in the way of any commerce which the people of the United States may be desirous of carrying on upon the Lakes in time of peace. The undersigned, with the anxious wish to rectify all misunderstanding, have thus more fully explained the grounds upon which they brought forward the propositions contained in their former Note respecting the boundaries of the British dominions in North America. They do not wish to insist upon them beyond what the circumstances may fairly require. They are ready, amicably to discuss the details of them with a view to the adoption of any modifications which the American Plenipotentiaries or their Government, may have to suggest if they are not incompatible with the object itself. With respect to the boundary of the district of Maine, and that of the North Western frontier of the United States, the undersigned were not prepared to anticipate the objections contained in the Note of the American Plenipotentiaries; they were instructed to treat for the revision of their boundary lines, with the statement which they have subsequently made, that they had no authority to cede any part, however insignificant, of the territories of the United States, although the proposal left it open to them to demand an equivalent for such cession either in frontier or otherwise. The American Plenipotentiaries must be aware that the boundary of the district of Maine has never been correctly ascertained; that the one asserted at present by the American Government, by which the direct communication between Halifax and

Quebec becomes interrupted, was not in contemplation of the British Plenipotentiaries who concluded the treaty of 1783, and that the greater part of the territory in question is actually unoccupied. The undersigned are persuaded that an arrangement on this point might be easily made, if entered into with the spirit of conciliation, without any prejudice to the interests of the district in question. As the necessity for fixing some boundary for the north western frontier has been mutually acknowledged, a proposal for a discussion on that subject cannot be considered as a demand for a cession of territory, unless the United States are prepared to assert that there is no limit to their territories in this direction; and that, availing themselves of the geographical error upon which that part of the treaty of 1783 was founded, they will acknowledge no boundary whatever; then unquestionably any proposition, to fix one, be it what it may, must be considered as demanding a large cession of territory from the United States. Is the American Government prepared to assert such an unlimited right so contrary to the evident intention of the treaty itself? Or, is his Majesty's Government to understand, that the American Plenipotentiaries are willing to acknowledge the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi (the arrangement by a convention in 1803, but not ratified) as that by which their Government is ready to abide. The British Plenipotentiaries are instructed to accept favourably such a proposition, or to discuss any other line of boundary which may be submitted for consideration. It is with equal astonishment the undersigned find that the American Plenipotentiaries have not only declined signing any provisional article, by which the Indian Nations who have taken part with Great Britain in the present contest may be included in the peace, and may have a boundary assigned to them, but have also thought proper to express surprise at any proposition on the subject having been advanced. The American Plenipotentiaries state, that their Government could not have expected such a discussion, and appear resolved, at once, to reject any proposition on this head; representing it as a demand contrary to the acknowledged principles of public law, tantamount to a cession of one third of the territorial dominions of the United States, and required to be admitted without discussion. The proposition which is thus represented is, that the Indian Nations, which have been during the war in alliance with Great Britain, should at its termination be included in the pacification; and, with a view to their permanent tranquility and security, that the British Government is willing to take as a basis of an article on the subject of a boundary for those nations, the stipulations which the American Government

contracted in 1795, subject, however, to modifications. After the declaration, publicly made to those Indian Nations, by the Governor-General of Canada, that Great Britain would not desert them, could the American Government really persuade itself that no proposition relating to those Nations would be advanced; and did Lord Castlereagh's Note of the 4th November, 1813, imply so great a sacrifice of honour, or exclude from discussion every subject, excepting what immediately related to the maritime questions referred to in it? When the undersigned assured the American Plenipotentiaries of the anxious wish of the British Government that the negotiation might terminate in a peace honourable to both parties, it could not have been imagined that the American Plenipotentiaries would thence conclude that his Majesty's Government was prepared to abandon the Indian Nations to their fate, nor could it have been foreseen that the American Government would have considered it as derogatory to its honour to admit a proposition by which the tranquillity of those Nations might be secured. The British Plenipotentiaries have yet to learn, that it is contrary to the acknowledged principles of public law to include Allies in a negotiation for peace, or that it is contrary to the practice of all civilized nations to propose that a provision should be made for their future security. The Treaty of Grenville established the boundaries between the United States and the Indian Nations. The American Plenipotentiaries must be aware, that the way which has since broken out has abrogated that treaty. Is it contrary to the established principles of public law for the British Government to propose, on behalf of its Allies, that this treaty shall, on the pacification, be considered subject to such modifications as the case may render necessary? Or, is it unreasonable to propose, that this stipulation should be amended, and that on that foundation some arrangement should be made which would provide for the existence of a Neutral Power between Great Britain and the United States, calculated to secure to both a longer continuance of the blessings of peace?

"So far was that specific proposition respecting the Indian boundaries from being insisted upon in the note, or in the conference which preceded it, as one to be admitted without discussion, that it would have been difficult to use terms of greater latitude, or which appeared more adapted, not only not to preclude but to invite discussion. If the bases proposed could convey away one third of the territory of the United States, the American Government itself must have conveyed it away by the Grenville Treaty of 1795. It is impossible to read that treaty without remarking how inconsistent the present pretensions of the American Government are, with its preamble and provisions. The

boundary line between the lands of the United States and those of the Indian Nations, is therein expressly defined. The general character of the treaty, is that of a treaty with independent nations; and the very stipulation which the American Plenipotentiaries refer to, that the Indian nations should sell their lands only to the United States, tends to prove that, but for that stipulation, the Indians had a general right to dispose of them. The American Government, has now for the first time, in effect declared that all Indian Nations within its line of demarcation are its subjects, living there upon sufferance, on lands, which it also claims the exclusive right of acquiring, thereby menacing the final extinction of those nations. Against such a system, the undersigned must formally protest. The undersigned repeat, that the terms on which the proposition has been made for assigning to the Indian Nations some boundary, manifest no unwillingness to discuss any other proposition directed to the same object, or even a modification of that which is offered. Great Britain is ready to enter into the same engagements with respect to the Indians living within her line of demarcation, as that which is proposed to the United States. It can, therefore, only be from a complete misapprehension of the proposition that it can be represented as being not reciprocal. Neither can it, with any truth, be represented as contrary to the acknowledged principles of public law, as derogatory to the honour, or inconsistent with the rights of the American Government, nor as a demand required to be admitted without discussion. After this full exposition of the sentiments of his Majesty's Government on the points above stated, it will be for the American Plenipotentiaries to determine, whether they are ready now to continue the negotiations; whether they are disposed to refer to their Government for further instructions; or lastly, whether they will take upon themselves the responsibility of breaking off the negotiation altogether. The undersigned request the American Plenipotentiaries to accept the assurances of their high consideration. (Signed) "GAMBIER, HENRY GOVERNOR, WILLIAM ADAM."

THE AMERICAN TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

Ghent Sept. 9, 1814.—"The undersigned have had the honour to receive the note of his Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, dated the 4th instant. If, in the tone or substance of the former note of the undersigned, the British Commissioners have perceived little proof of any disposition on the part of the American Government, for a discussion of some of the propositions advanced in the first note, which the undersigned had the honour of receiving from them, they will ascribe it to the nature of the propositions themselves, to their apparent incompa-

tibility with the assurances in Lord Castlereagh's letter to the American Secretary of State, proposing this negotiation, and with the solemn assurances of the British Plenipotentiaries themselves, to the undersigned at their first conferences with them. The undersigned, in reference to an observation of the British Plenipotentiaries, must be allowed to say, that the objects which the Government of the United States had in view, have not been withheld. The subjects considered as suitable for discussion were fairly brought forward in conferences of the 9th ult. and the terms on which the United States were willing to conclude the peace, were frankly and expressly declared in the Note of the undersigned, dated the 24th ultimo. It had been confidently hoped that the nature of those terms, so evidently framed in a sincere spirit of conciliation, would have induced Great Britain to adopt them as the basis of a treaty: and it is with deep regret that the undersigned, if they have rightly understood the meaning of the last Note of the British Plenipotentiaries, perceive that they still insist on the exclusive military possession of the Lakes, and on a permanent boundary and independent territory for the Indians residing within the dominions of the United States. The first demand is grounded on the supposition, that the American Government has manifested, by its proceedings towards Spain, by the acquisition of Louisiana, by purchase of Indian lands, and by an avowed intention of permanently annexing the Canadas to the United States, a spirit of aggrandisement and conquest, which justifies the demands of extraordinary sacrifices from them, to provide for the security of the British Possessions in America. In the observations which the undersigned felt it their duty to make on the new demands of the British Government, they confined their animadversions to the nature of the demands themselves; they did not seek for illustrations of the policy of Great Britain in her conduct, in various quarters of the globe, towards other nations, for she was not accountable to the United States. Yet the undersigned will say, that their Government has ever been ready to arrange in the most amicable manner with Spain, the questions respecting the boundaries of Louisiana and Florida, and that of indemnities acknowledged by Spain due to American citizens. How the peaceable acquisition of Louisiana, or the purchase of lands within the acknowledged territory of the United States, both made by fair and voluntary treaties for satisfactory equivalents, can be ascribed to a spirit of conquest dangerous to their neighbours, the undersigned are altogether at a loss to understand. Nor has the conquest of Canada, and its permanent annexation to

the United States, been the declared object of their Government. From the commencement of the war to the present time, the American Government has been always willing to make peace, without obtaining any cession of territory, and on the sole condition that the maritime questions might be satisfactorily arranged. Such was their disposition in the month of July, 1812, when they instructed Mr. Russell to make the proposal of an armistice; in the month of October of the same year, when Mr. Monroe answered Admiral Warren's proposals to the same effect; in April, 1813, when instructions were given to three of the undersigned, then appointed to treat of peace, under the mediation of Russia; and in January, 1814, when the instructions under which the undersigned are now acting, were prepared.

The proposition of the British Plenipotentiaries is, that in order to secure the frontiers of Canada against attack, the United States should leave their own without defence: and it seems to be forgotten, that if their superior population, and the proximity of their resources give them any advantage in that quarter, it is balanced by the great difference between the military establishments of the two nations. No sudden invasion of Canada by the United States could be made, without leaving on their Atlantic shores, and on the ocean exposed to the great superiority of the British force, a mass of American property, far more valuable than Canada. In her relative superior force to that of the United States in every other quarter, Great Britain may find a pledge much more efficacious for the safety of a single vulnerable point, than in stipulations ruinous to the interests and degrading to the honour of America. The best security for the possessions of both countries will, however, be found in an equal and solid peace; in a mutual respect for the rights of each other, and in the cultivation of a friendly understanding between them. If there be any source of jealousy in relation to Canada itself, it will be found to exist solely in the undue interference of traders and agents, which may be easily removed by proper restraints. The only American forts on the Lakes known to have been at the commencement of the negotiation held by British force are Michillimackinac and Niagara. As the United States were, at the same time, in possession of Amherstburg and the adjacent country, it is not perceived that the mere occupation of those two forts could give any claim to his Britannic Majesty to large cessions of territory, founded upon the right of conquest; and the undersigned

(To be continued.)

To the ~~Knights~~ *Knights Grand Crosses, Commanders and Companions of the Orders of the BULWARK and the HENRIADE, lately assembled in full Chapter, at HERTFORD, in New England.*

Bottle, 22 Feb. 1815.

GENTLEMEN,

As your occupation appears to have been suddenly put an end to by the peace, which our Government has had the wisdom to make with yours, it may amuse and please you to be informed how the glorious work of *deliverance* proceeds in Europe. I was highly delighted to perceive, that you were very careful to avail yourselves of the aid of the *Cossack Priesthood*, during your late deliberations. The long prayers, which it was resolved those gentry should put up, two or three times a day, was not the least interesting part of your measures. It most glad your hearts to hear, that the *Pope*, the *Jesuits*, all the *Monks* (except in *disorganized* France) have been not only *delivered*, but fully re-established by the efforts of the BULWARK; and that, in Spain, the HOLY INQUISITION has been so completely *delivered* "from the *fell grasp*," as Mr. RANDOLPH calls it, of Napoleon; that it is now under the paternal sway of "Ferdinand the beloved," in full vigor of operation for the support of "Social Order, and of ancient and venerable establishments." In this operation, it has laid hold of—*who*, think you? Why of those men, who, for several years, were fighting and writing for "Ferdinand the beloved;" that is to say, for the BULWARK against the destroyer of venerable institutions. Some of these "Patriots," as they were called, having taken refuge in our fortress of Gibraltar, have been given up by our Governor to the beloved Ferdinand, whose Government has sent one of them to work in the *galleys* for ten years. Another of them has escaped to England, where his cause has been espoused by Mr. WHITBREAD, who, though not a

BULWARK man, seems to have been applied to by this BULWARK Spaniard in preference to the Government here, though one would have thought, that he would fly to his old friends to be received with open arms. Mr. WHITBREAD has made several very eloquent speeches upon the subject; but, to say the truth, they have produced but little effect upon me, and this for two reasons: *First*, these Bulwark men *fought and wrote for Ferdinand*; they called every one a traitor and a miscreant, who did not wish for the restoration of the ancient family, *the venerable institutions*. In the course of their proceedings, they levelled their swords and their pens against the lives of all those, who wished not to be delivered; they drew forth the sweat and blood of their country against him who had put down the Monks and the Inquisition; they persecuted every man, who acted as if he dreaded the *deliverance* of Spain. In their turn they are persecuted; they are sent to jails and galleys; and, you will please to observe, that they suffer this from those *for whom they had fought*, in whose behalf they had persecuted others, and are delivered up, too, by an *English* Governor. I think, may it please your Knighthoods, that this is as suitable, as fit, as exemplary, as any human occurrence can well be.—My other reason for taking little interest in the fate of these men, is, that I feel *more* for persons in our English, Scotch, and Irish jails. The patriot, who is sent to the galleys, was charged with the crime of LIBEL. He, it is acknowledged, wrote a letter to the beloved Ferdinand, advising him to adopt a *new government* in Spain; that is to say, to consent to a *revolution*, that horrid thing, which is so contrary to those ancient and venerable institutions, to restore which so much blood and money has been expended; and for the restoration of which you have so long and so fervently prayed through the nose, with your eyes turned upwards the ceiling. Now, while there are

so many men in our jails for writing Jibels; while I recollect that so many Gentlemen were sent from Scotland to Botany Bay, on the charge of attempting a revolution in our Government; and, while I hear no word from Mr. WHITEREAD in their behalf, that gentleman must excuse me, if I am very little moved by his eloquence, great as it is, in behalf of these Spaniards. There is a Mr. LOVELL, who has been in our jail of Newgate about *four years and a half*. His offences were, *copying* a short paragraph from a country paper relative to the operation of the PROPERTY TAX, and publishing another paragraph, or letter, relative to the conduct of the Transport Board towards *French prisoners of war*. He might be in error in both instances; but, his affidavits shewed, that he was the *author* of neither publication; that he copied one, inadvertently, from a country newspaper, and that he did not examine the other with sufficient care. He was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment for each, and was *fined* besides; and he is now in jail, where he has been for a year and a half, wanting ability to pay his fines. Mr. HOUSTON is suffering *two years imprisonment and fine* for a book on *religion*. Away, then, with the complaints of Don Carrea and Don Puigblanc and all the Dons in the universe, till Mr. Lovell and Mr. Houston and others find somebody to *feel* and to *speak* for them.—It will vex you very much to know, that the French revolution has produced remarkably beneficial consequences to the country. It is now acknowledged, and even proclaimed, by our Bulwark newspapers, that France has greatly *improved in agriculture*, during what is called her state of *disorganization*, though we were told by these same newspapers, and by our insipid and hireling Mr. WALSH, that Napoleon had left none but old men, women, and children to cultivate the land. These poor, feeble creatures have got the land into such a fine state, that we are compelled to resort to a *law* to *protect* our farmers against their corn, in which article they undersell us in our own markets. The truth is, that, in addition to this great improvement in the state of France, the Bulwark war has left us a load of taxes, which the land cannot pay without *high prices*. The petitions, which have been presented in

favour of this law, tell us, or, rather, tell the Parliament, that our farmers cannot sell so cheap as those who pay no *tythes*, *poor-rates*, and, comparatively, very little in *taxes* of any sort. What is this but attacking tythes, one of the most *ancient* and *venerable* institutions in the whole world! and these are Bulwark men, too, who petition in these terms! In France they have not been able to restore tythes; or, in your language, to *deliver* the country from the want of tythes. They have not been able to restore the gabelles, the corvées, the feudal courts, laws and rights, nor have they yet seen a *Monk* in France since the days of Brissot. They have put up the Bourbons; but, they have not put down *the code Napoleon*.—At the same time I am reminded of an occurrence that will give you both pleasure and pain: I mean the attempt to assassinate Napoleon by the hand of some hired villain. It will give you pleasure that a villain has been found to *attempt* the deed, and pain to know that it has not *succeeded*. Your *manifesto* has excited a great deal of anger in our Bulwark newspapers, one of which observes, that it was "*hoped* and "*expected*, that the Hertford Delegates "*would have declared a separation of the "union at once*." On the other hand, you are held in the utmost contempt. You had courage to *menace*, but not enough to *strike*.—If any of you were, however, to do here what you have *actually done* in America; that is, to endeavour to *overawe* the King and Parliament, you would be hanged, have your bowels ripped out and flung in your faces, have your bodies cut in quarters, and the quarters placed at the king's disposal.——How foolish that would make *Henriade* men look!

Yours to command,

WILLIAM COBBETT

THE BUDGET.

This is now a most interesting topic. I shall, therefore, insert the Budget-Speech at full length, and when I have so done, I shall offer thereon such remarks as appear to me likely to be useful.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in calling the attention of the Committee to the Financial measures of which he had given notice, stated that the House was aware that the Property Tax would ex-

pire on the 5th of April next, and that several other war taxes would also expire three months afterwards, in July. It was an important consideration whether the renewal of those taxes should be contemplated, or the sums necessary to pay off the expences of the war should be levied in a different manner. It was not his intention as he had already stated on a former occasion, to propose the renewal of the Property Tax; not merely because that tax was to expire on the 5th of April next, or the war with America was terminated; for though it was a war impost, he did not consider the House precluded from again resorting to it, should circumstances render it expedient. He did not consider that the transactions of 1806 on this subject could bind future Parliaments against the interest of the country. He did not understand a compact between the Commons at large and Parliament. On this subject, whatever had been stated in the petitions laid before the House would have had no effect, had more powerful considerations, required the renewal of this impost. He recollected having heard a Right Hon. Gentleman begging pardon of the House, for the part which he had taken in 1806, in the increase of the Property Tax. For himself, there was nothing which he considered with more satisfaction than the share which he had in maintaining that impost. He believed that the Property Tax had been the means of rescuing the land from its difficulties, of supporting the exertions made in the cause of European independence, and effecting the delivery of nations.—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)—It had saved the country a funded debt of 303 millions. It had produced in money 150 millions, and saved a capital of unfunded debt of 180 millions, and near nine millions of permanent taxes. Yet however productive it had been, and however useful it might have proved at a time when large sums would be wanted, he did not think proper to revive it, but considered it more expedient to preserve it as a resource, in case of the future renewal of war, to be resorted to only in the greatest emergencies, as the firm basis of our public credit. (*Hear, hear!*) He had been told of the inquisitorial nature of this tax, and many complaints had been uttered in the House against the vexatious which it was said to occasion. For his own part,

he believed that the Commissioners employed in its collection had been actuated by the purest and most patriotic motives. They were not a set of men appointed and paid by the crown. They were the same gentlemen to whom the country was indebted for the preservation of peace, and whose attention and exertions in the gratuitous dispensation of justice did them the greatest honour. There were certainly many provisions in the Act about to expire, which should not be adopted at a future period without the deepest consideration. He could not refer to times when liberty was better understood than to those that followed the revolution.—Yet let the House look at the 1st of Queen Anne, second section, chapter fifty-three, enacted at the renewal of the French war, and they would find what duties were then imposed. Amongst others, there was one of four shillings in the pound, on pensions and annuities, and one of five shillings in the pound, on the produce of professions. The Commissioners, or the major part of them, were empowered to examine or inform upon oath, and all traders compelled to give returns, signed by themselves, of the whole quantity and value of their stock in trade. The Commissioners were besides authorised to enter their premises at any hour. With respect to the Property Tax, whenever it had been possible to make the assessment without personal injury it had been done. The property in the funds was assessed to its full amount, without any difficulty. That in land was also pretty clearly ascertained, but that engaged in trade was of a less tangible shape, and its assessment could not be very correct. If, on the revival of the tax, a new mode of assessment could be found in that particular branch, it would probably contribute to render it more productive. He then alluded to a clause included in the Act in 1803, for allowing private examinations, but which did not fully answer the end proposed. Having thus entered into a defence of the provisions of the Property Tax, to prevent that odium from being left, which had been expressed against it, and which it so little deserved, he would now proceed to state the reasons which induced him to think its renewal unadvisable; though in the present year, when large sums would be wanted to liquidate arrears, such a mea-

sure might have appeared to many preferable to raising a loan, and on account of the advantages which it promised to yield, perfectly justifiable. At the Peace of Amiens, the Property Tax had been pledged to make good a large sum of money, and charged for a period of nine years. Though its renewal would therefore have been authorised by present circumstances, he had considered that the immense fluctuation of price which had taken place in almost every article would have introduced so great a variety as to make returns extremely difficult. The impost would have fallen, besides, with particular weight on the class of farmers, who would have found themselves rated far beyond their real property. The assessment had been calculated on a fair average, but when the fluctuation of prices became excessive, the average could no longer be regarded as just. Many ideas had been suggested to continue that tax during the present year, with various modifications. It might have been done on three different principles. By exempting those classes, on whom its operation was considered as likely to produce an unfair pressure, and including all fixed property. But the chief ground on which this impost had been cheerfully borne, was, that all were included in it. When that should no longer be the case, it would appear that Government were encroaching on the good faith of their creditors. Another mode might have been adopted; persons might have been charged in a proportionate ratio to their incomes; the rich might have been made to pay much, and the poor, little; but this would have been impracticable. The act gave no insight into the whole income of any one; it charged every species of property, without enquiring about its proprietor. Any gentleman, for instance, might be a partner in a banking-house in London, might be one of a commercial partnership at Bristol, might hold a share in a manufactory at Manchester, and have 100,000*l.* in the funds (*a laugh*); for every one of these he would be assessed separately; he might gain on the one and lose on the other, and no one would know his real income. There was no case in which the whole of a man's revenue was known, unless when he applied for an abatement to be made. To revive the Property Tax with this modi-

fication, the present system must have been overthrown, and one more vexatious established in its stead. As this impost would, therefore, now encounter many difficulties in its operation, and as it was not the intention of Parliament that it should be employed except as a war tax, he thought it was far better to lay it aside entirely, and to return to one of those resources which at all times remained open to the country. He was convinced, however, that in point of right, had it been expedient, it would have been excusable to have preserved it for the purpose of diminishing the sum which must be raised by loan. As to the amount of the expenses of the year, until the ratification of peace by America should be received, it would be impossible to ascertain it correctly. He could not enter into any details on that subject, as its reduction would in some sort depend on the period at which this intelligence should be received. What he should now propose would therefore not be entirely on the footing of peace expenditure. Large sums of money would be required this year: sums, which even the renewal of the Property Tax would not have covered. But since it was abandoned, the loan must be considerably larger. In taking an enlarged view of our present situation, he would not compare it with that of the country when it was involved in difficulties at the close of the American war, and our public credit was really giving way. He would oppose it to the most flourishing period of our history, that which preceded the long and extraordinary warfare in which we had been engaged.

In the year 1791, the produce of the consolidated Fund was	£13,472,000
The charges upon it	11,321,000

which being deducted from it, left a surplus of	2,151,000
To this was to be added, the produce of Land and War Taxes	2,658,000

Forming together a total of	4,709,000
disposable for the service of the country.	
Our income to the 5th of January last, including the produce of the Consolidated Fund, amounted to	38,256,000
To this was to be added in War Taxes	2,706,000

Forming together a total of	40,962,000
The charges upon this were	35,430,000

Charges on Imperial Loan - - - - -	466,000
Doitto on Portuguese Loan - - - - -	57,000
Charges on Civil list and others - - -	1,571,000
Making a total of - - - - -	37,544,000
Which being deducted from the above	40,962,000
Left a surplus of - - - - -	3,417,000
To this is to be added in Annual Duties substituted to War Taxes, about - - -	3,000,000

Which formed a total of - - - - - 6,417,000
left for the service of the State, so that at the close
of the late extensive, long and expensive war, there
remained a disposable surplus fund much larger
than at its commencement.

The sinking fund, which now produced upwards of eleven millions, did not yield at that period more than 1,300,000*l.* It was true that we now had a debt of 650 millions, and that it only amounted to 250, at the time of the breaking out of the revolutionary war. We had in addition an unfunded debt that must be provided for. But to meet that expense, we had 20,000,000 of war taxes. If it were possible to reduce our expenditure to what it was at the commencement of the war, then we should have ample means in our power to encounter it: but it must be evident to every one, that such a reduction was impracticable, and that exertions must be made to meet what could not be avoided. The expense of the peace establishment would depend upon the wisdom of Parliament; he wished its most deliberate attention should be given to the subject. But it would be unfair to look merely at what the peace establishment cost formerly, and not to take into consideration what was now really wanted. An augmentation of expense was rendered unavoidable at present, by many circumstances connected with the prosperity and greatness of the empire. We must of necessity augment our Military Establishment, on account of the increase of our Colonies. Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, several important islands in the East and West Indies had been added to our dominions; and a great extent of services had been provided by Parliament, which it did not depend on Government to reduce. Amongst these might be mentioned the expense of the half-pay allowance, and the widows' pensions, which alone would not fall much short of the whole amount of our military establishment at the beginning

of the war. It must likewise be recollected, that after twenty years of actual service, the state of our navy required very extensive repairs. Respecting the peace establishment, he did not think he should be able to bring it under 18 or 19 millions, including the Irish establishment. He should be happy to find another year, that a greater reduction should be practicable. The present calculation would allow two millions for Ireland, and 17 for Great Britain.

To meet the annual sum, he would take from the Annual Taxes and Consolidated Fund, nearly	6,000,000
He would continue War Taxes to the amount of	6,500,000
And would levy additional Taxes to an amount of about	5,000,000

Making in all 17,500,000

There would then only remain two millions to be provided for Ireland. The expense of the Loan for the present year and the charge of the unfunded debt, would also still be to be defrayed. If it were possible to reduce the amount of the peace establishment to 13,000,000*l.* which was at this moment utterly impracticable, still the taxes which he had mentioned would be necessary. He thought them preferable to making an application to the sinking fund.—Every gentleman in the house must be aware of the expenses which a long war entailed upon a nation. These it required time to liquidate. After the contest with America was closed, it was not until 1786 that Parliament took the Peace Establishment seriously into consideration, and even as late as 1791 the Committee reported expenses incurred on the account of the war. Therefore he thought he spoke within compass, when he said that it would scarcely be practicable to wind up the Peace establishment in less than four years from the present time. Until 1819, therefore, it would be necessary to have resort to funding Exchequer Bills, or Loans; and, to meet the charges which those would occasion with new taxes. In this he had the example of Mr. Pitt, who as early as the year 1784, proposed by anticipation to form a fund to liquidate the debt then funding. There was also the unfunded debt, the charge for which was also to be provided for, as well as for that which was funded. The first resource to meet this expenditure might have

the continuance of the war taxes, which would have expired last Christmas, had they not then been renewed till next July. There were some that had since expired, such as those on the Export of British Manufactures, and on goods carried coastways. These he did not intend to renew, and if he did, their amount would not have been considerable. Neither did he propose to continue the duty on cotton wool, if imported in British ships. This provision, he thought, was but a fair encouragement to our planters, and no one could contemplate it with any regret. He would not read over the list of taxes; they were familiar to every one; he would state their total amount, which for the year finishing in January 1815, consisted of 9,857,000*l.* From this were to be deducted 2,750,000*l.* and 630,000*l.* for taxes which had already expired. He should propose to continue only out of the rest to the amount of 6,513,000*l.*—He should now proceed to the new taxes which he had in view. He thought he should gratify the curiosity of the House if he did not bring them forward in the usual order, but come at once to the Assessed Taxes, on which the attention of most people seemed to be fixed. He should not propose any addition to the duty on windows in inhabited houses. He knew it was a tax most inconvenient to the middling classes, whom it was his most sincere wish to relieve as effectually as possible. But he would lay a duty on new objects, to be included in the denomination of windows—he meant green-houses, hot-houses, and conservatories, which had hitherto paid no duties. The assessment would be made on a superficial measure of glass, of 48 feet, which should be deemed equal to a window. The rate would not be progressive, but would not exceed 3*s.* 6*d.* per window. Thus an extent of glass, 60 feet broad by 12 in height, would pay upon the whole 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* No one, he trusted, would consider such a tax objectionable.—(*Hear, hear!*)—Considering the great advantages which traders would derive from the opening of the European ports, and the revival of peace and commercial relations throughout the world, he thought they might fairly be brought to contribute more than they had done to the public service. He should therefore propose, that shops and warehouses should pay the same proportionate duty

of 3*s.* 6*d.* per window. This assessment would not yet admit of very accurate estimate; but it was calculated it would produce 50,000*l.* a year.—The next tax should affect the rates of inhabited houses in a scale of augmentation, forming an increase of thirty per cent. on the present taxes. The rents of warehouses should be subjected to the same impost. The produce of the tax upon houses was estimated at 396,500*l.* and that on warehouses at 150,000*l.* The next would be laid on servants and carriages, and would be a more considerable and progressive increase of 80 to 90 per cent. If any Gentleman should object to such an augmentation, he begged of him to recollect what proportion it bore to the Property Tax. The produce of this tax on servants, exclusive of those in trade, was calculated at 410,000*l.* a year. The latter would not produce so large a sum, the estimate was about 148,000*l.* The impost on carriages, at a rate of about 75 per cent. would produce, it was thought, 360,000*l.* That on the horses of pleasure, for he should refrain from taxing those for husbandry, would bring at the rate of 80 per cent. about 682,500*l.* The new duty on trade horses would only be 40 per cent. and would produce 85,500*l.* That on dogs, at 30 per cent. would yield 105,500*l.*, and that on game certificates, 42,000*l.* Bachelors had hitherto paid an additional duty on servants only: they should now pay an increase of 50 per cent. both on servants and carriages and horses. The produce of this tax was expected to amount to 120,000*l.* and the total of the new Assessed Taxes to 2,500,000*l.* He should now proceed to the additions he intended to make to the War Taxes which were to be retained. He should propose an additional duty on tobacco, on the ground that the peace with America would necessarily render the price of that article very low; and enable it to bear a fresh duty of nearly 9*d.* in the pound, at the rate of 2*d.* three-farthings per pound paid to the customs, and 6*d.* per pound paid to the excise, which would jointly produce 300,000*l.* The excise duties on wine should also experience an increase of 20*l.* per tun, which would yield a revenue of 500,000*l.* annually. The next tax would not perhaps be unobjectionable. It might



press hard upon the persons whom it concerned, but it was an object which had scarcely experienced any increase during the whole of the late protracted war. He meant licences to dealers in excisable articles. A duty of fifty per cent. progressive upon these would produce 300,000*l.* It would certainly be unequal in its pressure, but by a reference to the 43d of the King, c. 65, it would be found that what he proposed was moderate. The whole of the new taxes under the head of the Excise would yield to the country 950,000*l.* a year. He would now proceed to imposts of a different description. The first would not be very considerable, and this was not the first time that it had been thought of, though it had never yet been entirely adopted. As early as 1788, it was proposed that one penny should be paid on every newspaper sent by post. This had been carried into effect with respect to papers forwarded by the Two-penny post, but not by the General: for it was supposed that any thing that would check the circulation of papers would have an injurious tendency. But he was certain that no one who indulged in the luxury of reading a London Paper, a luxury with which all were well acquainted, would deprive himself of that enjoyment for the sake of saving one penny. He should apprehend, however, that Members of Parliament would contrive to receive their newspapers free of postage. (Here a general cry of No, no, arose, and Mr. Whitbread said across the table, "Tax Members.") As it appeared to be the universal sense of the House not to avail themselves of their prerogatives on this occasion, he would make no exception in their favour in this duty, which was calculated to produce 50,000*l.* a year. It was not his intention to propose any further vote with respect to the Post Office that night; but other measures were in contemplation, which he should hereafter submit to the judgment of Parliament. These, however, would not affect the inland revenue. They would refer to the establishment of a regular conveyance of letters to the East Indies, and to an improvement in the measures adopted last session with respect to foreign and other ship letters, from which he expected that the revenue would derive an augmentation of 75,000*l.* This,

however, would be a subsequent consideration. The total estimated amount of the new measures which he has already proposed, was 3,728,000*l.*

For the better information of the Committee, he would repeat in a more connected form the statements which he had made, enumerating the various articles, describing the rate of duty, and the probable produce, viz.

RATE.	PRODUCE.
Customs—Tobacco, 2½ <i>d.</i> per lb. . . .	150,000
Excise—Tobacco, 6 <i>d.</i> per lb. . . .	130,000
Licences—Double fixed Rates	
50 per cent. progressive . . .	300,000
Wine—20 <i>l.</i> per tun . . .	500,000
	<hr/> 950,000
ASSESSED TAXES, viz.	
Inhabited House Duty, 30 per cent.	596,000
Progressive Servants' Tax, 80 to 90 per cent.	308,500
Under Gardeners, &c. various	101,500
Trade Servants and Servants for hire, various	148,000
Carriages, about 75 per cent. . . .	363,000
Horses for pleasure, about 80 per cent.	632,500
Trade Horses, about 40 per cent.	85,500
Dogs, about 30 per cent. . . .	105,500
Game Certificates, ditto	42,000
NEW DUTIES.	
Windows in Warehouses and Hot-houses, 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per window	50,000
Rent of Warehouses, [same as Houses	150,000
Bachelors—53 per cent. additional on Servants, Carriages and Horses	120,000
	<hr/> 2,563,000
Post Office—1 <i>d.</i> on each Newspaper	50,000
East India and Foreign Postage Regulation	75,000
	<hr/> 125,000
	<hr/> 3,728,000

But he had already said, that he should propose taxes to the amount of five millions. He would now therefore state to the Committee what other measures were in contemplation, and the reason for the delay in submitting them to Parliament. It was intended to propose a considerable and proportionate increase of the Stamp Duties, (with the exception of those on law proceedings) from which

it was expected that an additional revenue of 7 or 800,000*l.* would be derived; but, as the Committee must be well aware, a new Schedule on a subject so complicated, could not be prepared without considerable delay.—Supposing that this new proposition would be productive to the amount which he had described, there would remain about 600,000*l.* still to be raised; and he trusted, that in reviewing the existing system of bounties and drawbacks, Parliament might find the means of obtaining this sum. In the article of printed cottons for instance, the bounties were rendered unnecessary by the prosperity of the manufacture. The bounties demanded, were in some cases so extensive, that although he was reluctant to suspect the existence of fraud; there was reason for circumspection and enquiry. (The Right Honourable Gentleman made some further observations on this subject, and on the drawbacks on sugar, &c. but in a tone of voice so low as to prevent us from accurately collecting his meaning.) He came now to say a few words on an article of very extensive consumption in this country—he meant beer. A few years ago a great increase took place in the price of beer. The public were convinced that the present price was greater than it ought to be; and that if it were continued, the country had a fair title to participate in the advantages which must consequently accrue. He was very unwilling, however, to appear to increase the charge of an article of so great necessity; and he would much rather, by the hint which he had thrown out, be the means of diminishing the existing price. He was aware that in cases of this nature it was a delicate matter for Government to interfere between the producer and the consumer; but having been a party to the former increase of price, and having no difficulty in saying that in his opinion the present price was exorbitant, he did not wish to be considered responsible for it.—He was now about to submit to the Committee his suggestions with respect to the provision for the charges of the Loan, and of the unfunded debt. Alluding to the sum in the hands of the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt, he observed that he had on a former occasion stated that it might be advisable on the restoration of peace, to reserve a portion of that

sum for the purpose of liquidating the immediate and pressing expenses of the winding up of the war. He now, however, thought that it would be more beneficial to allow the Sinking Fund to increase for four years at compound interest, without any reserve or deduction whatever; in which case it would produce 150,000,000*l.* a sum that would be capable of redeeming the whole funded debt (if it were thought advisable wholly to redeem it) in 45 years; which would be within the limits prescribed by Mr. Pitt's act. It was peculiarly desirable, so recently after the cessation of hostilities, to avoid trenching on so important a resource, and one which could be converted into the means of enabling us to meet an unforeseen and sudden contingency. The ferment into which Europe had been thrown was scarcely calmed; the military ardour which had been so prevalent was scarcely abated. In this point of view the lapse of a little time might be of the greatest importance. Every year, every month, rendered stronger the probability of a continuance of peace. At the expiration of four years—having prudently reserved to ourselves during that period the power of answering any unexpected but imperious demand—we should then, in greater security, have an opportunity to consider of the best mode of availing ourselves of all the resources which we possessed for lightening the burthen of the country. The committee and the country must be well aware, that the best security for peace was to shew that we were perfectly prepared for war. By a continuance of the Property Tax, and by an abstinence from the Sinking Fund, we should every year strengthen our hands; and as on the one hand he trusted we should exhibit a moderation equal to our power, so on the other we should lay a foundation for the attainment of a force that was best calculated to preserve us in undisturbed tranquillity. That very night would deliver the country from an annual taxation of nine millions; and not only would the relief be directly advantageous to those by whom it would be felt, but in the expenditure of the money thus saved by the people, a large portion of it would circulate, but yet certainly, find its way into the public Treasury, and thus contribute to the strength of the State.

The gradual but steady increase of the revenue was also a subject of gratifying contemplation. On the 5th of April, 1814, the total amount of the revenue for the year, (exclusive of the Property Tax) was 48,436,000*l*. In the preceding year the revenue (with the same exclusion) did not amount to 37,000,000*l*. So that in that year there was an increase of about 1,800,000*l*. At Christmas last the revenue for the year (exclusive of the Property Tax) was 51,211,000*l*. being an increase of near 3,000,000*l*. This progress of the public revenue would tend materially to relieve the public burthens; and here he could not refrain from congratulating the committee and the country on having achieved the great object of the arduous struggle in which they had been engaged, with the resources of the country in a state of such strength and hope. He well recollected that at the first dinner which Mr. Pitt gave after the commencement of the contest, Mr. Burke filled a glass of wine and drank "Success to this long war!" The Company in general were not prepared for this expression, "long," conceiving that the war would soon be terminated; and some of them having expressed their surprise, Mr. Burke continued—"I say this long and sanguinary war; for such it must be, *Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundi*. Let '*durate*,' be your motto," The perseverance which that great man recommended had been undeviating adopted; and never had the efforts of any state been crowned with more complete triumph. The Right Hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his first Resolution.

There was nothing in the *debate* worthy of the smallest notice. No one objected to the proposed taxes, as being the means of supporting a standing army in time of peace; no one found fault of the intention to keep up, in time of peace, all the *war* taxes except the property-tax; no one, in short, nor any single word, at all interesting to any man, who has a regard for the *principles* of our ancient laws and government. — There was nothing but *café*; nothing at all, that came to any interesting point. Therefore, I shall only have to remark on the Budget-speech itself. — The Chancellor of the Exchequer began by an eulogium on the *Property-*

Tax, which Mr. PORTALL, at the Hampshire Meeting, called a *highwayman's-tax*, but which Mr. VANSITTART said, it had enabled us to effect the *deliverance* of Europe. What would this deliverance appear to be, if Mr. Portall's definition were taken into account? It is very true, however, that the *Pope* has been delivered, that the *Jesuits* have been delivered, that the *Dominicans* have been delivered (except in France), that the *Holy Inquisition* has been delivered, that Genoa has been delivered up, that Italy has shared the same fate, that Saxony and Poland and Belgium are all likely to undergo the same kind of *deliverance*. The *Bourbons*, two have been delivered; but the people of France do not seem to have been delivered of their means of surpassing us in agricultural produce, nor of their means of carrying on manufactures upon an extensive scale. They are not yet delivered of the Code Napoleon, nor of their sufferings from the want of clothes, monks, gabelles, corvées, and feudal tenures and vassalage. It is, however, very good to hear, that the successes of the war are to be attributed to *our taxes*, though it may not be so palatable to the heroes who have been personally engaged in that war. It may vex them to hear it asserted, that we owe our victories to the *purse*; and the assertion does indeed, seem to justify the plaintive allusion, in the Hampshire Petition, to the *new Knights of the Bath*; for, really, if our warlike successes be to be attributed to our purse, it seems but just, that those who filled that purse, should share in the honours which are the reward of those victories. The *Order of Taxation*, seems, therefore, to be fully justified on the assertion of these gentlemen, and why should we not have it? — Of the *fact*, however, I have not the least doubt. I have always been of opinion, that the taxes of England won the victories; and, indeed, so have the French always said. They, to do them justice, acknowledged, from the commencement of the war with us, that it was *our money* that beat them. They used to call it "*l'or de Pitt*," *Pitt's gold*; and our present doctrine seems fully to tally with that assertion. Yes, it certainly was the English taxes that overthrew Napoleon, and that restored Ferdinand the beloved, and the Pope. Talk of the *Cassacks* indeed! They, to be sure, carried

the lances, and the javelins; but what urged them? The taxes of England. Let this always be clearly understood. It was the English *money* that did the thing in Europe, and that would have done the thing in America, if the Hertford Knights could have had their wish. In that hemisphere, however, it certainly has not been so potent, though, as we are told, the taxes of last year were greater than ever. In spite of all our paying, we have certainly been defeated in our attempts on the other side of the Atlantic. To the exceeding mortification of every one who really feels for the naval renown of England, there is now as much boasting about the capture of *one* American Frigate by *two* English Frigates as there used to be about our capturing of a *whole fleet*, by a force of two thirds of that of *any* enemy. Oh, shame!—It is very natural for us to be *glad*, that one of those *terrible* Frigates has been taken and added to our navy; but, to make a *boast* of it? This is the vexatious fact. To *boast*, that *two* of our frigates, followed closely by others of our ships, have taken *one* American frigate, is past all bearing. One would think, that the very frame of our minds must have undergone a great change.—The most material part of the speech is that, in which Mr. Vansittart speaks of being *ready for a new war*. He does not seem to imagine, that *other nations* will be ready to go to war as well as we; and he seems to forget, that, if we go to war again, there will be no Jacobin cry to urge us on; and that if we attempt our blockades, and impressments, and orders in council, however *just*, (for I will have no dispute about that) we shall have America with, perhaps, a hundred public ships of war, of all sizes, against us. The Chancellor seems to have forgotten this fact; yet, a fact it is, and a very important one too. This danger, the greatest that England ever knew, we owe to the *American war*; a war which I laboured so hard to prevent, and which I said *would create an American navy*. It has done that deed, and has thereby rendered it necessary for us to keep a much larger naval force in constant readiness; and, of course has entailed upon us an enormous expense.—We are, it seems, to have *loans in time of peace*. I said we should. My propositions were these:

The War Taxes must all be continued,
The freeholders must go unpaid,

The army must be disbanded, and the
navy reduced to the state of 1786,

There must be new taxes equal in
amount to the war taxes,

OR,

There must be *loans in time of peace*.

A middle course has been pursued, Part of the war taxes are to be continued, and we are to have loans in time of peace, a thing quite unprecedented in our history.—But, this is, in fact, of no consequence at all to the people. It is the employment of the taxes; the power they give to those who rule us; the effect they have in debasing the spirit and morals of the people; their terrible effect upon public liberty; this is the only light, in which it is worth the while of any rational man to view the taxes.—The addition to the assessed taxes will produce very little, if the symptoms I have seen are to be judged by. Those who kept two horses, will, in one half of the cases, keep but one. Servants and Dogs will be turned out of doors very fast, and chariots and gigs will fall in abundance. I do not think, that, upon these articles, any addition will be raised. The taxes upon hot-houses will weigh against the tax upon glass; which will also be diminished by a further closing up of windows.—The tax upon newspapers will make each paper cost in *tax* fourpence halfpenny, and payment to the news-man, three pence.—But, this will produce little, though it is so heavy on the article; for if one paper out of every seven, is laid down in consequence of it, the gain to the treasury is nothing at all; and there will be a corresponding falling off in the *paper tax*. Out of the sixpence halfpenny, which the news-man *now* receives, the Government has already received, in stamp duty, about 4-pence. This was pretty well; but, in fact, it is no matter.—Mr. VANSITTART hinted at the *dearness of BEER*. Will he say, that the Government does not now receive 3d. three-farthings out of the 6d. for which a pot of beer is sold? My ale is not loaded with *beer duty*, and yet, in every *quart* of it that I drink, I drink about two pence halfpenny in tax. In

summer time I swallow one penny-farthing in tax at almost every draft, exclusive of the taxes which reach the barley, through the *land*, the *assessed taxes*, the *leather*, the *salt*, the *soap*, the *candles*, &c. &c. of the farmer. If I belonged to the Company of Brewers, I would publish an answer to this "*hint*," and would shew "*the labouring classes*," in whose behalf the gentleman testified so much consideration, how large a part of the price of their beer consisted in *taxes*. This would be paying him in his own coin. And I would shew, too, that those who are *able to brew their own beer*, pay no *beer tax*, and only a tax on the *malt*, which latter is sufficiently heavy, and is, in great part, a *war tax* too; but is now to be continued, it seems in time of peace. However, it must be confessed, that the *rabble*, who were like to squeeze and stink to death "*Alexander the Deliverer*," and "*Old Blucher*," ought not to grudge to swallow taxes in their beer, since it was these taxes, which, as we are now told, procured them the pleasure of seeing and embracing those *worthy personages*.—If you could take this class of persons, one by one, and clearly explain to them whither goes the 6d. which they pay for a *pot of beer*, what a surprising turn it would give to their minds! Or, if there was an Excise-man in each public house, to receive from every purchaser of a *pot of beer*, the government part of the price, that would make the matter delightfully clear. Then, and not till then, should we hear these people talking about the taxes in a rational way.—But, as government are much too wise to adopt this mode of collection, we must expect to see such "*hints*" as that of Mr. Vansittart received with great gratitude. How he must have laughed to himself when he conceived the notion of throwing out such a hint! Of stepping in between the makers and drinkers of beer! What a sight to see! A nation so besotted as receive this as an act of *favour* at the hands of the government; and the impudent hirelings of the press have the profligacy to say, that the *public are indebted* to the minister for having lowered the price of this necessary of life! I do believe, that it is impossible to produce a similar instance of national delusion.

CHEAP CORN.

MR. COBBETT.—Pardon an intruder, more especially one who sets his face against *all* that has been said or written on this subject. It appears to him, according to the old and vulgar proverb, that you have all got the wrong sow by the ear. Each writer and speaker seems to vie with his neighbour which shall best elude the true statement of the case. The one affirms, that by keeping the bread *dear*, the poor will be better fed. Another says, that agriculture wants encouragement, at the expense of the manufacturer and the poor labourer. Some have asserted that the arable part of the country is small compared to the population. Others state, that the newly enclosed lands had been very expensive to those who have obtained them. Honest folks! They then have robbed the poor of their patrimony, without profit to themselves; nay with a certain loss. But there has been, as yet, only one of them honest enough to hint at the *real cause* of the evil. He is made to say, that he himself was in possession of an estate which formerly rented at *six hundred a year*. A short time since the lease expired, and it was let at *double the amount*. Here then, Mr. Cobbett, is the mystery explained. These gentlemen have each more than doubled their income by rack-renting their tenants, who now look to their landlord for support, and the decision is left to those very men, who by their rapacity gave birth to the complaint, that the farmer cannot afford to grow cheap corn. No more can they, *as they now live*.—Another *trifling* cause, entirely overlooked, or carefully concealed, is the consolidation of a number of small farms into one large one—extremely convenient, to be sure, for the landholder, and very profitable to the rich farmer.—The one receives his rent with less trouble from an individual in affluence, than from a number of poor tenants who may depend for their profits solely on their industry, and not, like the rich tenant, on the success of speculation.—To be convinced of the truth of this, let the reader travel the kingdom round. He will soon learn, that the *little* farms are consolidated into one *great* farm, and that the *little* farmers have, in consequence, either left the country, or now work (perhaps on what was once their

own farms) as day labourers. Let him next step into one of these *large* farm houses; he will no longer see the farmer's daughters, Madge or Dolly, feeding the pigs, fetching in the cows, milking them, or churning or making cheese, while the old mother and grandmother are teaching the younger branches to knit coarse yarn stockings for *feather*, and brothers, and sisters—No, no: he will find the young ladies in a back parlour, playing upon the forte piano, drawing or embroidering, perhaps making themselves up new caps or dresses to appear in at the next county ball. The old mare with a pillion is also discarded for a gig, chaise, or curriole; and the *young gentleman*, the farmer's son, instead of thick high shoes well studded with hobnails, with a smock frock, and carter's whip on his shoulder, now sports his military-cut-upper-coat of superfine, lined with silk, his Wellington boots, his jemmy rattan, and his bit of blood—The ox cheek and leg of beef, and suet dumplin of ancient times, have given way to Modern Delicacies; and if one of the Misses happens to be remarkably notable, it is possible she may superintend the Pastry, the Jellies, the Blanc-mange, &c. &c. How can such Farmers afford to grow cheap Corn?

But the Taxes—true; but Gentlemen Landholders, how came these taxes? You Gentlemen Landholders, have the exclusive privilege of sitting in Parliament: You have consented to these Taxes.—Did you represent the *Land* or the *Inhabitants*? If it was the inhabitants, have you done them justice? What advantage, what compensation, have they received, or are *they* to receive from these taxes?—Speak out:—have these taxes of your own imposing, have they not been to your own profit?—Pay them then yourselves, after consolidating all the land of the country in your own hands—all the wealth in your own pockets.—Is it not a nefarious attempt to make the poor, those who have not one foot of land—those who live by labour and industry, those whom one week's sickness sends to the work-house, those who toil all day that you may game and revel all night, those who are the bulk of the nation, and, we may add, the least vicious of any—Startle not, Gentlemen:—it is truth that guides my pen—Is it not a nefarious attempt to make such men eat dear bread? If sacrifices are to be made,

make them yourselves. Lower your rents. Divide your large farms into small ones. Encourage the *little* farmer's industry. Pay the major part of the taxes yourselves, as you alone have benefited by their imposition. Let the public eat cheap bread. Retrench all your own unnecessary expenses, and throw the savings into the public purse.

ARISTIDES.

Mr COBBETT.—As I am a Farmer, I wish to say, how much I approve of your remarks upon the Corn Bill. Nothing can be more correct than your views of this subject. It is not the farmer who *wants* a Corn Law, but the *Government*, that it may be able to raise taxes, which are to support a *standing army*, and a system of *bribery and corruption*. But as we do not want a standing army in time of peace with all the world, and as we do not want a system of corruption, at any time, so taxes ought not to be raised for these unconstitutional purposes. It is *against* the taxes then that the farmers should meet to petition, and at the same time should connect with their petitions a reform in the representation, the want of which, has been, and still is the cause of all our grievances civil and religious. I do not wish to repeat what you have already said so often and so well upon this subject. You have shewn that we can do with less taxes, and without loans, and without Corn Bills. And I believe it to be the *real interest* of every farmer, to *oppose* instead of *supporting* a Corn Bill. Your's, &c.

G. G. FORDHAM.

Feb. 20. 1815.

P. S. In your last Register you observe, that if any addition is made to your assessed taxes, you shall only keep one good horse and five or six dogs, as being necessities of life. I cannot comprehend how the six dogs are necessities of life, unless you intend to put them to plough to save the horse tax.

LEGION OF HONOUR.

SIR,—I am a good deal astonished at the extraordinary defence of the New Legion of Honour, which your correspondent, P. C. has thought proper to make in your last number. He considers

that body as having been most cruelly attacked, by the name of Major General Digby Hamilton having been added to the list of its most respectable members. P. C. states this not to be the case, but he himself confesses that the Major General did apply for admission; therefore, at least, there was certainly some foundation for the report. P. C. very satirically compares the Major General's claims to those of the Under City Marshall, Mr. Nalder, on the ground of "*services*." Now, Sir, I beg leave to be distinctly understood, that there are various sorts of "*services*," for which this "*decoration*," is bestowed:—there are *military services, diplomatic services, pen and ink services, Horse Guards services, back door services, negotiation services, procreation services, cum multis aliis*, too numerous to mention; so that the worthy Major General may have very eminently distinguished himself "*in his way*," and may have as good a title to the "*decoration*" as the Duke of Wellington himself. The Drum Boy, is, in his line, a great warrior; and I have no doubt, that the Major General could unfold as brilliant a list of achievements in his escutcheon, as any one of the "*Knights Grand Crosses*" of the Order. Every man in his vocation: The Major General has not been a war man; he has laboured *peaceably* at home, and has done wonders! For, as your correspondent observes, he contrives to continue "*on permanent pay*," with "*temporary*" rank. I am sorry, however, Sir, to be obliged to inform you, that I have heard, from unquestionable authority, that it is the intention of one of those most awful "*Jacobins*," Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Ponsonby, Sir Francis Burdett, or some other of the "*vile crew*," to object to the continuance of the temporary rank Major General's "*permanent*" Corps. How cruel this will be! Poor man! to deprive him of the sweet little country box at Croydon Barracks, and of the little comforts of coals, candles, hay, straw, and corn; to say nothing of his nice garden, and farm yard, and of the convenience of bringing up all these "*comforts*" to Cleveland Row, in a covered waggon, drawn by four horses! Surely Mr. Whitbread could not be so cruel as to begrudge the "*Major General*" these trifling enjoyments, particularly when they do not cost the country more than two or three hundred thousand

pounds a year? But so it is, I fear; and the poor Major General will of course, be obliged to put down his carriages, and to lose his coachmen and footmen and their pretty pink liveries, who, of course, if the "*Royal Waggon Train*" is disbanded as is expected, these servants, being "*Royal Waggoners*," will be discharged from the *public service*; and if kept up the Major General's *service*, must be so at his own expense. You reformers are sad men, Mr. Cobbett? What a deal of mischief you are about to entail upon this valuable officer, by your meanness in thinking of a few hundreds of thousands of pounds? I know, in your way, paltry you will be calculating how many families might be supported by the pay and allowances, seen and unseen, allowed and not allowed, permitted and not permitted, but possessed by the Major General; and will ask, in your impertinent manner, what he does, or has done, to deserve such ample reward, while so many very meritorious officers without arms or legs, &c. &c. &c. are sent to cultivate their health in wholesome retirement, in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, where alone their little pittance can provide them with potatoes and small beer. But, Sir, your correspondent, P. C. who dates his Letter from the Horse Guards, and of whose identity I can give a shrewd guess, can, if he pleases, unfold the whole story, and shew you that the "*Major General*" has claims, *which cannot be disputed*. If I am wrong, I call upon him to put me right; and I am sure your candour and love of truth is too great not to give insertion to whatever explanation he may think fit to make. That he will do which forthwith is the earnest wish of your sincere and fervent admirer,

PHILO CIVIS.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER VII.

"Remember that the disorders of the Soul are no
"to be cured by force and violence."

Cardinal de Camus.—Pastoral Instructions. 1688.

Continued from page 217.

Our Prince (acting for his father) is the sovereign head of the church, or state religion of this country, and "*Defender of the Faith*." This faith is a branch of a system called christian, from the name of its founder,

and first instituted, as the almanacks tell us, about 1815 years ago.

Whatever might have been the opinion of the early professors of this religion, we at the present day, that is, the great bulk of Christians in this country, believe, that the great Author of Nature, in order to redeem his creatures from a portion of the disgrace entailed upon them, in consequence of their first parents eating some fruit from a forbidden tree, he begot, in a supernatural manner, a son upon the body of a young woman, who was betrothed to an old man. That this immaculate conception was brought about by the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost, an incorporeal spiritual personage, sometimes represented as appearing in the shape of a Dove, and sometimes in various other forms. We believe also in a doctrine called the Trinity, said to have been established about the third century of Christianity, which represents the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to partake equally of divinity, and, in fact, to be three Gods and one God at the same time; three in one, and one composing three, and yet not one God but three, and not three separate Gods but one. It is true, our enemies ridicule this ineffable mystery of our holy religion, but we *implicitly* believe it, though so inscrutable that we cannot comprehend it. It must also be recollected, that we believe our Saviour Jesus Christ to have been the promised Messiah mentioned in the ancient traditions and prophecies of the Jews, who, when he came, was to bring about such wonderful things that the earth was to be a sort of paradise. The Jews will not agree to this. They say that our Messiah was executed without having accomplished what was predicted of him; that we misrepresent their scriptures, and contrive, by means of forged genealogies, and other insidious arts, to graft our system on theirs to give it a better foundation: but we, as Christians, consider them mistaken, and give no credit to aspersions so injurious to our holy faith.

These being some of the leading points of our religion, and indeed being the very foundation stones upon which the superstructure is reared, does it not behove us to be particularly cautious how we meddle with the mission and the doctrines of *Mrs. Southcott*?—Such Christians as many, or most of the sects who

flourished in the early ages of the Gospel dispensation, may, with perfect consistency, despise the pretensions of *Johanna*, because they reject the miraculous conception of Mary, the divinity of Jesus, and the sublime mystery of the Trinity; but we, who stake our salvation upon our faith in these things, cannot consistently, or without great danger to our holy religion, appear hostile to the opinions of this new sect.—If these Millenarians had denied any part of our sacred writings, and proved some characters, which we greatly admire, to be bad ones; if they had abused our church, reviled its ministry, or breathed a spirit of Jacobinism, we might then have found some pretext for persecuting them with all the fury of religious monsters just let loose from hell; but, on the contrary, they admit the whole of our Scriptures to be true, and, so far from disrespecting the State Religion, they read the whole of its forms in their Meetings.—Now the difficulty we laboured under in opposing their system was this, that we admit all things to be *possible* with God, that the ways of providence are often dark and mysterious, and that he does not consult either ourselves or our understandings in the government of the universe, or the means he shall use to carry his designs into execution; all this we acknowledge when we give him the attribute of “Omnipotence.” Is it not palpable then, that by doubting the supernatural pregnancy of *Mrs. Southcott*, and hastily determining it to be impossible, we called in question the power of the Almighty? Was not her case strictly analogous to that of the blessed Virgin Mary, whom the Catholics always honor with the appellation of “Mother of God?” We own that the Lord has worked hundreds and thousands of Miracles, and are pigmies like us to say when he shall cease to work them? If this would have been a greater Miracle than the birth of Christ, might it not be more necessary, at a period like this, when, instead of the ignorant idolatry of those days, the earth is over-run with an enlightened infidelity, and when, in fact, the progress of knowledge has only facilitated the march of materialism and scepticism? But where can be the difference to the Almighty?—Is he not as capable of commanding an aged virgin to bring forth, without connection

with man, as he was a young woman? Has the period of 1800 years, diminished his strength, or is he a man that he should have grown imbecile through age?—How often do we call the Jews a set of hard hearted and blood thirsty villains for not believing what took place in their own day, but executing the Son of God as an impostor. Every impartial person must acknowledge, that the great bulk of the English place themselves just in the same situation as the Jews, when they ridiculed the Prophetess, and would have persecuted her if our Prince had been as weak as *Pontius Pilate*, and had yielded to their senseless murder breathing clamour. It would have been much more becoming in such insignificant animals as we are, to have waited with patient submission to the Decrees of Heaven, and not presumptuously attempt to scan the ways of providence by judging and determining before the appointed time. We called these people superstitious, weak, and stupid, for crediting that which was not more wonderful than what we firmly believe, though it took place near 2000 years since, and is handed down to us by tradition, thro' the dark ages and a variety of mediums which we often take a pleasure in proving to be suspicious. Does not all this open a door to the scoffs and jeers of Infidels? Does it not give them a glorious opportunity of making our foolish conduct in this respect, a powerful engine wherewith to strike at the very root of our holy religion, by shewing us how easily we can see the errors and absurdities of others, and wonder at their being so besotted, when, if we were capable of asking ourselves a few close questions, we might perhaps find that we were cherishing in our own minds dogmas equally repugnant to common sense. Our prince is aware, that if the discussion of these topics had been pushed still further by the misguided zeal of religious persecution, it would give scope to a thousand such illnatured observations and inferences as those I have just mentioned; therefore I look up to him with veneration, as an experienced Father, whose judgement is not blinded by his affection for his children, but who has the resolution to deny such of their requests as his superior knowledge, and foresight, convinces him will militate against their happiness.

How often have I heard persons exclaim "I wonder how any one can be so credulous as to be lead away by that woman."—In the same manner I have heard a gaping clown, when staring at the lofty fabric of St. Paul, express his astonishment, that human ingenuity could plan and erect so stupendous a pile; but the skilful architect views it with far less amazement, because he knows the principles upon which the temple was designed, and the means by which that design was carried into execution, and could himself, perhaps, raise as grand a structure, if he had the same opportunity of displaying his abilities.—Does not this prove, that all our wonder arises from our ignorance, and that the only reason why we are surprised at the weakness of the Southcoterians is, that we are unacquainted with the theory of the human mind in general, and with our own faculties in particular? If we were capable of divesting ourselves of the prejudices of education, the trammels of superstition, and all the shackles which surrounding circumstances impose upon us; if we could dissect our brain, analyse our ideas, and make an inventory of our knowledge, we should find the portion of it obtained by thinking, examining, and judging for our selves, so small as hardly to be discernible in the mass of rubbish that we have received without investigation, from our nurse, our schoolmaster, and our priest.—The instruction we imbibed from these, was considered as the dictates of truth and reason by our infantine capacities. We grow up in reverence of what we have learned from parents, elders, and superiors, falsely conceiving it the result of our own conviction, and, whether right or wrong, becoming more obstinately bigotted to it the longer we continue it. Our self love, pride, and vanity, prompt us to attach a peculiar importance to our own opinions, and to attribute them to our judgment and discrimination, or to any cause but that of chance, or accident, which threw us in the way of the education we have received, whether good or bad. To set our knowledge of, or our fondness for, particular dogmas to their account, instead of to our own election, is not sufficiently flattering to human nature. Is it then to be wondered at that the more ignorant we are, the more obstinate we shall be in adhering to any

ridiculous notion we may have embraced? And is it not evident, that the proper reason the bulk of mankind ought to assign for their profession of a particular religion is, that I am a good Mahometan, because I was born at Constantinople, and a true Christian, because I was born at London?—When we reflect upon the history of man, can we be surprised at any thing he does under the influence of religion?—There is no principle so powerful over the human mind as superstition, when enforced and directed by a Priest. It is quite immaterial whether it is the worship of the most hideous idol to which the poor benighted Indian bows the knee, or the more rational adoration of a Supreme Being, as the Author of *Nature*.—Their effects will be the same wherever a Priesthood have the liberty of modifying them to answer their own interested purposes.—Let us then be moderate and charitable, and avoid exposing our shallow knowledge of self, by abusing others, even if they should be in error. But God forbid that I should say they are because they see more in my Bible than I have been taught to see. Is every other science to be extended and improved, and not that of religion?—The Jews never discovered that our system was predicted in their books and will not believe it to this day. The language of oracles and prophecies has never been direct and perspicuous, but, on the contrary, dark and mysterious. The fertile imagination of *St. Augustine* could see the whole of the New Testament in the Old: he discovered that even the piece of red rag held out as a signal by a harlot, was typical of the blood of our blessed Saviour, and the two wives of Abraham meant the synagogue and the catholic church. We protestants, in our expositions, make the man of sin to be the pope, the Romish religion antichristian; and the more enlightened Southcottians can see still farther than us. They find that Jesus went off without making the earth a paradise as was promised, and quote passages from scripture to prove his second coming in the child *SHILOH*, to fulfil what he left undone. Hundreds have condemned the prophetess with-

out having read her works, or examined the passages in holy writ upon which she rested her divine mission. I have that zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of truth, that I will make no scruple in declaring my opinion on this case, even though I should be thought a Southcottian in disguise, and be loaded with every species of opprobrium. I do roundly assert, without the fear of contradiction, that the texts selected by Mrs. Southcott for the illustration of her doctrines, are as pointed and as applicable as any of those upon which we ground the christian system. To those who say that her death proved the fallacy of her scheme, and her followers will no longer exist as a sect, it is answered that her disciples know the Almighty has changed his mind before; he had repented that he had made man, that he called Jesus Christ to heaven before he had caused the Lion and the Lamb to lay down together, and the land to flow with milk and honey; and may he not, say the true believers, have some wise and mysterious end in view in taking the holy prophetess to himself, without blessing us with the Shiloh. Perhaps the crying sins of this great Babylon have offended him. But be this as it may, whatever is, is right; it is all for the best, and must at last work together for good. Let us then cordially unite in offering up those sentiments of praise, which are the emanation of a true and loyal heart, to our good and gracious Prince Regent, for his mild and generous conduct towards this new sect of christians, which, I have no doubt will flourish to the end of time; it being my most serious persuasion, that, according to critical evidence, this system and our own only holy and infallible faith must stand or fall together.

ESRASMUS PERKINS.

London, Feb. 17, 1815.

*The American Documents to be continued
in the next Number.*

DELIVERANCE OF SPAIN.

The following REFLECTIONS place in a clear light the *Changes*, which have taken place in Spain, since the return of Ferdinand, the beloved, in consequence of the *Deliverance* of that country. For my part, I have very little feeling for those, who endeavoured to restore him. They well knew him and his family; they well knew the sort of government which they had under that family; they had no reason to expect better government than before; they wrote and fought for him; they have him; and much good may he do them. There were many persons, of whom I was one, who did not wish to see Europe under the sway of Napoleon, but who feared, that his being overthrown would produce evil, by replacing all the nations of Europe under their old masters, with a despotism, on the part of the latter, to rule the people with a rod of iron. As to supposing, as some men did, that the old families would be more mild in their government than formerly; that the *lesson*, as it was called, would make them gentle in future, and allow their people *more liberty* than they enjoyed before, nothing could, it appeared to me, be more foolish, nothing more opposite to the general practice of mankind. Who, as I once before asked, has cattle or sheep which break over or through his fences, *lower* or *weaken* the fences upon bringing back the flock or the herd? Does a horse break his *halter*? We put a *chain* in its stead. I have a gang of leaping Mares and Colts, which have broken out, several times this winter, from rough pasture into my meadows and fields, allured by the sight of better living. What have I done? Have I patted them and caressed them? Have I given them a greater and farther range? Not I, faith! I have sought out the places of their escape; and having driven them back, have constantly redoubled the barrier; and have, at last, made it impossible for them to get out with their lives. Ferdinand is pursuing my plan, and, I

dare say, it will be pursued all over Europe. Napoleon put down the Inquisition and drove out the Monks. Those who now suffer from having fought and wrote against Napoleon and for Ferdinand must take the fruit of their exertions for their pains. Spain is *Delivered*; we were, as we say, her *Deliverers*. I will pity no one, who was for the *Deliverance*, and who yet *complains* of its consequences.

REFLECTIONS

On the Political Changes which have taken place in Spain since the return of Ferdinand.

My object in presenting these reflections to the public, is to throw some light on a subject of the greatest importance to the tranquillity of Europe. My homage is due only to justice and to virtue, for in whatever country or individual they may be found, the friend of liberty must honour and respect them. Wishing to divest myself of all national and party spirit, which never fail to blind the eyes of those who are under their influence, I will express with the utmost frankness, my ideas on events of such importance as those which have lately happened in Spain, and which, in my opinion, have not yet been considered in their true light. For this purpose I will give a brief historical recapitulation of them, without which it will be impossible to form a just opinion of their origin and future consequences.

The Spanish Nation, invaded by Napoleon and deserted by Ferdinand in a way, if not the most criminal, at least the most impolitic, nobly resisted so unjust an aggression. That this desertion was contrary to the wish of the Spaniards, is evident from the means taken by the people of Vittoria to hinder his ill-judged journey, for they unharnessed his carriage, notwithstanding his utmost remonstrances, and those of his stupid advisers and followers. In order to oppose the most effectual resistance to the invasion

of Napoleon, the people appointed new authorities, because the former were corrupted or intimidated by the orders of Ferdinand himself; and as such, unwilling to resist the yoke that was about to be imposed on them by the conqueror. All the authorities, established during this period of the revolution, were recognized by England and by all the other powers of Europe, who dared to oppose the arms of Napoleon, and they shewed not the least hesitation to form treaties of alliance and friendship with them. In short, to doubt the legality of the new Spanish Government, would be to condemn a revolution, more generally approved than any one of which we have any example. Nothing could more strongly prove the legitimacy of the government, than the elections for representatives which took place in all the provinces unoccupied by the enemy, and among the individuals of those that were, who met at Cadiz, then the capital of the Spanish Empire, in order to form the extraordinary Cortes; an assembly which the government of this country, by its agent the Marquis of Wellesley, wisely promoted, knowing that the Spaniards could make no progress in defending their independence, without procuring at the same time their internal liberty. This assembly, notwithstanding the desertion of Ferdinand and his base acts of submission, as those of soliciting to be adopted a son of Napoleon, and asking him the command of a division in his armies for his brother Charles, while Spain was suffering under every sacrifice to redeem him from captivity, decreed that he was their King, that a Regency should be appointed in his room, but that on his return he should not be recognized till he had sworn to the Constitution in the bosom of the Cortes, and that any act or treaty he might make, should be null and void, till the said condition should be performed. The Extraordinary Cortes ordered the Constitution to be transmitted to all the Allied Powers, and by whom the different Regencies were recognized as legitimate. Napoleon pressed by the entrance of the Allies into France, sought to diminish the number of his enemies and increase that of his friends: as he well knew the meanness and baseness of Ferdinand, he took care to make him an ally of his own, and the enemy of those who were defending his country. He followed that

monstrous phenomenon, the Treaty of Valency, a treaty so shameful and indecent, that Ferdinand himself, in order to hide the ignominy of it, pretended that he had no other intention than to outwit Bonaparte: (see the puerile and ridiculous Pamphlet of the Canon Escoiquiz, a worthy companion of Ferdinand, and his counsellor in making the above treaty) as if following Bonaparte on his throne, he who had so often degraded himself by submission, was now bold enough not to fulfil the stipulations, or as if foreseeing his fall, he would have given the world sufficient ground to suspect his veracity, merely to anticipate his freedom by 15 days, if that life can be called freedom which is spent among nuns, in passing from convent to convent.

In order to guard against the effects of so shameful a treaty, in which Ferdinand bound himself without delay, to restore to Bonaparte all the prisoners made by the Spaniards, which were either in the Peninsula, England, or America, and to cause those English troops who were then fighting so gloriously for his personal liberty, to evacuate Spain, the ordinary Cortes issued the decree of the 2d of February, 1814, to annul the said convention. The decree was immediately transmitted to all the Spanish authorities, and to Lord Wellington, who, nominated by the Cortes generalissimo of the Spanish Armies, was, above all other persons, responsible for its being complied with; because, by a charge of such importance, the safety and defence of the Cortes, and even the national liberty, were committed to his care, and the representatives of the Spanish people had shewn themselves satisfied with this confidence, inasmuch as they had honoured him with titles, estates and distinctions. The decree was also communicated to the English Ambassador, and by means of the Spanish Ambassadors, to all the Allied Powers; they all, as well as Lord Wellington, expressed themselves satisfied with a decree so honorable to the representatives who had issued it, as well as useful to the powers who were interested in the independence of Europe. And how could it be otherwise, when they saw themselves freed from so shameful and dangerous a compromise, as that of furnishing Napoleon with a numerous and warlike army, diminishing the number of his enemies and increasing that of his allies, com-



selling Lord Wellington either to retire from the Peninsula or to fight with that very Spanish army then under his command; and the united forces of Soult and Suchet? On the 26th of March, after having secretly ratified the Treaty of Valency, Ferdinand arrived on the frontiers of Spain. Napoleon was deprived of his throne on the 6th of April, and Ferdinand stopping at Valencia, where he received the foreign Ambassadors, Generals and Chiefs of a faction hostile to the Cortez, without the nation having expressed any determination contrary to that which it had sworn to follow, Ferdinand having concerted his scheme, and provided the means for its execution, on the 4th of May, published that fatal decree for the destruction of that compact, by which the nation had granted him the Crown. Not satisfied with the sacrifices which the people had voluntarily undergone in order to secure him a throne, more honorable than that which he had lost both by desertion and by his resignation, prepossessed with the idea that he owed every thing to heaven, and nothing to men, and educated in ideas which made him wish to reign only over slaves; after having formed a party from among those who were stained with the foul crime of having all more or less contributed to support the throne of Joseph, he declared for the extermination of all those who had shewn the smallest disposition to unite the interests of the throne to those of the people; thus giving an example, not only of the most complete incapacity, and the basest malevolence, but of the most monstrous and horrible ingratitude. Like all tyrants in similar circumstances, his first means of vengeance were the imprisonment of all those disaffected to his government, the destruction of the freedom of the press, in order to conceal the atrocity of his conduct, and represent things as suited his purpose, promising the people a semblance of future freedom, the more effectually to dazzle their eyes, and those of all Europe, impudently pretending that he had published to the Cortez the act of their dissolution, at a time when their principal members were shut up in separate prisons without communication. Having taken these measures, a division of ten thousand men, whose van guard was commanded by General Whittingham, was sent from Valencia to Madrid,

to assist in making prisoners the regents and the members of the Cortez, and to execute the other orders of Ferdinand. It is lamentable to reflect that such a commission was executed by an officer born in a free country; such a commission he ought to have disdained to accept, and he accepted it no doubt with a view to that command which he afterwards received from Ferdinand. These facts being established, I conceive it is allowable to make such reflections as naturally arise on these great political changes in Spain, on the violent means by which Ferdinand has been raised to an empire above that of the law, as well as on the injustice with which the Spanish nation is censured for submitting to so detestable a despotism, without considering the difficulty of getting rid of a yoke once imposed, nor of the many circumstances which have conspired against Spanish liberty.

It is not my intention to make all the reflections on the subject that might be expected from a historian; the limits of a pamphlet will not allow it; a few remarks will be sufficient to throw light on this business, and my principal intention is to place it in a point of view in which it may be duly examined and appreciated by others. I forbear to agitate the question, whether the legitimacy of the Spanish Government being acknowledged by other nations, they ought to acknowledge Ferdinand, in opposition to the constitution sanctioned by the representatives of Spain. I will content myself with saying, that if this is answered in the affirmative, it will go so far as to shake the throne of every sovereign in Europe, and give room to perpetual convulsions. Perhaps, in order to confound the Spanish constitution with the recognition of Ferdinand, they will say that no nation has a right to interfere with the internal government of another. But this is not the matter under consideration. Without meddling with the Spanish constitution, they had no right to acknowledge Ferdinand till he had been acknowledged by the Spanish Nation, unless they will maintain that a monarch being acknowledged to day under one state of circumstances, and these circumstances remaining the same, he may be acknowledged to-morrow in a light totally different. For other nations to have acknowledged Ferdinand at so unseasonable a

period, is doubtless to interfere with the internal government of Spain, particularly as the nation had declared by its agents at foreign courts that he should not be considered as king till he had accepted the constitution, and not to have acknowledged him, was by no means to guarantee that constitution. And where would be the security for the liberty of any nation, if others have the right of acknowledging for its chief him, whom the laws have not acknowledged? Another proof of the injury which has arisen from this acknowledgment, is that Ferdinand makes use of it as an irrefragable testimony of his right. See the horrible declaration of the 28th of August, issued by the sanguinary Villavicencio, then Captain General of Cadiz.

I will next pass to the observations which arise from the Decree of the Cortez, on the 2d of February, 1814, since, altho' they partly belong to the discussion which I have purposely omitted, they contain matter less difficult, and this in a manner less delicate.—The Cortez might have consented to the Treaty of Valencey, leaving as it was the liberty of the Spanish People, since Buonaparte, no doubt, on consideration of obtaining that consent, would have compelled Ferdinand to swear to that constitution. But acting with the greatest possible candour and delicacy, the Cortez would not allow any alliance to exist between the future Monarch of Spain and the enemy of Great Britain; and therefore, with the exception of four or five individuals, (now the most favoured courtiers of Ferdinand) they issued the decree already mentioned. The Spanish Nation and its Allies had a reciprocal interest in observing it. Once communicated, the common interests constituted a mutual obligation, which could not fail to bind them all, while the interest of any part of them was depending. To prove this, let me ask a question, which, tho' apparently unconnected, will instantly resolve every doubt which in a diplomatic light may be opposed to moral principles so clear and evident. Did the deposition of Napoleon constitute the right of Ferdinand to the crown of Spain? All honest men will say, No. They will confess that his right to it arose only from his compact with the Nation.

Could then the foreign Ambassadors, if Napoleon had not been deposed and Ferdinand had not sworn to the constitution, have acknowledged him? If they had, they would have been traitors to their country, inasmuch as contrary to that which was determined and stipulated by a friendly Nation, they would have recognized an ally of the enemy an illegitimate King, and whom, by such an acknowledgment, they would have converted into an enemy of his country. If then the deposition of Napoleon did not constitute the right of Ferdinand, and if it had not happened, the foreign Ambassadors would not have acknowledged Ferdinand till he had complied with the conditions of the Cortez. By what title can they recognize him, now that Napoleon is dethroned, and Ferdinand has not sworn to the constitution? Perhaps it may be said that the Spanish Nation has recognized him, and therefore other nations ought to do the same. To this I will answer, that no act or document of the Nation can be produced to prove it; a truth of which no one can doubt, when it is remembered that Ferdinand destroyed the constitution before his entry into Madrid. I will answer also, that the state of discontent and of fermentation which the Nation has been in ever since the first attempt of Ferdinand to restore despotism, is evident testimony, that a forced submission, the effect of surprize and the operation of a faction, composed perhaps more of foreigners than of natives, is no valid recognition.

Supposing the facts which I have mentioned, and others which I could produce, to be true, have not the Spaniards reason sufficient to believe that any assistance to their present government would be a rash undertaking, and that all the state of Europe would unite in supporting Ferdinand without a constitution? How could they believe that the Ambassadors would assist in destroying so fundamental a law of an ally, without the positive orders of their governments? and if such orders existed, how any alteration in them; or any successful resistance to Ferdinand on the part of the Spaniards, against the will of almost every Government in Europe, could have been expected? Despair alone could induce the Spaniards to embrace a resolution, in all probability so ineffec-

tual.—Finally, it may be said, that no foreign nation ought to interfere in this business, because no one has a right to interfere in the internal concerns of another, and because the Cortez were ill affected towards the English Nation.—As to the first part, to say nothing about the morality of such a maxim, which supposes that a man ought not to do good when he has it in his power, I say, that for the other governments of Europe to have acknowledged Ferdinand, contrary to that which was resolved by the representatives of the Spanish Nation, was to interfere in the internal concerns of Spain: and to have done so for a bad purpose, is directly contrary to the doctrine they wish to establish.—As to what respects the second part of the objection, I will maintain that such rumours are spread by persons interested in disguising their own conduct; that the command bestowed on Lord Wellington by the Cortez, not only of the Spanish army which assisted his operations, but also of the other Spanish troops, without his ceasing to be the General of a foreign army, which placed him in the situation of not being subject to be called to account for any breach of his trust, is a proof of an unlimited confidence in the English Nation, almost without example. Rumours, such as those I have alluded to, unsupported by facts, are base and contemptible.—Is England politically interested in the freedom of Spain? So much am I convinced that she is, that I think I should insult the common sense of my readers, if I thought there was one of them not convinced of it. Tyrants, rogues or fools can alone doubt of the results from the blessings of liberty. Spain enslaved must be a province of France, the eternal rival of England from natural and local situation. It has been the wise policy of all her kings to maintain the independence of these two Nations, and their consequent equilibrium: and how can these be preserved now that France, with a much more numerous population; enjoying a free constitution, will as rapidly advance in prosperity as Spain, under the iron yoke of despotism, must rapidly decline? And even should I be mistaken in this supposition, who can venture to say that, considering the enlightened age in which we live, Spain will not experience a reaction, and should that happen, may not its leading men, in resentment for the

neglect which all the friends of true liberty in Spain have experienced from the kings of Europe, attempt to establish a democracy in their own country, which may throw all Europe into a convulsion, more fatal than even the French Revolution. Persecution has never failed to produce sectaries both in politics and religion, and it would be singular if it should not in Spain.—Lastly, it remains to enquire if England ought tranquilly to behold the patriots of Spain abandoned to the violence of a party in which power, vengeance, despotism and superstition are united. Knowing that her own independence as well as that of all Europe was involved in it, has not England espoused, promoted and supported their cause as her own? and can she now be indifferent to those very men who are buried in loathsome prisons, or without a country and without subsistence, are fugitives and exiles in foreign countries? What a terrible example should she give to posterity if she abandoned their cause? Should a new conqueror threaten the repose and liberty of Europe, who will dare to resist him, considering the fate of those Spanish patriots now persecuted more cruelly than even by the enemy whom they opposed;—persecuted, I say, by that man whose throne they preserved and fixed on the surest basis, and abandoned by all other nations and kings, to maintain whose independence they so powerfully and generously contributed? Ought Englishmen to be contented merely at their being liberated from their prisons and restored to their families? Should they obtain no more than that, they might reply: “This measure, without being useful to ourselves, is an injury to the cause for which we have fallen the victims. We can neither be happy nor safe without a constitution; without it we can have no country. No man can be sure of his personal safety without a national representation, without the free exercise of the rights of man, much less in a country with such a terrible tribunal as that of the Inquisition. We value not a life spent in infamous servitude, and to shed our blood for our country may perhaps one day produce the fruit of liberty; for the greater the miseries which civilized nations suffer, the more near is the period of their remedy.”

February 21, 1816.

NEW POST OFFICE.

MR. COBBETT.—By the *Times Newspaper*, I perceive that a Bill has been brought into Parliament, and read a first time, for the erection of a New Post Office. The estimates of this measure, as laid before the House, exceed 900,000l; 800,000l. of which is to be paid, it appears, by the public, and the remaining 100,000l. to be advanced by the City out of the orphan's fund.—This is certainly a very extraordinary moment for the guardians of the public purse to be called upon to vote so large a sum for any purpose *not absolutely necessary*: and that this is *not so*, a variety of circumstances tend to absolutely prove.—Among others, I wish to mention to you two plans both of which are utterly unobjectionable.—The first is the removal of the post office to Somerset-house, which, from its locality and central situation, relatively to every part of the metropolis, holds out infinite advantages, and where the area of the Building would admit of the Mail Coaches being drawn up to receive the mails, and from which they could drive out in succession, with the utmost regularity and convenience.—The second plan is one to which even the city people could make no objection, and which, I am informed from unquestionable authority, appeared so feasible, that it would have been decided on, had not the *fathers and founders* of the St. Martin's-le-grand *Job*, continued to find some means of *proving to government* that their proposals were the best.—The plan to which I allude, was one by which the present Excise Office was to have been removed to the spot where the New Custom House is now building, and which was to have been rendered sufficiently capacious (and there is ample room) to accommodate both departments, by which most material advantages would have been given to each, while the Building now occupied as the Excise Office possesses every requisite for a Post Office. There is abundant space for the internal business of the office, and the expense of altering the present building would be a mere trifle.—Indeed the public would gain by the removal; for by the calculation submitted to the Ministers it is proved, that taking into the account the sum which would arise from the sale of the present Post Office the

whole of the new arrangement would be carried into effect and a surplus remain. Will you believe it, Mr. C. that it is seriously intended by the *jobbers*, to petition Parliament that, as a remuneration to the City for the 100,000l. which they *generously* mean to advance from the orphan's fund a new *port duty* of one shilling per chaldron may be imposed upon all coals hereafter entering the port of London!!! Thus taxing all Westminster and its environs, the whole Borough of Southwark; in short the whole population of the Bills of Mortality for a purpose in which the City is alone interested! Coals are already most grievously taxed. The *Richmond job* punishes the people sufficiently: let us not have a *city job* also to oppress us. If the proprietors of the houses in St. Martin's-le-grand, and those *jobbers*, who for the last 4 months have purchased so largely there, are to be repaid *fifty-fold* to the job for other services, at least let not the poor people of the metropolis, suffer for this vile purpose, by the imposition of a tax on an article of the first necessity, and of which, in bitter winters, when the worst of it is most severely felt, they are hardly able to obtain sufficient to keep up the circulation of the blood in their starving and shivering carcases.

PHILO-CIVIS.

LEGION OF HONOUR.

MR. COBBETT.—Your correspondent, Philo Civis, has misconceived me: I certainly did not attempt to deny, that the *New Legion of Honour* would have been disgraced, had the person alluded to been admitted into the Order; but I stated, that *no such intention ever existed*. I have positive authority for the assertion, and you may place implicit reliance on it. Philo Civis has gone into a long detail of the Temporary Rank Major General's comforts at Cavalry Barracks; of his hay, straw, corn, coals, and candles; and of his receiving them in London, in one of the waggons of his corps. I do not doubt this; nor that his servants in the *pretty pink liveries* are *waggoners*, and also paid by the public as such. But I very much doubt whether Parliament have a right to interfere in such matters. It has been the invariable custom for the Commander in Chief, to

possess the prerogative of recommending to the Government what corps are to be reduced, and what retained in the service; and if Major General Hamilton and the Royal Waggon Train are considered of sufficient use to justify their not being reduced, the Commander in Chief has the power to do so. Whatever faults the Duke of York may possess, want of generosity is certainly not among them; and if his liberal and open mind has been imposed upon, it can only be said that it is much to be lamented.—However, as far as his Royal Highness is concerned, there is not one of the persons recommended by him for the decoration of the new order, but is certainly an honour and an ornament to it. If Mr. Whitbread brings the Royal Waggon Train before Parliament, certainly he will expose a job of the rankest sort; for from its first establishment to the present time, it never deserved any other name. The *pretty pink liveries* are the least consideration. It is the enormous expense with which the public has been so long burthened by this job, that loudly calls for investigation. No subject exists, in the whole range of public abuses, more deserving the attention of Parliament, and it is to be hoped, Mr. Whitbread, if he has it in view, will not lose sight of it.—Whether the word "*Temporary*" means "*Permanent*," the ensuing army estimates will shew; for no doubt can exist, but that the *Temporary Rank Major General Waggon Master General* must speedily disappear. It is indeed a serious consideration, that he has been so long allowed to "*fatten*" on the public purse. That he has so done is evil enough; but I am again desirous, Sir, to impress on your mind, that it never was intended to include him among the new Knights of the Legion of Honour, which Order, absurd as it is, it could never have been intended to render so perfectly ridiculous. Lord Cochrane is certainly fortunate in getting out of it. His escutcheon would be but ill associated with those of many of its new members; and the Noble Lord may rest assured, that there is no honest man in the United Kingdom who does not think him honoured by all the attempts at degradation which have been so unfeelingly and so unmercifully heaped upon him.

I am your sincere admirer,

Horse Guards, Mar. 1, 1816.

P. C.

COMMERCE AND NO CORN BILL.

SIR,—There are many writers who would wish to make the projected Corn Bill a *National Benefit*, in order to enhance or keep up the high prices of every thing. That it may be so, it is not my intention to dispute. The simple question is, whether England be, or be not, greatly depending on foreign markets as a mercantile nation? We are led to believe, from the tenor of Mr. Vansittart's speech, that we are. When he was about raising money at the expence of the too credulous mechanic, &c. &c. he said, that all countries were open and ready to receive our manufactures. If it be so, it requires no stronger argument than merely putting the same, or a similar question, over again. If you pay *dear* for bread (which appears to many an advantage, because it affords the mechanic, &c. high wages,) can you supply your foreign customers *cheap*? or will they buy *dear*? The argument answers itself:—*Dear Bread, high prices; Cheap Bread, low prices.*—Allowing that we are not depending on foreign nations for bread, we unquestionably are depending on them for *money* as the price of our manufactures; and if they will not lay out their money with us, how can we get *dear* or *cheap* bread, and supply Mr. Vansittart with taxes? If Corn Bills, and such like logic, are to prevail, away goes foreign trade, which is, in my humble opinion, our national support: and which certainly must experience a lamentable decline, when we consider the substitutes or improvements that the different nations have made in their own manufactures. Within the last twenty years they have verified the old adage:—Necessity being the mother of invention, they have improved and manufactured many articles which are now *superior* to ours; therefore I contend, that it would be politic to damp this spirit of improvement, by exporting *cheap*, and securing a certain trade with less profit, than an uncertain trade with great profit, which must ultimately involve our Manufacturers in ruin and national misery.—The former being most likely to secure our national pride, and commercial prosperity, I do earnestly contend, if our rulers would have England to flourish, we must have *Commerce and no Corn Bill.*

A CONSTANT READER.

Feb. 28th, 1815.

A PLAIN PICTURE OF THE CORN LAWS.

MR. COBBETT.—Suppose a community of 15 persons with their families, servants, and labourers, as follows:—

1 bricklayer	1 shoemaker
1 clothier	1 taylor
1 smith	1 baker
1 cutler	1 weaver
1 currier	1 surgeon
1 farmer	1 victualler
1 attorney	1 land-owner
1 carpenter and cabinet maker	

This community subsisted by each, in their line, furnishing to the wants of the others, at a rate of prices regulated by the value of a quatern loaf, which was at 6d. The land-owner let land to the farmer, who agreed to give him such a rent as would leave him a fair profit, after selling his produce to the victualler and baker at such a price as would enable them (with a reasonable profit to themselves,) to sell the quatern loaf at 6d.—In like manner, all the other members of the community furnished to one another their respective articles as wanted, at prices which were always determined by the wants and supplies; and regulated by a reference to 6d. the value of the quatern loaf.

The land-owner and attorney managed the public concerns of the society, which cost annually 8l.—In laying this sum upon the whole, two fifths of it was put upon the land-owner, because he was rich, and lived upon his rents, without being engaged in productive labour. The other three fifths was laid upon the 14 remaining members of the community, who each of them, in course, laid as much upon the article which he produced to his neighbours as reimbursed him for the proportion which he paid of the public burdens. This 8l. being an addition to the public expense, was raised by adding something to the former price of every article; which was paid by him who had it, from his stock, and by him who had no stock, by giving more labour, or work than he did before. But the cutler and cabinet-maker made always more of their respective articles than their neighbours had occasion for, and could

not by them be reimbursed for their proportion of the public expense. They therefore, sent to the neighbouring communities their surplus articles, who, on account of their excellence, and being cheaper than they could get them made among themselves, were not only glad to receive them, but gave such articles in exchange as sold at a price, in their own community, which enabled them to pay their proportion to the public expenditure, and to add something considerable to their own stock.

The managers, the land-owner and the attorney, got the community to build a wall around them. This wall cost 300l. which was paid the bricklayer after borrowing that sum, at 5 per cent. from the cabinet maker and cutler. because the society had no tangible money of their own. The annual interest of this, being 15l. was proportioned as formerly in addition to the previous annual expense, viz. two fifths of it, or 6l. on the land-owner, and three fifths, or 9l. on the 14 members of the community.—This new addition to the public expense, every one endeavoured to reimburse himself for, by laying it on the articles he manufactured; and, on the same principle, the landowner proposed to lay his proportion on the land. No, said the farmer, I cannot give you this additional rent, for, if I do, I must raise the price of my corn, which will have the effect to drive all our neighbours to the neighbouring communities for a supply; because they won't give me a high price if they can get corn at the former rate. To this the landlord replied—the attorney and I will get a law passed to shut the gate, so as not to let any corn in at a lower price than you can sell it at with my 6l. laid upon it. The farmer acquiesced, though with some scruples, and in this manner the matter was settled.—The loaf rose to 9d. by which the landlord's share of the additional expense was divided among all the community who used the corn; he was thus relieved of it entirely, except as much of it as attached to the proportion of corn which he himself consumed.—It is most evident, that, by this 300l. debt, and the management by which the payment of the interest of it was distributed among the whole, every individual was put to an additional expense. Of course he put it upon his articles; and he that could not lay it upon these

was obliged to work it out by additional labour, if perchance he could get employment; in consequence of which that labour, and every thing else used by the individuals, cost the community at least 15*l.* a year more than they did before.

The community was at last induced to go to war with a neighbouring community. They fought and destroyed one another for a long time, till they were almost unable to go on fighting, which led them to agree to drop it. The managers of the community in question, boasted of their unrivalled glory, and the mighty things they had done; but they paid no attention to this material difference between them and their opponents during the conflict—that the enemy was throwing off a great load of debt, with which they had been previously incumbered, while they, on the other hand, were every day adding to theirs, which had already been too heavy, and had actually amounted to 600*l.*—in addition to the former 300*l.* and the first annual expence of 5*l.*

The grand question came then to be, how is the 30*l.* the interest of this 600*l.* to be raised?—The answer was, in the same manner as formerly—two fifths, or 12*l.* on the land-owner, and three fifths, or 18*l.* on the members of the community. Each again endeavoured to lay it on his articles, but found the additional price drove away his customers, and diminished the usual demand. The land-owner, however, had been more fortunate; for, on account of the difficulty there was in the way, during the war, of any grain coming in competition with that which his farmer produced, he had nearly doubled his rents; and although he thus raised the quartern loaf to the whole community to 18*d.* he thereby received much more than was requisite to cover his proportion of the interest of the increased debt. But, after the peace, their former enemies of the neighbouring community were able to, and did really, send into them grain at such a low price as would bring the quartern loaf to 6*d.* instead of 18*d.* at which it had been kept ever since the land-owner had raised his rent.—The farmer immediately told the land-owner, that he must be protected. The land-owner consulted the attorney, and they saw at once, that if the neighbouring grain was allowed to come in,

and bread fall to 6*d.* the farmer would get no sale for his produce. The land-owner reasoned thus:—‘If foreign grain should be allowed to come in so low, my tenant would, ere long, be ruined, and my share of the interest upon the public debt, which now amounts to 900*l.*—will come full upon me, and my great extra rent, which was more than sufficient to meet it, will be entirely gone.’—He then says to the attorney; ‘this will never do; we must make a law prohibiting foreign grain coming among us till our own is at 80*s.* a quarter, which will keep the loaf always at 16*d.* to 18*d.* and this will so effectually protect my farmer, that he can pay a very high rent, and, in this manner, my proportion of the taxes will be distributed among the whole community, except the small proportion which attaches to the grain I consume.’—The attorney approves, and says, that there is another financial reason for keeping the price at 80*s.* as cogent as any yet mentioned—viz. the influx of foreign grain at such a low price, would reduce the value of every article, and as the sum required to pay the cabinet-maker and cutler the interest of their 900*l.* is generally raised by a per centage, if all our articles fall in price, that per centage will lower also, and our means will be insufficient to pay our first and natural annual expence of 5*l.*—and 45*l.* the interest of the 900*l.* of public debt. They therefore agree it is for the advantage of their scheme of finance, as well as the landowner, that grain should be prohibited from coming into the community, till their own prices are at 80*s.* per quarter, or the loaf above 16*d.* or 13*d.* This I conceive to be a plain and obvious view of the case, though, I admit, not a complete one. But it is sufficient to suggest to every considerate mind this enquiry—Since it is admitted the grower of corn cannot raise it with advantage, unless he is protected against foreign grain coming in under 80*s.* a quarter, how comes it that a British farmer, who is allowed to have more capital, more industry, and more science than foreign farmers, cannot produce corn upon equally cheap terms. Why has not the legislature made this inquiry? Until this is ascertained, no effectual cure can be applied to the existing evil, which is so much complained of.

G. M.

INSPIRED WRITINGS.

Mr. COBBETT.—In your Register of the 18th ult. a correspondent asks, by whose authority those books (the New Testament Scriptures) “when formed into “their present collective state, were designated *holy inspired writings*?”—For some time I was surprised that a question, involving so many important consequences, had not received a prompt and satisfactory answer, either from yourself, who had already so powerfully advocated the cause of the established church, or from one of your Fordhams, your Churchmen, or other staunch supporters of the faith, who so ably assisted you in your pious opposition to the repeal of the penal statutes against the Unitarians; but, after some enquiry and considerable reflection, my surprise subsided on finding, that no celebrated ecclesiastical historian, as far as I have been able to discover, has attempted to fix a period when the books composing the New Testament “were designated holy inspired writings.” The author of *Ecce Homo*, who refers to *Tillemont* and other fathers in proof of his statement; but whose authority has been overthrown by one of more weight and general influence; has asserted, that it was not till 325 years *after* the birth of Christ that those books were received or acknowledged as *inspired*. His words are;—“At the end of three centuries (i. e. in the three hundred and twenty-fifth year of the Christian era) some bishops decided, that these four gospels were the only ones which ought to be adopted, or which had been really *inspired* by the Holy Ghost. A miracle enabled them to discover this important truth, so difficult to be discerned, at a time even then not very remote from that of the apostles. They placed, it is said, promiscuously, books apocryphal and authentic under an altar:—the Fathers of the Council betook themselves to prayers, in order to obtain of the Lord that he would permit the false or doubtful books to remain *under* the altar, whilst those which were truly inspired by the Holy Ghost, should place themselves *above* it, a circumstance which did not fail to occur.”—In whatever light this pretended mi-

racle may be received by *Catholics*, who of the Protestant Church do not admit of evidence of this description. Besides, if it was not till *after three centuries had elapsed*, that the Holy Spirit condescended to sanction the New Testament writings, it would follow that the Christians who lived *prior* to that period, were left in darkness and uncertainty as to the authority of the sacred writings, and, consequently, without any stable foundation on which to rest their faith. This is a view of the subject which no sincere believer can adopt, without charging the Almighty with *partiality*, and wantonly sporting with the feelings of the creatures he had made. The authority of the author of *Ecce Homo* must, therefore, have been rejected by all good protestants, even although it had not been thought necessary to put that work down for the safety of the protestant church, and to preserve unshaken the faith of thousands, who might otherwise have been staggered by a perusal of its dangerous arguments; and the fearless manner in which the writer discusses the most important and interesting subjects.

A writer of the name of *Dodwell*, in his dissertations on Irenaus, says “that a “collection or canon of the books of the “New Testament was made in the reign “of *Trajan* the Roman Emperor, more “than a century after Christ.”—*Dr. Mills*, who treated of this subject in the beginning of last century, asserted, that “there was no collection made of “any books of Scripture, whether of “epistles or gospels, till about 60 years “after the death of Christ. Not of the “epistles certainly; for concerning the “authors and authority of some of these, “there were great disputes and doubts “in the apostolical churches in the following ages, which had never happened “had any of the last surviving apostles “constituted a canon. Nor of the four “gospels, the reading of which in the “churches was not then determined and “agreed on.”—Another writer about the same period, *Dr. Beveridge*, says— “Among all the more ancient writers of “ecclesiastical matters, you will hardly “find two that agree in the same number of canonical books.”—Again, “no “one can be ignorant that some of the “truly canonical books of the apostles “were doubted of in the three first cen-

"turies of Christianity."—I could multiply authorities on this subject; but as they all *differ* from one another, this would only tend the more to confirm what I have already stated, that no certain period has been agreed upon by the numerous writers of church history, when the books of the New Testament "*were designated holy inspired writings.*"—I cordially agree with your correspondent, "that if these books were more candidly examined, and more rationally considered, the truth and rationality of Christianity would be better understood." If must, at the same time, however, be acknowledged, that where a difficulty presents itself in the outset of this examination, it cannot be expected that any one can enter upon it, with an unbiassed and unprejudiced mind, until that difficulty is removed. The point under discussion appears to me in that light. It involves, in my apprehension, all that is desirable on earth. Upon it depends the truth of our holy religion, the foundation of our faith, the hope of a future existence. I trust, therefore, that some abler pen than mine will take up the subject, not only for the sake of consistency, but that infidels, who are always on the watch to take advantage, may be for ever silenced, and the divine authority of the sacred writings established on an immovable basis.

VERITAS.

THE INQUISITION.

SIR,—Since my last I perceive, by the *Morning Post* and the *Times* newspapers, that Sir John Newport in the House of Commons, and Lord Landsdowne in the Lords, have taken up the Inquisition General, Sir John Downie.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in defending the item of about 135,000*l.* of the public money, which has been paid to this man, independent of an annuity which he received from the public, (for what is not explained) stated as a sort of *salvo*, that he was the brother of the late lamented Captain Downie, of the Navy, who was killed on the Lakes in America. This declaration produced a letter, which has been inserted in all the newspapers, contradicting the assertion, and stating Sir John Downie to be the son of a weaver, in *Reasfrewshire*.—Now this has nothing whatever to do with the merits of the in-

dividual, except inasmuch as it shews the falsehoods which have been had recourse to, in order to make up something like a defence of so disgraceful an expenditure of the public money, as is the giving of such sums to such a man. However, as it has been taken up in Parliament, I trust the enquiries will not cease until the evil is done away. I have already communicated to you, that Sir John Downie played a principal part in the late tragedy of the restoration of the Inquisition, and that Ferdinand, according to his custom, got tired of the man, and sent him to Seville. General Morillo was about this time appointed to the chief command of the embryo expedition to South America, and passed through Seville on his way to Cadiz, to commence operations in the organization of his army. It will be, perhaps, thought extraordinary here, but it is no less true, that a part of this army, and one in which Ferdinand placed great confidence, was a *deputation of Priests*, consisting of a certain number of every order in Spain, headed by the new American Inquisitor General, Ramon Guirraquiz, Seville, which is only about 30 leagues distant from Cadiz, was appointed as the place of rendezvous for these Priests. Sir John Downie, finding his appointment of goaler, or (as he calls it in the paid for puff paragraphs in the *Sun* and *Courier*) *Inspector of the Palace*, neither profitable nor honourable, set to work immediately with the Holy Brotherhood, and so well succeeded with them that Ramon Guirraquiz wrote to the Inquisitor General at Madrid, desiring that Downie might be permitted to embark with the Expedition, stating his devotion to the interests of the Holy Office, and that he would be an excellent counterpoise to the rough independence of the General in Chief, Morillo. This officer, as I have already stated, was originally a private marine, and serving on board the Spanish Fleet, in the battle of Trafalgar, was taken prisoner, and confined on board one of the prison ships at Portsmouth, until the breaking out of the Spanish revolution, when he was sent home with the whole of the Spanish prisoners. Naturally boisterous and violent, a man of war and a mountain camp, his only education, which his guerilla avocations had not contributed much to soften, he appeared little disposed to submit his operations to the guidance of the priests, who con-

sidered their approbation of every measure as a *sine qua non* to success.—Ramon Guirauiz was indefatigable in his applications in favour of Sir John Downie, and at last succeeded; but not, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, in getting him appointed a *Lieutenant General* on the staff of the expedition; his only rank is that of Brigadier and he is inferior to all the staff officers employed. On his arrival at Cadiz, he was received most coldly by Morillo, who, from his residence in England, (limited as it was) was enabled to form a pretty accurate judgment of General Sir John Downie. In addition to which, he considered him solely as an *Inquisition General*, and from his residing constantly with the Priests, he received the Spanish nickname of "*El Inquisitore Ynglese.*" For five months, the expedition remained in preparation at Cadiz, and during the whole of that time; (so cold was the reception he met with on his reporting himself to General Morillo) he continued with the deputation of the Inquisition at Seville, and never once joined the army until its embarkation, when he arrived with the Holy Brethren, having with him a Lieutenant Steele of the Marines, and was appointed to the same ship with Ramon Guirauiz! This Lieut. Steele left England in the year 1813, having been permitted by the Admiralty to enter the Spanish service in the corps of General Doyle, who being totally without officers, came to England to recruit for them in the British service; and finding none to be got at in the regiments of the line, he applied to the marines, where he succeeded in getting half a dozen, one of whom is Sir John Downie's follower, Lieut. Steele, who, also, in imitation of his master, calls himself by some pompous designation—if not General, certainly at least Colonel.

General Morillo looked upon these men with suspicion:—he remembered, that while he was bravely fighting at the head of his guerillas, Sir John Downie was otherwise employed at Madrid; and perhaps judging not over favorably of the man, who, notwithstanding that he owed his all to the late government, had been ungrateful enough to be a principal operator in its destruction, he avoided all communication with him, and left him to the society of his friends the priests, with whom alone he had any sort of inter-

course. Thus stood the expedition, when after repeated disappointments it sailed; but, owing to some unexplained cause, it has returned to port, and it is said its destination is changed. What will now become of Sir John Downie remains to be seen. Perhaps he will return to the *Inspectorship of his Palace* at Seville. At all events, he has little chance of being employed in the regular Spanish army, where his *Inquisition merits* are very thoroughly understood, and properly appreciated.

The capture of Monte Video has placed the whole eastern part of Spanish America in the power of the Patriots. An army of 40,000 men, flushed with conquest, most of them "*Patriots of the soil,*" accustomed to habits of freedom, and detesting tyranny, either civil, religious, or military, would have laughed to scorn Morillo's army of 8,000 men, even with the aid of his Holy Brotherhood Deputation, the Pope's Bull with which they were furnished, and the threatened *Auto de Fé*, which was to have been celebrated in honour of God, on their arrival in America. Morillo himself is known never to have been at all sanguine of success. The priests imagined, that their fulfilment of burning in this world, and damnation in the next, would have effectually put down the efforts of the revolutionary party; and that quiet submission to the "*San Benito,*" would have been the immediate consequence of their first appearance. Cevallos, however, who is still at the head of the government at Madrid, began to find that the expedition would have been a certain sacrifice, while the ships, and their stores and equipments would have been an important acquisition to the revolutionists; and it is understood by the best informed Spaniards here, that certain information was received of the complete establishment of the New Government. However this may be, it is certain that the expedition is suspended for the present; the troops have all disembarked, and have occupied again their old quarters at Cadiz, the Isla, St. Maria, and Puerto Real; and the priests have returned, some of them to Seville, where Ramon Guirauiz has himself gone; and the remainder occupy the great convent of the Dominicans, near the Water Gate at Cadiz. In the mean time, the Inquisition is not idle:—All the revolutionists have been publicly excommunicated in

every church in Spain. All communication with them is denounced under the severest penalties, and a complete separation is effected between the colonies and the mother country. The evils which this will produce, will no doubt be at first, most severely felt, but the consequences must eventually be beneficial to both parties. All revolutionary governments are liberal in their policy. They will no doubt invite all Europe to a free trade, and thus commercial prosperity will be both given and received; while, on the other hand, Old Spain, where indolence and inactivity have so long been habitual, will give way to exertion. This will arise from the scarcity of the precious metals, which the revolution must necessarily produce. Under the old system, so abundant was the supply of gold and silver, that little labour was necessary to obtain support. A most material change will now be produced, and I have no doubt, that if the government is not so stupidly blind to its own *existence*, as to still encourage the dominion of the priests, and the ignorance of the people, that a material alteration will take place in the general habits and pursuits of the whole nation.

In my next letter, I shall trouble you with a statement of the operation of the Inquisition upon trade, commerce, and agriculture. In this country, an Englishman can with difficulty understand how these great causes of national prosperity can be interfered with by the church. I shall explain this, and will shew clearly, that Spain possesses every requisite to rival the most favoured commercial nations, if a wise and liberal government were to give spirit and energy to the exertions of the people. I am, &c.

March 1, 1815.

" CIVIS.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—To the many instances of the abuses of the proctorial power in the University of Oxford, which have been lately animadverted upon, in your *Register*, I beg leave to add the following: On the 29th of November, 1811, two young women, the daughters of a widow in the middling rank of life, resident in Oxford, were in the High-street, near St. Mary's Church, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, when two gownsmen crossed the way, and endeavoured to engage

in conversation with them. One of the pro-proctors (who was of Trinity College) accompanied by the marshal of the university, stopped the young women, and charged them with having been in conversation with the gownsmen. They in vain denied the fact. The pro-proctor desired them to follow him, which they did attended by the marshal. The gownsmen perceiving the young women were stopped, and supposing that it might have been occasioned by their having apparently been in their company, returned and begged leave to assure the pro-proctors that no blame whatever was imputable to the young women; but they were desired to go to their College, and the females were escorted to Exeter College, where the marshal learned that the Vice-Chancellor was engaged, and would not be spoken with. The pro-proctor upon being informed of this circumstance, desired they might be taken to the marshal's house, and said that he would send the senior proctor to them. The marshal obeyed the pro-proctor's directions, and conducted them to his house, where the senior proctor came soon afterwards. The young women asked what they had been brought there for. The proctor said that the pro-proctor had informed him they had been talking to the gownsmen. This they denied, and begged they might be liberated. The proctor replied that they must be confined there all night, and taken before the Vice-Chancellor in the morning to exculpate themselves. They then requested that their mother might be sent for; but this was refused by the proctor, who immediately left the house, desiring the marshal to confine them. The marshal conducted them into a room up stairs (the usual place of confinement for common prostitutes,) and locked them up. Perceiving the marshal before he left the room was about to take away the candle, the girls begged they might have a light and a fire. But he told them it was as much as his place was worth to allow them to have either the one or the other; and they were confined all night, *without fire, candles, or any sort of refreshment*. In the course of the evening, their mother, and two of their friends, wished to be admitted, but were refused. About nine o'clock the following morning, the marshal desired them to prepare to go before the Vice-Chancellor, and then left them. He re-

turned to them at twelve o'clock, and told them that they were to be liberated without going before the Vice-Chancellor, upon which they came down stairs and walked home.—An action was brought in the Court of Kings' Bench against the proctor, pro-proctor, and marshal, for false imprisonment. The University claimed their recognition of the cause, which was allowed.—The plaintiffs, whose expences were already to a considerable sum, were advised to drop all farther proceedings, as the cause must have been determined in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, where there is no jury, and where it might have been protracted to a great length of time, and have been attended with much additional expence; not to mention this trifling circumstance, that the proctor himself, the very man who was one of the defendants, might have sat with the assessor, and his brother proctor, as one of the judges! Now it must be observed that the conduct of the proctors was not only unnecessarily harsh and severe, but illegal. That this was the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor, may be inferred from the circumstance of the young women being liberated, without appearing before him, who, if any thing whatever could have been proved against them, would not have dismissed them without reprimand. It would have been unjustifiable and illegal, even if the young women had been common prostitutes, for they had been guilty of no ill-behaviour, and the pro-proctor interposed his authority, at a time of day, when he had no power of exerting it except on matriculated persons. Punishment, in this case, if inflicted at all, should have been inflicted on the gowmsmen; but they were allowed to escape with impunity.—Instances similar to the above, I have reason to think, have frequently occurred, though the individuals who suffered had no opportunity of bringing their cases before the public; a circumstance that will not be wondered at, when it is considered that aggressions of this nature are generally committed against persons who cannot take any expensive measures to obtain redress, as by their own situation or that of their relations and friends, they are more or less dependent on the University, and to whom any resistance or opposition to those members of it who are clothed with authority, might be very detrimental

and perhaps ruinous in its consequences. To which may be added, that publicity, in those cases, is extremely unpleasant to females, as it may be the means of subjecting their characters, however pure, to uncharitable remarks, and ill-natured surmises.

Oxford, Feb. 18. 1816.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

SIR, Knowing that you as much despise panegyric, as I do the panegyrist, it is not my intention to pass fulsome compliments, but merely to shew to the world what happy effects are produced by the perseverance of *plain truth*.—The fact is, your *plain* arguments have greatly tended to convert an *educated* man, and an *original enemy* to your Register.—From my intimacy and friendship with him, I have constantly sent it him to read. Sometimes he would, and sometimes he would not look at it. *Time*, the tryer of all things, as your correspondent on Religious Persecution says, eradicated that rancour, and curiosity predominating, led him occasionally to look it over, till at last conviction got the better of his prejudice, and I am happy to state, that we are now as united in politics as we are sincere in friendship.—The wonder working effects of your uncontaminated reasoning is also proved in your forcing a rebut from Sir J. C. Hippisley, to your animadversions on the *abominable Times Newspaper* report of what you *justly censured* as an impropriety in Sir John's (supposed) illiberal and ungentlemanly attack on Mr. Madison, the President of the only free country in the world. I cordially participate with you when you say, "you cannot help wishing that a respectable English gentleman had refrained from the use of a phrase fit to be applied only to the head and members of a government of a very different description." I could have wished that you had named the government, but I have a pretty good key to this when I look to your extracts from a Pamphlet written by Mr. Thorpe, the Chief Justice of the Colony of Sierra Leone, (on the subject of the slave trade) to Mr. Wilberforce, a *sanctified* member of parliament, a suppressor of vice; a good old man, who would rather die than be deprived of the pleasure and power of cramming Bibles

down our throats.—Sir J. C. Hippisley, or the *Times*, may say that they *hate* the Americans if they please; that will do the Americans no harm. I like candour; therefore it should be allowed every one, with the same candour, to speak the truth. Then it might be truly said that we live in as free a country as America.—According to the sense our Big Wigs have given to the word *libel* (namely the *greater truth* the greater the libel) Sir J. C. Hippisley was certainly correct when he said, that Mr. Hunt was *libelling* our own country. We must therefore take it for granted that Sir John admits the *truth* of Mr. Hunt's assertion, "that the Americans are the only remaining free people in the world." Here I certainly would have been on Sir John's side of the question.

—At the same time, I should have made it distinctly understood, that it was because I considered Mr. Hunt's assertion to be the *truth*, call it what you may.—Possibly Sir John thinks *gagging* a part of our boasted liberty. But it is my misfortune not to consider any country free, or enjoying the blessings of nature, that is deprived of the liberty of speech.—What constitutes genuine freedom? Is it not the liberty of speaking and speaking the truth, the source from which we have derived all human blessings? When, therefore, we punish or censure others for exercising this faculty, we render it a curse instead of a blessing; we are, in that case, less benefited by the rights of nature than the brute creation.

I am, &c. W. P. R.

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

Continued from page 285.

may be permitted to add, that even in the progress of war should yield to the British arms a temporary possession of other parts of the territory of the United States, such events would not alter their views with regard to the terms of peace to which they would give their consent. Without recurring to examples drawn from the Revolutionary Governments of France, or to a more recent and illustrious triumph of fortitude in adversity, they have been taught by their own history that the occupation of their principal cities would produce no dependency, nor induce their submission to the dismemberment of their empire, or to the abandonment of any one of the rights which constitute a part of their national independence. The gene-

ral position, that it was consistent with the principles of public law, and with the practice of civilized nations, to include allies in a treaty of peace, and to provide for their security, never was called in question by the undersigned; but they have been denied the right of Great Britain, according to those principles and her own practice, to interfere in any manner with Indian tribes residing within the territories of the United States, as acknowledged by herself, to consider such tribes as her allies, or to treat for them with the United States. They will not repeat the facts and arguments already brought forward by them in support of this position, and which remained unanswered. The observations made by the British Plenipotentiaries upon the treaty of Grenville, and their assertion, that the United States now, for the first time, deny the absolute independence of the Indian tribes, and claim the exclusive right of purchasing their lands, require, however, some notice. If the United States had now asserted, that the Indians within their boundaries, who have acknowledged the United States as their only protectors, were their subjects, living only at subsistence on their lands, far from being the first in making that assertion, they would only have followed the example of the principles uniformly and invariably asserted in substance, and frequently avowed in express terms, by the British Government itself. What was the meaning of all the colonial charters granted by the British Monarchy, from that of Virginia, by Elizabeth, to that of Georgia, by the immediate predecessor of the present King, if the Indians were the Sovereigns and proprietors of the lands bestowed by those charters? What was the meaning of that article in the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the Five Nations were described in terms as subject to the dominion of Great Britain? or that of the treaty with the Cherokees, by which it was declared that the King of Great Britain granted them the privilege to live where they pleased, if those subjects were independent sovereigns, and if these tenants at the licence of the British King, were the rightful lords of the lands where he granted them permission to live? What was the meaning of that proclamation of his present Britannic Majesty, issued in 1763, declaring all purchases of lands null and void, unless made by treaties held under the sanction of his Majesty's Government, if the Indians had the right to sell their lands to whom they pleased? What was the meaning of boundary lines of American territories, in all the treaties of Great Britain with other European Powers having American possessions, particularly in the treaty of 1763, by which she acquired from France the sovereignty and possession of the Canadas—in her treaty of peace with the United States in 1783?—

may, what is the meaning of the north western boundary line now proposed by the British Commissioners themselves, if it is the rightful possession and sovereignty of independent Indians, of which those boundaries dispose? Is it indeed necessary to ask, whether Great Britain ever has permitted, or would permit, any foreign nation, or without her consent, any of her subjects, to acquire lands from the Indians, in the territories of the Hudson Bay Company or in Canada? In formally protesting against this system, it is not against a novel pretension of the American Government—it is against the most solemn acts of their own sovereigns, against the royal proclamations, charters, and treaties of Great Britain for more than two centuries, from the first settlement of North America to the present day that the British Plenipotentiaries protest. From the rigour of this system however, as practised by Great Britain and all the other European Powers in America, the humane and liberal policy of the United States has voluntarily relaxed. A celebrated writer on the laws of nations, to whose authority British jurists have taken particular satisfaction in appealing, after stating, in the most explicit manner, the legitimacy of colonial settlements in America, the exclusion of all rights of uncivilised Indian tribes, has taken occasion to praise the first settlers of New England, and the founder of Pennsylvania, in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their sovereign. It is this example which the United States, since they became by their independence the sovereigns of the territory, have adopted and organised into a political system. Under that system the Indians residing within the United States, are so far independent, that they live under their own customs, and not under the laws of the United States; that their rights upon the lands where they inhabit or hunt are secured to them by boundaries defined in amicable treaties between the United States and themselves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also by amicable and voluntary treaties by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to the lands ceded by them. They are so far dependent, as not to have the right to dispose of their lands to any private person, nor to any power, other than the United States, and to be under their protection, and not under that of any other power, foreign or domestic, or by whatever name designated. This is the relation between them and the United States. That relation is neither asserted nor for the first time, nor did it originate

with the Treaty of Grenville. These principles have been uniformly recognised by the Indians themselves, not only by that treaty, but in all the other previous as well as subsequent treaties between them and the United States.

The Treaty of Grenville neither took from the Indians the right, which they had not, of selling lands within the jurisdiction of the United States to foreign Governments or subjects, nor ceded to them the right of exercising exclusive jurisdiction within the boundary line assigned. It was merely declaratory of the public law, in relation to the parties, founded on principles previously and universally recognised. It left to the United States the rights of exercising sovereignty and of acquiring soil, and bears no analogy to the proposition of Great Britain which requires the abandonment of both. The British Plenipotentiaries state in their last Note, that Great Britain is ready to enter into the same engagement with respect to the Indians living within their lines of demarcation, as that which is proposed to the United States. The undersigned will not dwell on the immense inequality of value between the two territories, which, under such an arrangement, would be assigned, by each nation, respectively, to the Indians, and which alone would make the reciprocity merely nominal. The condition which would thus be imposed, on Great Britain not to acquire lands in Canada from the Indians, would be productive of no advantage to the United States, and is, therefore, no equivalent for the sacrifice required of them. They do not consider that it belongs to the United States, in any respect, to interfere with the concerns of Great Britain, over American possessions, or with her policy towards the Indians residing there; and they cannot consent to any interference, on the part of Great Britain, with their own concerns; and particularly with the Indians living within their territories. It must be the interest of Great Britain to limit her settlements in Canada, to their present extent, and leave the country to the west a perfect wilderness, for ever inhabited by scattered tribes of Indians; but it would inflict a vital injury on the United States to have a line run through their territory, beyond which their settlements should for ever be precluded from extending, thereby arresting the natural growth of their population and strength; placing the Indians substantially, by virtue of the proposed guarantee, under the protection of Great Britain, dooming them to perpetual barbarism, and leaving an extensive frontier for ever exposed to their savage incursions.

Signed as before.

CORN BILL.

WILTSHIRE COUNTY-MEETING,

*Held at Salisbury, on the 8th of March,
1815.*

This meeting, which was convened by advertisement, under the authority of the HIGH SHERIFF, was the most numerous of any that had ever been witnessed in the County. The Sheriff opened the proceedings in the Council Chamber of the City, but, it being found, that the open air was the only proper place to afford a chance of hearing to such an immense assembly, an adjournment took place to the square in front of the Council House.—Here, after the requisition had been read, the Resolution, and after it the Petition (which will be found below) were moved by Mr. HUNT and seconded by Mr. Cobbett of Botley, who having a freehold in Wiltshire was induced to take part in a discussion, in which every man in the kingdom is interested.—Whatever might have been the wishes, or the expectations, of the friends of Corruption, they were not here gratified by witnessing any attempts to work up the passions and prejudices of the people into that flame of violence, which, unhappily, has burst forth in the metropolis, and which it is the duty of every man to discourage, and to prevent, if he has it in his power.—Mr. Hunt gave early proof of his desire to discharge this duty and of the weight which a man may have with the people, if he proceed in the right way.—There were carried into the Council Chamber, upon the tops of two long poles, a *large loaf* decorated with gay ribbons, and a *small loaf* arrayed in crêpe. Mr. Hunt requested, that those loaves (the sight of which was so well calculated to inflame) *should be taken away*. They instantly were taken away, and never again made their appearance.—To give any thing like a report of *speeches* here will not be attempted. But, it is right to observe, that no attempt, not even the

smallest, was made, to *inflame*, or to *mislead*, no attempt to mark out any particular class for popular resentment; no attempt to stir up the labourer to cut the throat, or to set fire to the house or barns of his employer; but, many endeavours were used, and it is believed with complete success, to make the vast assemblage clearly understand, that the proposition to make corn dear had grown out of the desire to continue to raise war taxes upon the farmer; that this desire had grown out of the immense expenditure still intended to be kept up; and that this immense expenditure had grown out of those measures; which would have been all prevented by a *Reform in the Commons House of Parliament*.—It was explained to the people, that the owners of land and growers of corn would not *gain*, in the end, by a Corn Bill, which, in fact, was intended to *enable them to pay war-taxes in time of peace*, though some of them had been evidently actuated by the selfish notion of gain to themselves. It was explained to the Meeting, that the inevitable effect of the Bill would be to enhance and uphold the price of corn; or, in other words, that it would impose a new tax upon the loaf, and that, too, without any ultimate benefit to the landlord or tenant, however some of these might think the contrary.—In adverting to the Wiltshire Petition for a Corn Bill, it was observed, that the Petitioners had said, that they had long borne heavy taxes, AND THAT THEY WERE STILL WILLING TO BEAR HEAVY TAXES, provided the Government and Parliament would pass a law, the effect of which should be TO RAISE AND KEEP UP THE PRICE OF THEIR CORN. That is to say, that so long as they could have a price, which should be a *protection to them* against ruin, they did not care how heavily the loaf was taxed, how much money was squandered away, how large a standing army was kept up in time of peace, nor how the liberties and rights of the people were dealt with. It was explained to the meeting, that, in

this the petitioners for a Corn Bill, were wrong; that they ought, on the contrary, to have called for a reduction of the taxes, without which the immense standing army could not be kept up in time of peace; and, being relieved from those taxes, they might well afford to sell their corn as cheap as any that could be brought from abroad. It was observed to the meeting, that, in consequence of the price of provisions having fallen, it was notorious, that the price of *labour* had fallen; that the farmer now, and very justly, paid less to his people than he paid before, including his smith, wheelwright, collar-maker, &c. But, that the meeting should well remark, and bear in mind, that those who are *paid by the public* still receive *undiminished* salaries and allowances; that, during the last twenty years, the allowances to the Royal Family, to the Judges, to the Police Magistrates, to public Officers of all descriptions, had been greatly augmented *upon the express ground of the rise in price of provisions*; but, that *now*, when provisions had fallen, and brought down with them the wages of the labourer, *none of these allowances were lowered*; on the contrary war taxes were to be kept up, for the purpose, in part, of keeping up those allowances, and, as these taxes could not be raised while corn was cheap, it was intended to make corn dear in order to enable the landlord and farmer to pay taxes. Thus was the abhorred measure traced fairly to its source, and an appeal was made to the SENSE, and not, as in some other cases that have occurred, to the NON-SENSE, of the people.—The conduct of the High Sheriff was remarkably proper. His private opinion appeared to lean towards a Corn Bill; but, so impartial, and, indeed, so able, was the manner, in which he conducted the business of the day, and so readily did he assent to what was manifestly the unanimous wish of the Meeting, that he retired amidst the applauses of all descriptions of persons.—The conduct of the People was equally good. Not a word of violence: not a word of folly. At night, some boys paraded a thing, stuffed with straw, supposed to represent some contemptible friend of the Corn Bill. They hanged and beheaded this personage, opposite Mr. Hunt's lodging; and there even this fun ended. When this

account was sent away the Petition had been signed by some thousands of persons, and it is expected to be before the House of Lords in the course of next week.—The following are copies of the Resolutions and Petition.

WILTS COUNTY MEETING.

RESOLUTIONS

Unanimously agreed to by the most numerous Assemblage ever witnessed in the city of New Sarum, on *Wednesday, March 8, 1815.*

GEORGE EYRE, Esq. *Sheriff*, in the chair.

RESOLVED, That political corruption, after having exhausted all the other sources of taxation, has, at last, proceeded to the outrageous length of attempting to burthen with a heavy tax, the very bread that we eat, being thereunto urged and encouraged by the false statements of certain rapacious Landowners; that, therefore, a petition be presented to the House of Lords, praying their Lordships to interpose in behalf of this long insulted, and long suffering nation, in such a manner as to prevent the enacting of any law, to prohibit, or restrain, the free importation of corn.

RESOLVED, That the Sheriff be requested to sign the petition, and that copies of it be sent for signatures to the various towns in the county.

RESOLVED, That when signed, the Sheriff do transmit the petition to the Earl Stanhope, and request his Lordship to present the same to the House of Lords.

RESOLVED, That the Sheriff be requested to sign the resolutions, and to publish them in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, and in two London morning and two London evening Newspapers.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the High Sheriff of the county, for his readiness in calling this Meeting, and for his impartial conduct in the chair.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

—ooo—

The Petition of the Freeholders, Landholders, Tradesmen, Manufacturers, and Inhabitants of the County of Wilts, in County Meeting assembled,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners, at the moment when they were justified in expecting to enter on the Enjoyments of the Blessings, usually attendant on Peace, to which they had so long been Strangers, perceive, with the deepest Sorrow, that Attempts are making to prolong and perpetuate the Sufferings of War, by enhancing and upholding the Price of Corn.

That your Petitioners, seeing, in other Quarters, political Corruption and private Rapacity so firmly and resolutely leagued against them, fly with Confidence for Protection to your Lordships, and appeal to your Noble-Mindedness, your Justice, your Humanity, against the Machinations and Violence of this unfeeling, this merciless League.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that your Lordships will reject any Proposition that may be made to you to entertain any Bill, or other Measure, tending to diminish, or restrain the Importation of Corn.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

CHEAP CORN.

MR. CORBETT.—In perusing your valuable Register last week, I saw in it a letter entitled "Cheap Corn," which, with your permission, I would offer a few remarks on, and put a few queries to the writer, Aristides. He begins with stating, that he "sets his face against all that has been said or written on the subject." But if he were to ask Mr. Whitbread, if he had ever made, at a public meeting, similar declarations as to the manner of farmers' living, I believe he would answer in the affirmative. If he were to ask Mr. Hunt, if he had ever spoken against high rents, he would give the same answer. Now, Sir, if this be true,

Aristides' statement is incorrect.—It is not, however, of much consequence whether his letter contain sentiments which have been delivered before, or not; but whether those sentiments be right or wrong, of which neither Aristides, myself, or any body else, can determine any further than our own several opinions go. But Aristides is not willing to allow *any body* the credit of writing their *true* sentiments. He charges them with vying with each other which shall best elude "the true state of the case;" or, in other words, which can deceive the public most. Is not this illiberal; very illiberal? Perhaps it was a slip of the pen while his indignation rose against Landlords and Farmers, who are now *amassing so much wealth*. I hope, whatever I write, he will at least allow me to be *sincere* when I say, that all our dear bread derived its source from WAR, the cause of all our TAXES; and now War has ceased, Taxation must cease also, or ruin and the fear of a jail will drive numbers of people to some land where they can work without a tax-gatherer taking the greatest part of their property, and where they can farm without being obliged to relinquish a *tenth* of their produce.—Aristides states, that he has found one who has hinted at "the real cause of the evil." He says, "since this person's lease has expired, his landlord has doubled his rent;" but he has not told us when this lease was granted; whether in the cheap or in the dear times, or why the landlord thought of doubling the rent. He has also forgotten to state the comparison of the quantum of taxes paid, and housekeeping expenses, &c. in the year the lease was granted, and that in which it expired. These particulars are certainly very material to be known, as a criterion to enable us to judge whether the landlord wanted a double income or not. Aristides lays great stress on many little farms being consolidated into one. This is not so general as he states, although it will be more so soon; for now that a prison stares the little farmer in the face, and has stared some of them out of countenance, as any one may see by looking over his own parish, and observing the increase of paupers caused by an influx of labourers, the consequence of oppressive taxation. So far Aristides' statement is true, when he says, that "they are either working as day labourers, or

"*gone out of the kingdom*;" but, reader, forget not the reason; they are *taxed out of it*.

Aristides is not content with the farmers' mode of living; he calls upon the reader to enter a farm-house, and tells him, he will "no longer find the farmer's daughters, Madge and Molly, (for such he will have their names) feeding hogs, fetching or milking cows, churning butter, or making cheese;" but will find them in the back parlour, drawing or at music, or preparing for a county ball. But, reader, be not content with stepping into one; go into nine, and see if idleness is the order of the day; see if they are not attempting to earn their livelihood by making cheese, or performing some other duties. But, mark me, do not come from town to do this, when you have taken a fashionable breakfast at ten o'clock, and *then*, after a ride of twenty miles, expect to find them churning their butter. No, no, they will have half finished before you get from your beds; they will be in their back parlour, if they have one, mending their garments, or recreating themselves by some agreeable and pleasant amusement, perhaps at music, perhaps at drawing, or perhaps embroidery. Allow me to ask Aristides, what harm there is in farmers' daughters amusing themselves in this way, provided they do not neglect their business? Does it follow of course, then that they cannot make pie, pudding, or dumplin, *because* they learn music? Or *because* they sometimes sit in their back parlour, must they neglect going into the dairy?

But the "old mare (what a grievance!) is discarded." It is true; for those who kept her only, have found it necessary, by the late increase of assessed taxes, to make shift without her, and are content to walk.---But why may not farmers have the privilege of getting money enough to enable them to ride a good nag, as well as a tradesman? As for their "curricles, gigs, and chaises," is there one in fifty, or even in a hundred, that keep any of them? I shall pass over the young gentleman, his "hobnails" and smock frock, and carter's whip, although I consider there is a medium between this and the other dress which Aristides describes; and would wish to know, why a farmer may not be a gentleman. "The ox's cheek, and leg of

"beef," continues the writer, "gives way to modern delicacy." This also is true; but the reason, Sir, is, because *their own mutton and pork is cheaper* to them. After all, Mr. COBBETT, why does Aristides envy the farmers? Does he think they live in luxury? Does he think they get *too rich*? If he does, let him try; let him take a farm at 4l. per acre; let him pay 3l. per acre in taxes; after he has tilled and sown the ground with all possible care, let him get fifteen bushels of *blighted* wheat per acre; let him pay like an honest man the *tenth* of all he has laid out on it to the church; let him make 6s. the bushel of the remainder, and then he will know and taste the *sweets of farming*; then, he may sport his "military-cut upper-coat of superfine, lined with silk," and his Wellingtonian boots; and *then*, instead of keeping his curriple, he had better march along with that illustrious personage, the next time he goes to fight for the re-establishment of the Pope and the Inquisition, than attempt to raise another year's rent and taxes.

Aristides pities the poor; so do I. He wonders why they should be made to eat *dear* bread; so do I. He says bread ought to be *cheap*; so do I. But, instead of envying the *supposed riches* of the farmer, I would pray Parliament to *take off the taxes*; to do away the support of a vile system of corruption, so as to enable the landlords to lower their rents, and the tenant his corn. I would pray that we might be relieved of *tythes, that curse to agriculture*, which supports a set of men, a *tenth* of whom are scarcely worth any thing but to roar out "*Church and State*;" a system which every agriculturist ought to set his hands against; and by doing which they would prove *their patriotism*, their *sincerity* for national improvement more than the support of wars, or of agricultural societies.---Aristides—it behoves you, as an active citizen, to give a proof of *your sincerity* in wishing bread cheaper, and the people happier, by helping to promote such a petition, and if yours and our prayer is heard, and the *taxes and tythes taken off*, then we shall have bread cheap; then we shall be content and happy: that will be the period, and *not till that period arrives*. I am, &c.

A FRIEND TO SINCERITY.
Exeter, March 3, 1816.

CORN LAWS.

MR. COBBETT.—Having from the commencement of the present and preceding discussions upon the proposed alterations of the Corn Laws, in behalf both of agriculture and the grower, given the most constant attention to the argument whereby they have been supported, and also to those which have been opposed to them, permit me through the medium of your invaluable Journal, to make a few remarks upon the same.

From the occasional conversation with the farmer and grower of corn, I frankly confess myself to be one of those who have been persuaded that a very considerable and valuable body of men among the farming tenantry, require the protection stated to be sought in their behalf; and as far as my observation has extended, I am also fully satisfied that the class of agricultural labourers, collectively and distinctively as a body, require consideration and legislative assistance. Presuming therefore, that these statements are facts; I must conclude that they ought to be duly weighed, and generously appreciated in connexion with all remonstrances against any measures that are proposed professedly to obtain a fair and proper amelioration, which I conclude the present measures, precipitating through the houses of parliament, are not calculated to produce, but, on the contrary, are practically mischievous and particularly inconsistent with public welfare. However, Sir, as you have already fully and repeatedly proved this latter opinion, I shall only add one fact in confirmation of one of the objections which reflecting persons stated in the first instance. I allude to their assertion, "That if the proposed measure could be established, the difference consequently paid in the higher price of foreign corn, can but prove principally a premium or bonus to the foreign grower of, and dealer in corn." The following fact I humbly presume is convincing on the subject. A cornfactor (whose name can be supplied) as soon as those measures were known to be sanctioned by the Government, and likely to be established under some modification, immediately informed a foreign correspondent, advising him to delay his shipments and wait a few weeks for advanced markets; and mark reader, as a rise of no less than 17s.

per quarter was possible. Now Sir, I presume that no comment is necessary, and that I need only add that whoever thinks this gentleman did wrong in this instance, or in giving similar information to all his foreign correspondents, or that gentlemen in this profession collectively in giving such information to all their respective foreign connexions are censurable, is ignorant of the regular practice and interests of commercial trade, and of what constitutes credit and respectability in the contracting of it. I have no hesitation in adding that every regular factor of foreign grain must have romitted such information to each of their respectable correspondents, by the earliest opportunities after the expected rise, probably by the succeeding post. I cannot however pass from the subject of importation, (which will doubtless become very considerable to the port of this metropolis) without noticing, though with great deference to your superior judgement, that I do not think in connexion with a durable peace that the proposed measure will have quite the effect in raising the price of the London quarter loaf, which has been supposed; certainly not for a permanency. If the price should pass 13d. I must attribute it to the alarm which these obnoxious measures have excited. This remark I beg you will not suppress. Should the price exceed, it would certainly only benefit the class of speculators whose ability to enrich themselves at the public expence, you would not I am sure willingly contribute to. I do not allude to regular middle men, whose credit with their connexions, and whose permanent interest is involved in regular profits, and not in fluctuating prices. But, Sir, are the inhabitants of this ancient and enlightened metropolis to be persuaded by the country representatives, that without absolute dearth, and with free communication to and from the coasts of the continent, that 13d. or 1s. or even 9d. should be the permanent price of this portion of food? My reason for concluding that bread would not under the proposed measures exceed the price I have stated during the continuation of peace, is that inasmuch as the said measure of prohibiting the first sale of the importations of foreign corn, when under 80s. would have the effect sought of advancing corn to that price, so likewise there would

such an immense importation and deposit take place, to obtain that price on the advance, that it must necessarily keep it down to the lowest possible additional advance that would ensure an equal chance of sale, which must be connived at, otherwise there would probably be wanted a protection or indemnification bill, in behalf of the interested parties, and of the foreign proprietor. Thus it is obvious that if importation is to take place in any way, it must produce the same competition between the foreign and British growers of corn, which now exists between the British and Irish; and unless the two latter are first upon a fair footing, to oppose it in such a degree as must eventually produce their ruin, or call for absolute prohibition in their behalf, a remedy which we have been led to suppose, might if this country once relied principally on foreigners for its consumption, via its application, occasion as great a fall, in the prices of corn throughout the exporting and corn growing nations of Europe, as might probably produce a general revolution, or lead to a war with this country, to prevent it. But, Sir, what good is the grower of corn, and the agricultural labourer of this country, to derive from a measure that will always ensure a rival at his protecting price, seeing that government is determined that whenever high prices or large demands prevail, the foreigner is then to close in, and to reap the greater advantages, for it is evident that the cheap grower who must in this case reap a large profit, has the decided advantage in holding back to engross such a market.

But having allowed the partial accuracy of the statement of our opponents in behalf of the farmer and his servant, I would advocate their cause as earnestly as I would that of any other class of individuals. For eliciting their particular cases, I shall proceed on the present occasion, by giving the master the precedence, though only on account of the courtesy due to him from his superior situation, for as men and members of society, I know no difference in their relative importance, or in their claims to humanity. To appreciate the interest, and the claims of the farmers collectively, or of the body of men, or of society, it is obviously necessary to consider their distinct states and

circumstances, whenever material distinctions and differences exist, in order to arrive either at fair premises or just conclusions. It is a species of the commonest craft used in vulgar controversy, to confound all distinctions. It would be equally mischievous, and not a jot more injurious, to assume distinctions that are frivolous or unfounded. In venturing therefore to state that the farmers should be considered as differently interested in point of claims in the present instance, and in adding that the individuals appear to me to form in Great Britain three distinct and nearly equal parties, with very different pretensions, it is proper to explain, that this is my private view of their case, and also that it is not grounded upon very intimate knowledge with, or extensive information on the subject, but merely derived from a few residents in different parts of England, in several of which very dissimilar customs prevail in the letting of estates, and consequently in the circumstances and claims of the landed tenantry. In some parts of the country nearly the whole of the tenantry are without leases, and many of them have now been so, for many years past; and as the custom has very much increased, it is probable that the persons thus situated, amount to one third of the whole number of farmers. The next class of farmers are those who hold either long or short leases at an exorbitant rent, taken during the high prices of every species of produce, and the limited supply of the importation of foreign corn. Several of these persons it is said, occupy a number of estates or very large farms, but I do really believe that neither in number nor in point of the quantity of land which they occupy that they form more than a third of the interest in question. Certainly the embarrassments of the farmer at the present time, are not exclusively among these persons. The last division consists of those farmers who have been more cautious and successful, and are now living upon and cultivating their own property, adding to those the gentlemen farmers (a term by no means novel) who perhaps have cultivated under their own inspection a small part of their estate, for the sake either of amusement, or improvement and discovery, rather than by way of competition with the more dependent farmer. These two descriptions of persons,



with those tenants who have long old leases, or who have contracted prudently with liberal and uninformed Cits for renewals, beyond doubt comprise a full third of the parties interested in the growth of corn and the farming business.

The first class of farmers which I have instanced, are those who have no leases. These persons have been considered as mere vassals of the landlord, but I think very improperly, and that the term is inappropriate, and totally inadequate to appreciate their situation and wretchedness.

It is very obvious, that in the present state of society these persons receive no particular protection nor equivalent advantage, neither are they to be fairly reckoned tenants at will. The farming business is the only employment they are adapted to follow, and if they profess moral principles and integrity, desiring to live by their exertions, and duly and fully to discharge the just demands, how small soever of their servants and others, they must continue to make the best of it. If they have none they must still do the same; without character, credit or property, their profession is the sole medium of their existence. The whole of these do not probably pay a rack rent, but it is notoriously otherwise with the majority; they are doomed whether corn is high or low, to pay the exactions of their landlords, to the uttermost farthing. This class of farmers therefore are not at all interested in protecting prices, but they want, and so does agriculture, as far as connected with them, this innovation suppressed; this growing imitation of Irish customs put a stop to; this unnatural association with civilization broken down. It is also obvious that the protection of agriculture by an enhancement of prices, would not as far as it is connected with this class of farmers, contribute to the enrichment and employment of the other classes of society: no, their poverty would still remain, and they would continue in this respect, the least useful body of the community. Having no inducements for exertion, they would also continue to be very inferior agriculturists. They may sign their landlord's petitions for protecting prices, but it is evident the protection they want, is from high and fluctuating rents, in connexion with more certain tenure. It may be said

that these persons do not pay so much rent per acre, as the farmer in some other districts; this objection is allowed to be correct, and even in several instances where the farmers will be gainers by their present leases. But this only makes the practice more intolerable. It is evident that those persons cannot pay a rack rent equally as high as the leasehold tenant of a well managed and conditioned farm, in the first instance; because the security of reaping the advantage of his improvements, and expenditure of property, on the estate, during his enjoyment of the lease, would have induced him to cultivate and stock it, to the utmost of his ability. But no farmers of property would take land to do the same, upon an uncertain terms, nor is there any probability of persons without property becoming adequate to such an expenditure, unless by certain possession at a moderate rent, for a given number of years. This is a chance that *certain* landholders, for the sake of enjoying a most arbitrary power, or for the gaining of a few pounds more in the first instance, appear determined to continue denying them. In passing from this subject, I would hazard a conjecture and venture to suppose, that if this increasing practice should become general throughout Great Britain, as the face of the country recovers its military population, it would approach that state of anarchy, so often prevailing in the sister kingdom; of which country I would venture to add, that under similar circumstances, more serious troubles and difficulties must occur than any hitherto encountered.

Government ought, however, to interpose and fine both landholders for letting, and tenants for occupying, farms without leases; and that also, if not contracted for between the resident tenant, and the real proprietor, when such. This would, in some measure, defend the unwary, of the latter order, from those speculators in the taking of farms, who deal in leases, and the farmer from the same; and also from the obnoxious class of interloping overseers in the management of large estates.

The next class of farmers, in behalf of whom pretensions are made for corn protecting prices, are those who have taken leases during the extreme high price of Corn, and other provisions; but the

difficulties in which these persons are involved, are justly merited by the majority of them; inasmuch as it was their speculations, for extensive occupancy, which occasioned those high prices, both of rents and provisions, in connexion with circumstances that favored the issue. To place the subject, in reference to themselves, in a clear point of view, it should be thus stated: "That by rendering the land less fruitful in provisions, and agricultural productions, the money value, or price received for the produce became considerably enhanced," a necessary consequence; in connexion with a proportionate demand for the various productions.

That this is a substantial part, or a necessary consequence, of the improved system of large farms, and unlimited occupancy is obvious. That it is the keystone upon which the whole system hinges, is incontrovertible.

With proprietors and monopolizing farmers, the contest of the system for large or for small farms, is simply, does the latter, or the former, produce the most money, not the greatest quantum of commodity. Thus, does the produce of any given quantity of land, in 60 small farms, in fruit, vegetables, poultry, pork, butter, cheese, corn, and pasture, sell for as much with a limited or equivalent demand, as the produce of the same land, divided only into three farms. The value in quantity and price, of the two last mentioned branches of agriculture, being equal in both instances, and it being possible for the three farms to supply the demand for the former commodities, though not to raise the quantities of the 60 farms; it is therefore pretty obvious, that the large farm system has well paid those who succeeded in jostling their neighbours out of liquor, home, and employment; and that the large land-holders' purses have been filled thereby; and that they both would continue to prosper while the two principle departments of agriculture remained as lucrative as before, or unless some other uncontrollable circumstances should proscribe the system. Such an occurrence may probably be a natural effect of a continuation of peace; but independently of any such future event great deductions have already taken place in the prices and profits of the other leading department of agriculture, and also we have not properly

participated in the fall of the price of animal food (the consequence of the failure of government contracts) in the London markets (which I must conclude very unfair, though I hold the middle man in equal respect and worthy of efficient profits) yet it is notorious that it has generally taken place to a very great extent, and that the lease occupiers of large farms, whether men of property or not, are at their wits' end, both from the fall in value of their stock, and the unconditional obligation of their leases. Now, Sir, are not the persons thus ruined or likely to be so, entitled to assistance? and would it not be politic in the country to grant it in behalf of agriculture. If the statement before you is a correct one, it would be most impolitic and most unjust in the government to require it. But should not the landlords be compelled, or rather ought they not voluntarily to lower their rents? The latter is for their private consideration, but were I a landlord thus situated, I should not choose to comply with any suggestion to that effect, unless in such peculiar case where it became my interest to do so, or unless I could be assured that land-holders throughout the country would do so generally. But, Sir, I completely deny that government have any right to interfere between the parties in this case, altho' I am prepared to allow that they have precedent in interfering to regulate and restrict the importation of corn, or rather in the present instance in intending and attempting to do so, and as has been forcibly shown, a very bad precedent, yet I do not think that government can interfere even in an indirect way. It has however been surmised by some essayists on the subject, that by taxing those landlords' estates which are let at a high rent, and by relieving the occupying tenant, paying such rent of his taxes, that something might be done. But I do not think that the body of land-holders, with all their preachings to the populace on the subject of passiveness, would be brought to submit; and I also think that if they could, it would even at present, and assuredly hereafter, be found totally inequitable. It appears to me, that the situation of these distressed and unworthy persons is irretrievable, and that more of them will become bankrupts, for the affliction of their creditors both just and various, or to the parting with

their accumulations faster than they heaped them together, setting one man example to many others and speculators, or rather as these classes are incorrigible, furnishing one more argument to some future legislature for interfering to prohibit all such practices as are likely to become either self or publicly injurious.

The practical and public economy of large farms has however made some noise in the world, and a dozen farms have frequently during the late war been made into one, for no better apparent reason than to save a little horse keep; but whoever has been persecuted by such an argument, has certainly swallowed a bait. Our ancestors ate as good food and smitten as their children; the intermixture of foreign breeds of sheep may possibly have improved the wools of the country, and the case would have been similar if the small farms had not been broken up; but large farms in the possession of opulent persons, enable them to withhold the supplies, and raise the markets, and with recalcitrant tenants are unproductive. Therefore small farmers are the best economists on behalf of the public, and ensure the most prompt supplies.

If any one should think that the foregoing strictures on the large farm system are too severe, I would refer him to the following extract from "The Lord's Report of evidence," for which I am indebted to the letter of a valuable correspondent of "The Times" paper, in which it appeared on Monday the 6th inst. It is taken from the evidence of Mr. Phillips, land surveyor, and civil engineer, who has been much employed in the southern part of the kingdom.

"Restrictions on the Corn Laws must have this effect; it will at once render permanent the most terrible system of monopolising the occupancy of lands. I now beg to give evidence upon the effects it has upon society generally. In many places where I have been surveying, where there were 30 or 60 farmers in a parish, it has been reduced to the small number of four or five, and some parishes occupied by one man; large districts of country in the occupancy of the possessor; where there were formerly a great many farm-houses, there is probably only a bailiff. The horror this system creates among mankind generally, and in parishes, is inconceivable. In sup-

port of this argument, my Lords, in the hands of the little farmers, an immense increase of food is brought to the public, from as it were the lap of the farmer's wife. In a little farm, where there is a dairy, the produce is not only the calves, but an immensity of butter and cheese; the refuse of a dairy will support a piggery; that kind of animal food is reared in a very short time in immense quantities. Again, when a little farmer and his family will raise from the little produce of his small farm, a dairy, the refuse of which supports a piggery, then comes the poultry. Where there is a cow-yard and a piggery, vast quantities of poultry indeed are produced with very little care, reared almost in the lap of the farmer's wife, nourished in her kitchen corner; I am not speaking theoretically now; mentioning only one parish will serve as a strong instance for the whole kingdom; amongst all these different farmers, every labourer had a comfortable master, and every tradesman comfortable employ; now, hundreds or thousands in a parish are pauperised, wherever there is a family of children; the milk-pails, which were principally the nutriment of families, are done away."

Mark reader the desolating consequences and progress of this execrable system, both upon town and country markets, and upon the small farmer and the labourer, and the fend-like proceedings connected therewith; "the milk-pails which were principally the nutriment of families, are done away;" the pig-styes are done away, they are not permitted. What then have individuals either generally or collectively dared to prohibit their dependents from contributing in these ways to the supply of the markets and their own maintenance? Yes, it is notorious that conspiracies of both kinds have existed in several districts; and that under their operation the miseries, privations and moral degradation of the labouring classes, have exceeded whatever has been before experienced in this country, except in times of absolute dearth and internal war. There being but one state of society in which the immediate or rather apparent interest of landholders, collectively as rent receivers, is more in favor of again dividing their lands into small farms, rather than remaining of the present enlarged extent, (viz. where the population is principally

agricultural), it would appear to me that Government should interpose in this instance to adjust the system as far as the convenience of the population and the interest of the public require. It might be done by a tax per acre, upon owners and tenants of estates, beyond a given size, when let beyond a certain price, increasing also upon larger estates, when let high. A temporary measure of this kind thus modified, would lead rich landholders to divide their large estates where these high rents prevail. Such a measure should certainly not extend to those less populous parts of the country where rents are comparatively low, as it might occasion a too rapid increase of the people. To ensure utility, Government should also make it illegal for any man to farm more than one estate, which would for ever crush the monopoly of the tenantry, and benefit the proprietor more than any other measure of insuring an adequate number of practical farmers, and eventually a facility in obtaining tenants, or a certain though limited source of competition for the taking of farms. Landlords probably also, in addition to this irregular competition for unlimited occupancy, which raised rents in consequence of its pernicious effects, have been led to neglect their permanent interests, in upholding the farm houses, and preserving that previous division of their estates which had marked the progress of society and comfort, by the inducements of large interests and certain income for their savings in the funds; but although this source of artificial accumulation in reference to society is like the gates of the broad way that leadeth to destruction, to remain of widened entrance, the immediate and permanent interest of landholders appears now in this respect completely obvious.

There remains now to consider the last division of persons in whose behalf protecting corn prices are sought. But I have, I fear, already trespassed too far upon the valuable columns of your impartial Register. I shall defer this part of my subject to a second communication; and now beg to remain,

Yours, &c.

T. H. J.

March 6th, 1816.

THE INQUISITION.

Since my last remarks upon Spanish affairs, I have read in the *Morning Chronicle* the subjoined extraordinary article.—I have inserted it at full length; there certainly is not a man living that would believe, without such evidence, that, in the nineteenth century, such wretched idiotism could have been suffered to have occurred. I wish King Ferdinand had been allowed to remain quietly where he was, amusing himself with embroidery, rather than exercising, as he has done, despotical power against the poor people who had restored him. It is indeed a melancholy reflection, that there should exist in civilized Europe a human being capable of such extreme folly. The priests, it seems are about to marry the beloved Ferdinand to one of the *Infanta's*, as they are called, of Portugal. Are we to suppose that a wife was rendered necessary for his health, from the recollections of "*the certain signs*" which these holy men saw to arise, on the indecent exposure of the persons of Buonaparte's harlots?—A correspondent will have it, that this is done in imitation of a certain King of Jewish celebrity, who was unquestionably of an extremely amorous temperance, and indulged very freely in the carnal lusts of the flesh, or, as Ferdinand's confessor terms it, "*the seventh deadly sin*." I shall not give any opinion on this; nor do I pretend to understand in what way this ghostly father "admonished" his royal pupil; but *admonish* him he did, and it seems to have had the salutary effect, for a season at least, of quenching the flame. The king, however, had become so extremely sensual, that he occupied himself solely in arranging the wardrobe of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom he presented an entire new suit of clothes, from the chemise outwards, having first paid particular attention to the "*fringing* of her robe." After so much trouble, such pious care, and so extraordinary devotion, it would have been extremely ungrateful in the lady, if she had not rewarded him according to his deserts. The priests did not chose to trust him with a woman. It was nevertheless necessary the Holy Virgin should acknowledge the King's civility. One of them, therefore, having been "*overcome*" by sleep, was honored

with a visit from the "immaculate mother of God", who, after turning herself round and round, and shewing her finery in all the vain glory of a newly decorated King's place Priestess "*sighed*" amorously; and the poor priest, not knowing how to act, ran and called the King's confessor, who told him that "the Holy Virgin had already said as much to the King himself!!!" The meaning of this cannot be misunderstood. It is too plain; and the inference is too abominable to be dwelt on. I trust, however, that such absurdities as these will at length open the eyes of the people, and that this contemptible fanatic may soon meet with the reward which his ignorance, his ingratitude, and his perfidy so richly merits.

OCCUPATIONS AND MIRACLES OF KING FERDINAND VII.

The occupations of King Ferdinand during his captivity in France were alluded to by Mr. Whitbread in Parliament. We have been, through the favour of a valuable correspondent, put in possession of the authentic document, setting forth the holy and miraculous works performed by Ferdinand, and we have been prevented only by the overflow of temporary matter from making an extract for the improvement of our readers. The document is a Sermon preached by Don Blaz de Ostolaza, Captain Major of his Catholic Majesty, and his Confessor. The following is an Extract. The *Confessor* begins by giving a picture of the life of the King at *Valency*; "The King," says he, "rose at eight o'clock, heard mass, breakfasted, made afterwards a party at billiards, entered his closet to read his letters, or some portion of holy writ, *embroidered at the Tambour till two o'clock*, at which time he took a short airing in a carriage—he dined on his return—made a short prayer, received his brothers, or those who were admitted to pay their court to him, sapped, and before going to bed recited with all his Household the Litanies, which he toned himself." "An Agent of Napoleon, whose impious presence he was forced to endure, employed all means of seduction to draw the Infant from his holy occupations. He brought a troop of female dancers from Paris, and even his

own wife, to endeavour to charm the King; but I perceived *by certain signs* adds the Confessor, whose words we translate literally), that the breasts of these women, indecently exposed, were beginning to have a dangerous effect on the Prince, who was ready to fall into the seventh deadly sin. I admonished him in time, and like the slave of Potiphar, Don Ferdinand escaped these new sirens." "The King was above all things incensed at the poverty of the chief altar of the parish of Valency; and at there being in the Chateau a play-house, while there was neither a chapel nor an oratory—while the people were luxurious in their furniture and feasts, and miserable in the decoration of their temples.

The King embroidered himself a beautiful robe of white silk, with gold pallets and gold fringe, for the Virgin. He had raised a superb altar, gilt, and he sometimes served himself the Mass at the feet of the Queen of the Angels. The Queen of the Angels was most sensible of these royal attentions, and manifested to him her content by many signs. It happened in particular, that one night an Ecclesiastic of the district being overcome with sleep in the church, *the Virgin appeared to him as coming out of the altar*—she advanced towards the Ecclesiastic, made several turns round him, to display the elegance of her toilette, and said to him, sighing that her son received the vows of the King in recompence of the fine robe that he had given her; that the Spanish Princes would not remain long without being delivered; and that they must form an Order of the Holy Sacrament, with which all the Chevaliers should be armed for his defence. The Priest much touched by this speech, awakened, and came to me to reveal the miraculous vision; but I answered by assuring him that *the Holy Virgin had already said as much to the King himself*—who in thanking her had promised, that on his return to Spain he would make her worship flourish over all the provinces subject to his dominion."

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—I have heard it said by certain persons in this place, who are displeased with the letters* which have appeared at

* For the preceding Letters, see Vol. XXV. No. 9, 14, 15. Vol. XXVI. No. 24, 26, 27. Vol. XXVII. No. 6, 9.

different times in your REGISTER relative to the proctors, that the publication of them was intended to subvert the discipline of the University.—This accusation from men incapable of controverting the statements and observations in them, is not worthy of much notice; as, I hope, I have already sufficiently proved that the conduct pursued by certain persons in office, has been much more calculated to produce this effect, than any thing that can be said in reprobation of such conduct. Had they acted with the least degree of temper and moderation in the execution of their office, no public notice would be taken of their proceedings, which have had the effect of doing the very thing, that, had they any judgment or prudence, we should naturally suppose, they would wish to leave undone; I mean, the bringing their privileges into question before the public; and making it a matter of discussion and inquiry, whether persons of their profession who have generally shewn an inclination to make an improper use of their power here, are fit to fill offices of authority in other places. But this is a topic which I touch lightly, as it is my wish to allay rather than excite irritation; for I solemnly declare that every thing I have written on the subject, has been written from no other motives than those of justice and humanity; and if I have occasionally shewn any warmth, it is merely that which I always feel when I hear or think of cruelty and oppression. I will take this opportunity of observing, that I have lately heard the different Vice-chancellors and heads of houses defended for not interfering when the proctors have abused their power, on the idea that the proctors, were any restraint laid upon them, might refuse to act at all in matters of discipline. But a proctor, who could behave in this manner, must be so ill-conditioned as to be evidently and confessedly unfit for his office; and in that case, it would certainly be much better that he should do nothing, than that he should be permitted to disgrace the University by the commission of violent or illegal acts, arising from his ill-temper or want of judgment. It has been said too, that persons have been committed by a Vice-chancellor without being allowed to speak a word in their own defence. To this I can give little credit; for, not to insist on the extreme harshness of

such a proceeding, I am inclined to think that commitments by a magistrate under such a circumstance (and the supposition is reasonable, though I am not positive of the fact) would be contrary to law. The mode of paying the marshal is, for obvious reasons, very objectionable. As the office, though merely ministerial, is of an unpleasant nature, his salary should be ample; and his emoluments should not depend on gratuities or fees paid by the University on the apprehension or commitment of persons into his custody.

This, Sir, is perhaps the last letter you will receive from me relative to this business, as before long I shall most probably leave the University. I trust, however, that if any abuse should occur, that some other person resident here will think it his duty to lay it before the public. It is, indeed, to be regretted that in doing this, any concealment should be necessary: but to many persons, in places where there is much public and private patronage, and frequent elections to offices, concealment, however repugnant to their feelings, becomes, in a prudential point of view, a matter of necessity; for it cannot be supposed that they who have so little feeling as to abuse their official power, or even not to exert their influence and authority to prevent its being abused by others, would have the liberality to forgive the person who states the fact to the world.

To this cause, must be attributed the the whispering, or air of mystery, on subjects which in other places would make the very stones cry out. The man whose wish it is to effect the reform of any abuse in public bodies, should know, that, unfortunately for them, the only advice that will be heard, must be conveyed in the public execration of their misconduct; for to any thing less than this, experience tells us, there will be little attention paid. Should any of the abuses, or the injustice and cruelty, enumerated in the preceding letters be repeated, or any others be committed; which, for the credit of the governors in this place, I hope will never happen; my prayer is, that they may raise a manly, but temperate, indignation in the University against the authors of them, and be recorded, and submitted to the public, by a more able pen than that of your much obliged,

Oxford, March 6th 1816.

Y. Z.

POPULAR OPINIONS.

SIR,—The opinions of the people of England appear to be as various as the impulses of individual interests differ one from another. The affairs of the nation, and of the world, are so intimately blended with personal interest, and national prejudice, that the whole compact has grown by private contention, and the national security combined by national prejudice, into a bulwark bordering on impressions arising from ignorance.—When one looks around at the present period, every separate interest is seen jingling its unreserved discussions with the national wisdom.—The great class of proprietors of land, and farmers in rueful mood exhibit dangers impending on reductions conducive to public plenty.—The richer cry aloud on the dismal effects of the property tax; the mercantile joining in its heart-rending expositions.—The middling, against the price of all the necessities of life.—The manufacturer, against the difficulties and expences attending the profits of his labour.—The labourer and poorer class, violently against mechanical inventions destructive to manual labour, and consequent inability to meet the exorbitant demand for food.—The beggar, against the inadequacy of charitable donations, in a country exceeding every other in the known world for expenditure of this nature; and every class in unison of bitter exclamation on the general oppression of taxation. Let it be admitted, much room may exist for excitations to complaint: and that it is well in the privilege of liberty to express public grievances in public meetings; yet, be it remembered by a people who have struggled to the very acme of national pre-eminence and glory, in a tide of patriotism immortalising the annals of their age, that the sacrifice of national ease and personal luxury may yet be required devotedly to be laid on the altar of that pre-eminence and glory, that, untarnished, it may reflect its lustre on surrounding nations, and the blessings of universal peace! But, is not that lustre tarnishing? There rests the doubt; and in that doubt let it rest, while a momentary glance is cast on the represented people in its assembled council. Ask, what are the impressions it should excite? what are the impressions it does excite? Let any impartial man

listen to the debates of this exalted assembly:—if he be a foreigner, what his surprise—if an Englishman, tenacious of his birthright, what the shock to his feelings, when, fondly anticipating the deliberations of reason, and the unbiased decisions of sound judgment, he finds it labouring from the beaten paths of nobleness and wisdom, into the wilds of unmannerly witticism, and personal invective; while the great national cause, unaided by virtuous deliberation, proceeds on the sole discretion of ministers! 'till waking from the wrangling of personal animosities, they bellow for lost rights of the constitutional charter, they themselves in their madness have left sinking unheeded, while lacerating the national pride and worrying the public feeling. On this subject, let some simple questions elicit from some better informed on constitutional policy, why so many vacant seats are permitted when the affairs of the nation ought to dictate the presence of every representative of the people at every meeting of parliament? why one hears of ministers being obliged to solicit from every part of the kingdom, nay, from many parts of the continent, the attendance of members to the houses of parliament, when it should be a paramount duty in their election to the public service? Can it be, that the sons of noblemen and wealthy gentlemen are brought into honours, to which their mental unworthiness renders their absence more honourable to the nation, than the favour of their presence useful, unless when an insignificant yea or nay is demanded by the usage of parliament? If one turn the view to another point, still is seen the long impressed reign of prejudice and hostility, flaming with unabated fatality. Nothing satisfies this feeling but the contemplation of the complete subversion of American republican independence; even with the signature of peace before one's eyes, victory in a deluge of blood and carnage is anxiously anticipated both on sea and land, as a regenerative principle for the imbecility of national exertion. On the other hand, although there no longer exists a Napoleon, to direct the terrifying energies of once all-powerful France, yet the sufferings of this feeling is alleviated with nothing less than the total annihilation of its power; safety emanates only in the prospect of its compulsion on every side by the absorption

of independent states, no matter how subversive of natural rights, or unwarranted in justice. Yet many years may not pass over, when oppressed Europe may look back with regret, that the preponderant military power is not France—that the dictator of the ocean is not England. The charm which gave decided victory to the arms of France, where ever they appeared, is shattered in the entrance of hostile armies into Paris; the spirit which once animated their fragments can never more be combined, to render them fearful to the repose of Europe. No, nor perhaps will the naval ascendancy of England ever render necessary such another rise of military genius, or such varied systems of continental combination. One more view, and I have done—one which claims attention, and is disposed to excite anxieties of no trifling interest. Russia, elated by its military prowess, glowing with an ardour natural to humanity, may easily burst its frozen bonds, and pour its barbarous hordes on the lights of the civilized world; and, in its rugged efforts, rend the hard won laurel ere it firmly entwine the proud expectant brow of Britain, and with the broken emblem decorate its own, yet but a little since trans-atlantic colonies.—But it is the inevitable fate of man, of nations, perhaps of worlds, to arrive at some given point in perfection, then to retrograde until lost in the obscurity of eternity, and are heard of no more!

AMICUS BRITANNIÆ.

BUONAPARTE IN FRANCE!!!

This unlooked for and extraordinary occurrence was announced last night to the astonished inhabitants of the metropolis, by the publication of the following official documents in all the evening papers:

ORDONNANCE OF THE KING, CONTAINING MEASURES OF GENERAL SAFETY.

“LOUIS by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those who shall see these presents, health.

“The 12th article of the Constitutional Charter charges us especially with making regulations and ordonnances necessary for the safety of the State. It would be essentially compromised if we did not take prompt measures to repress the enterprise which has just been formed upon one of the points of our kingdom, and to prevent the effect of plots and

attempts to excite civil war and destroy the Government,

“Art. 1. NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE is declared a *Traitor and Rebel*, for having appeared with arms in his hands in the Department of the Var.

It is enjoined to all Governors, Commandants of the armed force, National-Guards, Civil Authorities, and even simple Citizens, to arm against him, to arrest and carry him before a Council of War, which, after having recognised his identity, shall apply to him the penalties pronounced by the Law.

2. Shall be punished with the same penalties, and as guilty of the same crimes.

“The soldiers and persons of every grade, who shall have accompanied or followed the said Buonaparte in his invasion of the French territory, unless in the delay of eight days from the publication of the present ordonnance, they come and make their submission to our Governors, Commanders of Military Divisions, Generals, or Civil Administrators.

“3. Shall be equally prosecuted and punished as abettors and accomplices of rebellion, and of attempts to change the form of Government and provoke civil war, all civil and military administrators, chiefs, and persons employed in the said administration, payers and receivers of public money, even simple citizens, who shall, directly or indirectly, lend aid to Buonaparte.

“4. Shall be punished with the same penalties, conformably to the 102d article of the Penal Code, those who by speeches made in public places or societies, by placards stuck up, or by printed writings, shall have taken part, or engaged citizens to take part in the revolt, or to abstain from repelling it.

“5. Our Chancellor, Ministers, Secretaries of State, and our Director-General of Police, each in what concerns him, are charged with the execution of the present Ordonnance, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, addressed to all Governors of Military divisions, Generals, Commanders, Prefects, Sub-Prefects, and Mayors of our kingdom, with orders to cause it to be printed and stuck up at Paris, and wherever else it may be needful.

“Given at the Castle of the Thuilleries, 6th March, 1815, and the 20th year of our reign.

(Signed) “LOUIS.

"By the KING,
"The Chancellor of France, DAMBRAY."
PROCLAMATION.

CONVOCATION OF THE LEGISLATURE.

"We had on the 31st December last adjourned the two Houses, to resume their sittings on the 1st May. During that time we had been preparing the objects upon which they were to occupy themselves. The march of the Congress of Vienna permitted us to believe in the general establishment of a solid and durable peace; and we were engaged, without ceasing, in all those labours which might ensure the tranquillity and happiness of the people. This tranquillity is disturbed—this happiness may be compromised by malevolence and treason. The promptitude and wisdom of the measures which we are taking will check their progress. Full of confidence in the zeal of which our Chambers have given us proofs, we are eager to call them around us.

"If the enemies of the country have founded their hope upon the divisions which they have always endeavoured to foment, its supporters, its legal defenders will destroy that criminal hope by the unattackable force of an undestructible union.

"For these causes, we have ordered and do order what follows:—

"Art. 1. The Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies of Departments are convoked extraordinarily in the usual place of their sittings.

"2. The Peers and Deputies of Departments absent from Paris, shall repair thither as soon as they are informed of the present Proclamation.

"3. The present Proclamation shall be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, addressed to all the Prefects, Sub-prefects, Mayors, and Municipalities of the kingdom, published and stuck up at Paris, and every where else.

"4. Our Chancellor and our Ministers, each in what concerns them, are charged with the execution of the present.

"Given at the Castle of the Thuilleries, 6th March, and of our reign the 20th.
(Signed) "LOUIS."

DRUBBING THE YANKEES!!!

Well Johnny Bull what do you think of matters now. Does the following bulletin shew that you have been able, as the patriotic Alderman said you would, to give the Yankees "a confounded drub-

bing." But I find I must postpone my remarks on this interesting subject. The landing of Napoleon in France will occupy public attention for some days at least. They appear already as mad about this event as they were when they heard of his deposition; but, although a great many are rejoicing at this occurrence, who formerly exulted in his downfall, such is the fickle disposition of honest John, that it will be some time before his sentiments upon this subject, or his opinion as to the defeat of his American army be properly ascertained.

BULLETIN.

War Department, March 8. 1815.

Captain Wyly arrived this morning with dispatches from Major-General Lambert, detailing the operations against the enemy in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. It appears that the army under the command of Major General Keane, was landed at the head of the Bayou, in the vicinity of New Orleans, on the morning of the 23d December, without opposition; it was, however, attacked by the enemy in the course of the night succeeding the landing, when, after an obstinate contest, the enemy were repulsed on all points with considerable loss. On the morning of the 25th, Sir E. Pakenham arrived, and assumed the command of the army. On the 27th at day-light, the troops moved forward, driving the enemy's picquets to within six miles of the town, when the main body of the enemy was discovered posted behind a breast-work, extending about 1000 yards, with the right resting on the Mississippi, and the left on a thick wood. The interval between the 27th December, and the 8th January, was employed in preparations for an attack upon the enemy's position. The attack which was intended to have been made on the night of the 7th, did not, owing to the difficulties experienced in the passage of the Mississippi, by a corps under Lieut. Colonel Thornton, which was destined to act on the right bank of the river, take place till early on the morning of the 8th. The division, to whom the storming of the enemy's work was entrusted, moved to the attack at that time, but being too soon discovered by the enemy were received with a galling and severe fire from all parts of their line. Major-General Sir Edward Pakenham, who had placed himself at the head of the troops, was unfortunately killed at the head of the glacis,

and Major-Generals Gibbs and Keane were nearly at the same moment wounded. The effect of this upon the troops caused a hesitation in their advance, and though order was restored by the advance of the reserve under Major-General Lambert, to whom the command of the army had devolved, and Colonel Thornton had succeeded in the operation assigned to him on the right bank of the river; yet the Major-General, upon the consideration of the difficulties which yet remained to be surmounted, did not think himself justified in ordering a renewal of the attack. The troops, therefore, retired to the position which they had occupied previous to the attack. In that position they remained till the evening of the 18th when the whole of the wounded, with the exception of 80 (whom it was considered dangerous to remove) the field artillery, and all the stores of every description, having been embarked, the army retired to the head of the Bayone, where the landing had been originally effected, and re-embarked without molestation.

Names of Officers killed and wounded and the missing in the Action of the 8th of January.

KILLED.—General Staff—Major-General Hon. Sir E. Pakenham, Commander of the Forces; Capt. Thomas Wilkinson, 85th, Major of Brigade.

4th Foot—Ensign Wm. Crowe.

7th Ditto—Major George King, Captain George Henry.

21st Ditto—Major J. A. Whitteker, Capt. R. Renny (Lieut.-Col.), Lieut. Donald McDonald.

44th Ditto—Lieutenant R. Davies, and Ensign M'Losky.

93d Ditto—Lieut.-Col. R. Dale, Capt. T. Hutchins, and A. Muirhead.

WOUNDED.—General Staff—Major-General Gibbs; severely; since dead; Major-General Keane, severely; Captains H. E. Shaw, 4th Foot, (British Infantry), slightly, and L. Delacy Evans, 3d Dragoons, D. A. Q. M. G. severely.

4th Foot—Lieut.-Col. F. Brooke, slightly; Major A. D. France, Lieut.-Col. severely. Captains J. Williamson, J. Jones, J. W. Fletcher, R. Erskine, severely, and D. S. Craig, slightly; Lieutenants W. H. Brooke, B. Martin, G. Richardson, W. Squire, C. H. Farringham, James Marshal, H. Andrews, severely, and E. P. Hopkins, J. Salvin, P. Baulby, G. H. Hearn, slightly; Ensigns Thomas Burrell, severely, and A. Gerrard, J. Fernandez, E. Newton, slightly; Adjutant W. Richardson, severely.

7th Foot—Captains W. E. Page, severely, J. J. A. Mullens, slightly; Lieutenants M. Higgins, severely, B. Lorenz, slightly.

21st—Lieut.-Colonel W. Paterson (Colonel), severely, not dangerously; Major E. J. Ross; Lieuts. J. Waters, and A. Geddes, severely.

3d—Lieut. J. Mervick (left leg amputated); D. Canby, severely.

44th—Capt. H. Lebiz [Lieut.-Col.], slightly;

Lieut. R. Smith, 1st Base, R. Phelan, W. Jones,

severely; W. Maclean, slightly; Ensigns J.

White, B. Haydon, and J. Donaldson, severely.

85th—Lieut.-Colonel V. Thornton, Lieut. B. C.

Uquhart, severely, not dangerously.

93d—Captains R. Ryland, Boulger, Mackenzie, and

Ellis, severely; Lieutenants M'Lean Spark, and

M'Pherson, slightly; C. Gordon, and J. Hay,

severely; Volunteer Wilson, slightly.

95th—Captain J. Travers, severely; Captain N.

Travers, slightly; Lieutenants J. Reynolds, Sir

J. Robson, J. Gosset, J. W. Blackhorse, and R.

Larker, severely.

Royal Marines—Captain Gilbert Elliott, slightly;

Lieutenants H. Elliott and C. Morgan, slightly.

1st West India Regiment—Captain Isles, severely;

Lieutenants M'Donald and Morgan, severely;

Ensign Pilkington, severely; and Mellar, slightly.

Royal Navy—Capt. Mancey, his Majesty's ship

Trave, severely; Midshipman Wadsworth, his

Majesty's ship Comant, ditto.

MISSING.—4th Foot—Lieut. E. Field, wounded.

21st ditto—Capt. Jas. M'Harris (Major), and A.

Kidd; Lieuts. J. Stewart, A. B. Armstrong,

Jas. Brady, wounded; J. Leacock; R. Carr,

wounded; J. S. M. Tonham; and P. Quinn,

wounded.

44th ditto—Capt. Robt. Simpson, severely wounded.

44th ditto—Lieut. W. Knight.

93d ditto—Lieuts. G. Munro, J. M'Donald, wound-

ed; and B. Graves, wounded; Volunteer B.

Johnston.

Names of the Officers killed, wounded,

and missing, in the operations preced-

ing and subsequent to the action of the

8th Jan. 1815.

KILLED.—Royal Artillery—Lieut. Alex. Ramsay

Royal Engineers—Lieut. Peter Wright.

4th Foot—Capt. Francis Johnstone, and Lieut.

John Sutherland.

21st ditto—Capt. Wm. Contan.

44th ditto—Lieut. John Blakeney.

85th ditto—Captains Charles Gray, and Charles

Harris.

1st West India Regt.—Capt. Francis Collings.

WOUNDED.—General Staff—Lieut.-Col. Stoven.

28th Foot, A. A. G. severely, not dangerously;

Major Hooper, 87th Foot, D. A. G. severely

(leg amputated); Lieut. Dancy Evans, 3d

Dragoons, D. A. Q. M. G. severely.

Royal Artillery—Lieuts. James Christie, severely,

and B. S. Poynter, slightly.

4th Foot—Lieut. Thos. Moody, severely.

21st Foot—Lieut. John Leacock, slightly.

43d ditto—Lieut. Edward D'Arcy, severely (both

legs amputated).

85th Foot—Capt. James Knox, Lieut. George

Willings, F. Maunsell, W. Hickson, and Robert

Charlton, severely; Lieut. J. W. Boys, slightly;

Ensign Sir Fred. Eden, severely (since dead);

Ensign Thomas Arnaby, slightly.

93d ditto—Lieut. A. Plaupe, severely (since dead).

97th ditto—Capt. W. Hallen, and Lieut. Daniel

Forbes, severely; Lieut. J. G. Farmer, slightly.

MISSING.—8th Foot—Lieut. W. Walker, and

Ensign George Ashton.

95th ditto—Major Samuel Mitchell.

Grand Total 2454

CORN BILL.

TO THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE.

On the 9th inst. I delivered to MR. BOSANQUET, the High Sheriff of this County, a Requisition for a County Meeting, signed by myself and by 581 other freeholders, and others, the place of abode of each of whom was written against his name. MR. BOSANQUET, on the 11th inst. informed me, by letter, that he should *not comply* with the request of the persons who had signed the said Request. This his letter, together with a proposition for further proceedings, shall be published next week, after I have had an opportunity of consulting personally with some of the Gentlemen who signed the Requisition. And, for this purpose, I beg leave to invite such of these Gentlemen as may have leisure, to meet me at THE DOLPHIN INN, AT BOTLEY, on Saturday next, the 25th inst. at 12 o'clock in the day. It will be as convenient to every body else to go to Botley as to go to Winchester, and much more convenient to me to remain at home, especially as I have already been much from home on the business. When met, we shall be able to adopt some plan for the signing of petitions in all parts of the county. No one will deny, that we have a RIGHT to Petition, that is, to say, to PRAY. The poorest of us may PRAY even to God; and, surely, we may PRAY to the Parliament! In our Church service, in our Common Prayer-Book, there are *prayers* against DEARTH, and *thanksgivings* for plenty, or cheapness; and, surely, when corn is cheap, we may PRAY to the Parliament not to pass a law, tending to make it dear! The moment that the Corn Bill appeared in the House of Commons, that moment I declared, that if there was but one man in all England to petition against it, I would be that man. After very attentively listening to every thing that I have seen or heard

upon the subject, my hatred, my abhorrence of this Bill have only been more strongly confirmed. I shall, therefore, continue to do every lawful act in my power to prevent it becoming a law. If only one Gentleman from every town, and from every considerable village, were to attend at Botley, the work of signing Petitions might be very easily and speedily accomplished.

WM. COBBETT.

NAPOLEON'S RETURN.

If ever there was news that struck like a thunder-bolt, this was that news. Many persons seem to be out of their wits at it. After having seen the *deliverance* of Europe accomplished, they really appear to be delivered of their senses. — For my part, I am wholly unable to judge of the probabilities that exist in favour, or against Napoleon's enterprise; but, after viewing what the people of Italy, Genoa, Switzerland, Spain, and even France have experienced, in consequence of his fall, I cannot say, that his restoration would, to me, be matter of surprise, especially when I consider how large a part of the soldiers and of the people of France were, and always appear to have continued firmly attached to him. — As to *wishes*, they avail nothing; but we are now all free to express those which we entertain. Our country is at peace with the Emperor of Elba as well as with the King of France. My wishes are, that the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and the Inquisition may be put down again. I do not care much *by whom*; but these "*ancient and venerable institutions*," as the Cossacks of New England call them, I wish to see completely destroyed. LOUIS the *desired* has not done what was promised. He has not abolished the heaviest taxes; he has not left religion as he found it; he has not adhered to the Code Napoleon; he has not *left the press free*. I do not know, that, surrounded as he has been, that he could have done more than he

has done ; but, he has not done all that was expected, and has done some things which were not expected.—It is quite impossible for me to know, whether, or no, Napoleon, is best calculated to make France happy ; but, to him who is most disposed to make her happy and free, I most sincerely wish success.—At any rate, with the same earnestness, with the same anxiety, with the same forebodings of evil if my prayer be rejected, which I felt when I so often besought our Government not to embark, and, when embarked, not to persevere, in the war against the Republic of America, I now beseech, I implore them, not, on any account, to draw the sword, to waste the treasure and pour out the blood of our beloved and long suffering country in this new quarrel.—We all *now* feel the sorrows of a twenty years war, in the taxes and troubles which have trod upon its heels. If a new war were now to be undertaken, and that, too, for the sake of the Bourbons, what must be our fate ? The question would now be cleared of all the rubbish of 1792. If the king of France stand in need of no foreign aid, why should we draw the sword to give him aid ? If he do stand in need of foreign aid, is it not clear, that the people of France are *against him* ? If we, in the former case, interfere, we do it unnecessarily ; if it in the latter case, we make war to force upon a foreign nation a Government which it does not like. Therefore, it appears to me, that it is impossible to justify war against Napoleon upon any ground that, at present, exists.—Besides, have the writers, who already begin to cry for war, considered at all of the *consequences* ? All the taxes hitherto collected must be continued ? The Debt and the taxes must go on augmenting, till, at last, it will be impossible to go on. But, is this all ? Is this *all* ? Would not our situation be very different indeed from what it was during the war ? *Then*, though our expenses were enormous, they were, in some degree, balanced by that monopoly of trade and commerce, which put our hands into the purse of all the world, and which, after destroying all the military fleets in Europe, we so easily maintained. *Now*, what would be the case ? Farewell *Licences* ! Farewell *Orders in Council* ! Farewell *Impressments on board of American Ships* !

Farewell *Blockheads*, unless in cases of actual investiture !—I shall be told, that we have not *stipulated* with America to refrain from any of these impediments to neutral commerce. Oh, no ! There needs no *stipulation*. The events on Lakes Ontario and Champlain, at New Orleans and Mobile, at Fayal, and on the Ocean itself, will, I am very certain admonish our ministers of the danger of bringing the Republic on our backs, while we have to look France in the face. The war, the war which I so laboured to prevent ; that war, which was to divide and subjugate the Republic according to the predictions of our Cossack writers ; that war has left the Republic on the tripple pinnacle of military, naval, and political glory : happy for her, if it has also left her with a deep horror for all war, not necessary to the preservation of her independence, rights, honour and liberty ! But, seeing what has passed, do our Cossack writers expect to see her again acting the humble and the degrading part which she acted before ? Do they not see, that the very first infringement on her neutral rights will be the signal for our seeing her "*Bits of striped Bunting*" flying and our hearing the sound of her cannon in the English Channel ? What, then, would be the other consequence of war ? Why, we should see the ocean covered with American merchant ships. The Republic would carry on half the trade of the whole world. France would be supplied with colonial produce. Her trade would flourish in the midst of war. We should make few prizes. Our prize-courts would have nothing to do. There would be little for our navy to gain. Our mercantile marine would have little employment. That of the American Republic would swell to an enormous amount. Her military marine would increase in the like proportion. And, at the end of a few years (*many* would not be wanted), it would not be at all wonderful, if she were able to step in and *decide the war*.—Reader ; am I talking foolishly ? Am I rattling on ? Am I exaggerating the danger ? Look back to the pages of the Register, in the year 1812, while I was yet in prison for writing about the flogging of Local militia-men and the presence of German troops on the occasion, and just before I paid the *Prince Regent* a thousand pounds fine, in the name and

behalf of the King. Look back to those pages, and there you will find, that I was treated as a fool, or a traitor, because I besought the government not to go to war, and not to proceed in the war, against America; because I asserted that it would be productive of great expense, loss, and disgrace, and would cause America to become a great and formidable naval power. How often did I repeat this. How tired were my readers at the seemingly endless repetition! How many people wrote to me to advise me to desist! How many sincere friends besought me, for the love of my own character as a writer, not to proceed! How many, whose principles were with mine on all points, differed with me on the fact as to this point!—Yet, *all* I foreboded has already come to pass, and that, too, to the very letter. Many persons say, and I believe the fact, that I assisted greatly in producing the *peace* with America. Oh no act of my life do I look with greater satisfaction than on this. But, how much happier would it have been for my country, if I could have succeeded in *preventing the war*! The evils of this war, short as it has been, I have no scruple to say, are greater than those of the late wars against France. I mean the evils to our Government particularly. It was a war against *freemen*. It was a war against a *Republic*. She was pitted single-handed against our undivided power. The world were the spectators. They have followed us with their eyes in the contest, and have now witnessed the, to us, lamentable result.—*Ratified* the treaty! To be sure the President and Senate would ratify the treaty; a treaty which covered with immortal honour, the President, the Congress, the Negotiators, the Army, the Navy, every man in the land; and, above all, the Constitution of Government, which the war had put upon its trial, which has come out of it like pure gold out of the fire, and which will now be not only more dear than ever to the hearts of Americans, but will present itself as an object of admiration and attraction to every oppressed people in the world.—I am afraid I have been digressing. Let me come back, then, to the main drift of the present article by observing, that the events of this war have taught the Republicans the great value of a naval force, while they have encouraged

them to the continuation and augmentation of that force. It will assuredly go on increasing. Dock yards, arsenals, will be formed. In short, a great navy will speedily grow up; and this will produce a great change in our situation with regard to warlike means. If we go to war with Napoleon, he has now seen the vast importance of American friendship. America will keep at peace while we suffer her unmolested to carry on her trade all over the world. That would *ruin us*. But, on the other hand, if we attempt to prevent it, we shall have to *fight her* both by land and by sea.—Here is a *choice of evils*; but I am not like Sir Francis Burdett's gentlemen, who present him, as he most justly complains, with a choice of evils, and *nothing else*; for, I say, that both these evils may be avoided by our remaining at peace, and leaving the French, and the Italians, and the Neapolitans, and the Swiss, and the Belgians, and the Russians, and the Spaniards, and the Prussians, and the Austrians, and the Hungarians, and the Dutch, and the Hanoverians, to settle their own affairs in their own good time and manner. And the *Portuguese*. I had nearly forgotten the *Portuguese*; and, faith, they ought not to be forgotten; for they have not been a trifle in the list of our expenses, whether of money or of men. Let us leave them all to themselves. Let us leave the Dutch Presbyterians to supply the Portuguese and Spaniards with wooden Gods, and Virgins and Saints. Let us receive the corn of France when we want it, and the wine and oil which we always want; and let her receive our steel, copper, tin, cloth, and other things. But, let who will be the Ruler, LET US HAVE PEACE WITH HIM.

TREATY WITH NAPOLEON.

ALTHOUGH in the present state of matters, with little else to guide one's opinions than the *ex parte* and *partial* statements of his enemies, it would not be well advised to speculate on the views and intentions of Napoleon, I cannot permit the opportunity, which offers itself, to pass, without making a few remarks on the treaty concluded between him and the allied powers on the 11th April, 1814; by which treaty, Napoleon, on the one hand, re-

signed the Crowns of France and Italy, and the allies, on the other, guaranteed the fulfilment of certain conditions by Louis the XVIII, the nonfulfilment of which, it is said, has occasioned Napoleon's return to France.—By this treaty, a copy of which I have given below, it will be seen that the island of Elba, which was selected by Napoleon himself as his future residence, was declared by the allied powers, to form "during his life," a *separate principality*, "which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property."—All our newspapers, in servile imitation of the ministers of Louis, have been extremely forward in denouncing Napoleon a "traitor and rebel to his country," because he dared to set foot on the territory of France. In this they have shewn themselves utterly unacquainted with the political relations in which Napoleon stood to the surrounding nations.—The moment he relinquished the crown of France, she was no longer his country; he owed her no allegiance because he had sworn her no fealty to her. He had made choice of the isle of Elba, for his country. It was declared a *separate principality* by solemn treaty, subscribed by all the great powers of Europe, and these same powers had guaranteed Napoleon's right and title to reign over it "in full sovereignty."—However circumscribed the island of Elba, however limited the number of its inhabitants, Napoleon was as much an *independent Sovereign*, as any of the monarchs who entered into treaty with him.—But this was not the only consequence of the recognition of the sovereignty of Napoleon.—He did not merely owe no allegiance to France, or any other power. He was entitled, in case of any violation of treaty on the part of his neighbours, to punish every infraction of that treaty to the utmost of his ability. This is a principle acknowledged by all writers on the law of nations. It was upon this principle that the allies justified the invasion of France, and even defended their conduct when they refused to treat with Napoleon in the character of Sovereign of that empire. Has Napoleon then done more than attempt to punish the infraction of a treaty? Not only was his title to the "full sovereignty" of Elba acknowledged by solemn treaty, but he was to receive for his own use an annual revenue of two millions of francs.

His Empress was to be put in possession of three duchies in Italy, which were to pass to her son, and his descendants. The members of his family were to receive an annual allowance of two million five hundred thousand francs; and to Prince Eugene, then Viceroy of Italy, was to be given a suitable establishment, in consideration of his relinquishing all claims upon that country.—It is well known, that Napoleon, and all the members of his house, were strict in their adherence to the conditions incumbent upon them by this treaty. It is now said to be equally notorious, that they have been almost all violated by the other contracting party. The annual allowances in money, which were to have been paid by the court of France, have, we are told, been withheld; the Empress Maria Louisa not put in possession of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; and no establishment provided for the Viceroy of Italy. If all this be true, Napoleon has to complain of a manifest violation of the contract by which he relinquished his former authority; and to me he appears to have a right to *reclaim* those crowns, which he surrendered on the faith of the treaty being fulfilled in every particular. To say nothing of the wishes of the people of France, who, I have no doubt, are almost to a man for Napoleon, it would seem that he has an undeniable title to assert his claims in the manner he is now doing. I know of no instance, where a sovereign abdicated a throne with the same inherent right to resume possession of it. His predecessors were generally at the mercy of those who expelled them. They were not in a condition to stipulate for any thing, not even for the safety of their persons. How very different was the situation of Napoleon. In place of *accepting* terms from his supposed victors, he *dictated* them; and the prompt manner with which the Allied Powers agreed to these terms, was no small proof that they considered him still a formidable object. He retired from the contest under the faith and solemnity of a treaty; he returns to it, because that treaty, as is said, has been broken. This being the state of the case, Napoleon appears to me to have done nothing more than all other independent sovereigns have a right to do, if placed in similar circumstances. He has appealed to the sword; and as those

who refused to listen to his claims seem to shelter themselves under the courtier plea that "might gives right," he is willing that the question should be decided on that principle.—But it is said, "that France never became a party to the treaty by which Napoleon's independence and pensions were sanctioned."—It should rather be said, that the *Bourbons* have refused to concur in this, the people of France, it is pretty evident, never having been consulted in the matter. But what is it to the purpose although all France were hostile to this measure? It was in consequence of the treaty and by virtue of that treaty alone, that *Louis the Desired* was restored to them: Had Napoleon not consented to give up his claims to the throne of France, a civil war might have been the consequence, and who can say whether this might not have terminated fatally to the Bourbons?—Besides, by the 20th article of the treaty "the high allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France." That treaty therefore which placed Louis upon the throne, required of France the performance of certain conditions to Napoleon and his family. It was by this tenure that the former resumed the crown of his ancestors, and if it has not been strictly adhered to, every thing naturally reverts back to that state, when it was in the power of the latter to present obstacles to the return of his rival. It may be thought that the allies are bound to interfere, and to compel Louis, in consequence of their guarantee, to do justice to Napoleon. Of this, however, there is little hope; although from what we have seen take place during the late war, it will be no way extraordinary to find the soldiers of Russia, of Prussia, or of Austria, again fighting in the ranks with those of Napoleon.

Articles of the treaty between the allied powers and his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French Empire and the Kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

Art. 2. Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of his family.

Art. 3. The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality; which shall be possessed by him in full Sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted, in full property, to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

Art. 4. The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted, in full property and sovereignty, to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The prince her son shall from henceforth take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla.

Art. 5. All the powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected by the Barbary powers the flag and territory of the Isle of Elba, for which purpose the relations with the Barbary powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

Art. 6. There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced, to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains or rent-charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains or rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such manner that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportion, viz.

	Francs.
To Madame Mere	400,000
To King Joseph and his Queen	500,000
To King Louis	200,000
To the Queen Hortense and her children	400,000
To King Jerome and his Queen	400,000
To the Princess Eliza	300,000
To the Princess Paulina	300,000

The Princes and Princesses of the House of the Emperor Napoleon shall retain besides their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals.)

Art. 7. The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000, in domains, or in inscriptions in the great book of France; she shall continue to enjoy in full property, all her private property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French laws.

Art. 8. There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

Art. 9. The property which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or of private domain attached to the crown, the funds placed by the Emperor, either in the great book of France, in the Bank of France, in the *Actions des Forêts*, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty abandons to the crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and shall be transmitted to the French Government.

Art. 10. All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

Art. 11. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall return to the treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the Civil List.

Art. 12. The debts of the household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the Civil List, according to a list, which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

Art. 13. The obligations of the Emperor Napoleon, of Milan, towards all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

Art. 14. There shall be given all the

necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, or of the Empress, the Princes, and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects belonging to them. The allied powers shall in consequence furnish Officers and men for escorts.

Art. 15. The French imperial guard shall furnish a detachment of from 1,200 to 1,500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor Napoleon to St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

Art. 16. There shall be furnished a corvette, and the necessary transport vessels, to convey to the place of his destination his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

Art. 17. The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him and retain as his guard 400 men, volunteers, as well officers, as sub-officers and soldiers.

Art. 18. No Frenchman, who shall have followed the Emperor Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as such, by not returning to France, within three years; at least they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to these decorations.

Art. 20. The high allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

Art. 21. The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris within two days, or sooner if possible.

Done at Paris, the 11th of April, 1815.

(L. S.) *The Prince de Metternich.*

(L. S.) *J. P. Comte de Stadion.*

(L. S.) *Alexandre Comte de Razoumofsky.*



(L. S.) *Charles Robert Comte de Nesselrode.*

(L. S.) *Castlereagh.*

(L. S.) *Charles Auguste Baron de Hardenberg.*

(L. S.) *Marshal Ney,*

(L. S.) *Caulincourt,*

THE BACHELORS' TAX.

SIR.—The Minister having given the contents of his budget for our digestion, allow me, through the medium of your paper, to enter my protest against a tax that falls peculiarly heavy on a very respectable body of his Majesty's most loyal subjects, called *old Bachelors*. That the tax in question is oppressive, as a legislative act, my history will sufficiently prove; for with every disposition to connubial happiness, I have hitherto completely failed in my attempts; and I doubt not that numbers, besides myself, stand in the same predicament.—To begin with my history: you must know that I first addressed myself to a most prudent young lady, with whom I interchanged vows of eternal constancy; and was near being made the happiest of men, when an uncle died, from whom I had great expectations, leaving me only a small legacy. This circumstance, and the advances of a rich fox-hunting squire, wrought so much to my disadvantage, that I was dismissed by her friends, and at their suggestion, she very dutifully yielded to the son of the chase.—Time, that best soother of human woe, soon performs a cure; and I next figured away with a lady in the fashionable world.—Like the owl, I sunk down to repose at the approach of the sun, and arose at his departure. Every thing seemed to be in a most favourable train, when imprudently settling some future plans of domestic economy, I was dismissed with the epithet of a mean, avaricious wretch.—My next adventure was with a young lady, who, with a moderate fortune, and a handsome person, had secured to herself, at least, a score of humble admirers, when I fortunately stepped in, and she very condescendingly reduced the number to half a dozen, besides myself. I believe I should have carried the prize, had not a tall man of blood, yclept captain, have come in between; and on my excusing myself from standing to be *honourably* shot through

the head, he very civilly took me by the—nose:—this so enraged me, although one of the mildest of men, that I cudgelled him, both to his and to my own perfect satisfaction. For this affront on a gentleman, and a man of honour, I was dismissed as a low bred, unfashionable fellow, greatly deficient in the *Ton*.—Not yet intimidated, I next waited upon a demure looking creature, who lamented the depravity of the age from morning to night. Here I am suited, thought I, no fear of red-coats;—when, as I was one night going to hear her rail against the forwardness of the little misses in their teens, I entered upon her too suddenly, and found her demonstrating the attraction and adhesiou of ladies, to her footman.—I next became enamoured of the accomplished daughter of a rich old farmer; who, feeling his own great deficiency in all human learning, was resolved to make his daughter a prodigy. She could read a page of Walter Scott without lispng more than a dozen mistakes; she could recite a passage in a play with all the grace of the amateur of fashion; she could thump a Sonata on the Piano with most discordant fascination; and she could draw without any fear of punishment from the breach of the second commandment. These rare accomplishments won my heart; when anticipating my union with the accomplished phenomenon, she cruelly deserted me for the irresistible attractions of a strolling player.—Dissatisfied with poems and plays, pianos and paint, I next bowed down to a learned lady, who could harangue in Latin with all the eloquence of a college professor; who could spout Greek with parsonic purity; who could write a criticism on a plain passage in a Greek or Latin author, until it became unintelligible; who could unriddle all the dark meanings of Aristotle; and who could prove, to a demonstration, that the ancients were sages, and the moderns, blockheads.—Well versed in the philosophy of the schools, both ancient and modern. Insensible to externals, even to stoicism; for so far had she carried her apathy, that she had actually written a treatise against the passions, and was one night reading to me the chapter against anger, when the maid servant coming in to prepare supper, unfortunately overturned the inkstand upon some critical notes

on a Greek author, and thus spoiled the labour of a whole fortnight. This was too much for the mild follower of Zeno.—The inkstand was expelled at the head of the terrified Abigail, with philosophic rage; and on my innocently requesting her to conclude the chapter on anger, she gave a practical illustration of her system, by furiously dispatching the treatise full in my face.—Perfectly satisfied with lady philosophers, I next offered myself to a devotee; trusting that christianity would teach a milder behaviour. Here I was dragged to the conventicle, every Lord's-day, three times at least; besides attending conferences, night meetings, &c. on the week day; and if I had not indulged a little mistimed scepticism, I might have been united to the most devout lady in Christendom: but happening to doubt of Serpent-logicians, and Assassators, I was dismissed as an infidel whom, for the glory of God, it would be well to roast into the faith.—So anxious was I to become a Benedict, that I next became the humble suppliant of my own housemaid; a tall, stout, mahogany faced damsel, whom I believe I should have taken for better or for worse: But indiscreetly offending her on the much dreaded washing day, the enraged Amazon, with piousness lost, so obscured my perception, that I was ever after blind to her qualifications.—Having had sufficient experience of the moderns, as a last resource, I poured forth my passion to a rich old Spinster, whom I was near leading to the altar, when the grim tyrant death intruded, and snatched her away from the enamoured swain. I could willingly have engaged with some other antique, but with the mournful event before me, of the instability of life in the aged, I was fearful of too soon being left in a widowed state. Grown grey in a life of fruitless importunity, I had reconciled myself to my fate, with philosophical fortitude, when last the Minister opened his Budget, and thus prevented me an indigence so necessary to my declining years.—I shall be thought to have failed in proving the oppression of the tax, by my history, I shall appeal to scripture, trusting that every good christian will coincide with my arguments. To search for names who have sold a lustre to that of Bachelor, would be an endless task: suffice it to say, that Jesus Christ, and his disciples,

were Bachelors; and if they were intended as examples for our imitation, surely we ought to hesitate on so important a point. That great apostle of the gentiles, St. Paul, not only discountenanced matrimony by his practice, but expressly recommended a life of celibacy, as a virtue; and with such authority, all parliamentary arguments vanish like smoke. That the ladies should not coincide with the wholesome advice-giving, and woman-silencing apostle, is no way extraordinary; but that Mr. Vansittart, the zealous supporter of the Bible Society, should, by the tax in question set aside the authority of St. Paul, is truly surprising. Notwithstanding the seeming proofs of his piety, unless he withdraw this most unchristian tax, we shall be led to judge, that he has allowed his gallantry to get the better of his christianity.

Yours, &c.

AN OLD BACHELOR.

Lincolnshire, March, 12th. 1815.

CORN LAWS.

SIR:—I wish to argue the subject on reasonable grounds, and as there is so much noise about the Corn Bill, I trust you will give place to these few observations.—Before the war, bread was 6d. the quarter loaf; and pray what makes it dear now? Have we not the same portion of land to grow corn on, as we had before the war? Nay, I will answer, a considerable deal more, by the immense inclosure of waste land which, I may say, has been taken from the poor; and given to the rich. They have deprived them of the land, and now they have the impudence to say, that they will not grow corn on it, unless you give them what price they choose to ask. Have we not equally as good farmers as we had before the war; and is not the land as productive? What then is the reason they cannot grow as much corn now, as they did before the war? It is because of the enormous load of taxes with which we are oppressed. I consider all the noise now making by the supporters of the corn bill, as nought but a bug-bear to frighten us—a false alarm—an invention to authorise the establishment of a despotism injurious to the liberties and happiness of the people. The fact is, the war-whoop faction have got rid of the property-tax, and have already laid it upon

the shoulders of the mercantile people. Should this bill pass through the house of their "noble-mindednesses," the burthen, with the head and all, will be too heavy for the shoulders. But supposing the landholder was formerly necessitated to raise his tenant's rent, to enable him to pay the Government demand of 10l. per cent. property-tax, the landholder was not even then the loser, as it all came out of the loaf. Now that that demand is over, let the landholder take off the 10l. per cent. which he put on his tenant, and let Government reduce the most oppressive part of the farmer's taxes. This would be the most equitable way of encouraging the growth of corn, and giving us bread at a moderate price. If we must have taxes, let us have them on any thing else but the loaf. By these means, and these only, we will be enabled to procure a foreign market for our manufactures, without which there is no chance of reducing the price of bread, and of restoring England to its former prosperity. Although I like your reasoning in general, Mr. Cobbett, I wish to know how we are likely, (if passive obedience be the order of the day) to get redress in the event of their "noble mindednesses" rejecting the voice of the people in their petition against the obnoxious corn bill. If the only constitutional mode of petitioning should be rejected, and the intimidating force of an army of soldiers be resorted to, I should like you to point out the remedy, as I am at a loss to imagine one. I am, &c.

March 16, 1815. W. P. R.

DEFENCE OF THE FARMERS.

MR. COBBETT—Amongst the various opinions which have lately appeared on the subject of Corn Laws, scarcely any have been free from an admixture of liberal abuse of the farmers of England, and some of your correspondents have fallen into that vulgar error, for so I must be allowed to consider it; and my surprise is much increased to find your otherwise sensible correspondent Aristides turned accuser of the farmers in your Register of the 25th ult. Amongst some plausible reasons for the high price of corn, he assigns the principle one to be the high and luxuriant living of the farmer, whose family he describes as having forsaken the dairy and the chum, for the

back parlour and the piano; the men for having changed the smock-frock, and carters whip, for the military cut, superfine coat, lined with silk, his Wellington boots, his jemmy rattan, and bit of blood. Dumplings too are forsaken for dainties; and it is reckoned among the number of the farmer's high crimes and misdemeanours, that they feed no longer on ox check and beef legs. I request you my brother farmers to note this. You are to be clothed with the smock-frock, go in high shoes and hob nails, feed on the offal of your produce, send all your poultry, eggs, butter, cream, &c. to market, that the appetite of those who have burthened you with *excessive taxation* may be pampered at a cheap rate, fare sumptuously every day, roll along the street in splendid equipages, and mock and deride the clownish awkwardness which, in their prejudiced eyes, is necessary to the selling of cheap corn. It may perhaps be thought liberal to accuse *Aristides* of wilfully settling one class of the community against another. I must, therefore, impute the false description he has given; to a complete ignorance of the mode and habits of life of so respectable a class of the community as the generality of British farmers. It is not unlikely he may have been entertained by the military fop he has portrayed; and if such characters are to be found amongst farmers, *Aristides* should have been charitable enough to have acknowledged the real cause of their creation and existence, which he must know to have arisen out of the late *wicked, unjust, and unnecessary war*. If he had on this subject reasoned with his accustomed acuteness, he must have known that none put on the military habit with more reluctance than the farmer; that he was induced to become a *volunteer* by the influence of government, thro' the medium of the magistrate and his landlord, by whom he was in many instances, threatened with notice to quit his farm if he did not comply with the military requisition. His family, too, were often invited to the festive board, to join the merry dance; and the female part imitated the dress and manners of their new associates, the colonel's and the squire's lady; if they were tempted to learn the martial air, and the jocund song on the piano, can this possibly be assigned by any sound reason as the true cause why

they cannot sell their corn cheap? Corn has not risen in price more than the oak tree, the deal board, or the tallow candle, and till it can be proved that the increased price of these articles is owing to the luxuriant living of the timber merchant, the carpenter, and the tallow chandler, the advance in the price of corn cannot be attributed to the extravagant living of the farmer. But, Sir, I deny the fact that the generality of the farmers, or their wives and daughters, are what *Aristides* has described them to be; or that their situation is improved by an increase of either their luxuries or comforts. More than a century ago that facetious poet Pryor described the situation of farmers (not as living on ox cheek or beef legs but) as living hospitably, and being surrounded with plenty:

Large oxen in the field were lowing,

Good grain was sown, good fruit was growing;

Of last year's corn in barns good store,

Fat turkeys gobbling at the door;

How strong the beer, how good the meat,

How loud they laugh'd, how much they eat.

Many other authorities might be quoted within the compass of a farmer's reading, to prove their situation to have been that of plenty and comfort, and that they could entertain their friends with true hospitality; nay even jovially, without incurring the reproach of making corn dear. Who can enter a farm house in the present day, without seeing in the corner cupboard the punch bowl of his grand-father, which, when in his possession was often replenished to welcome the coming guest and cheer the weary traveller; but is now only an article of old china to be wiped of its dust, and set up as an ornament of ancient times. The *untaxed ale*, which cheered the countenance, and made glad the heart of man, is now no more. It, alas! is obliged to give way to a thinner liquor, more endangering the visitor with the gripes than the gout. Leaving, however, the description of the poets, and calling in aid personal recollection, I could state instances of farmer's keeping comfortable carriages, principally employed for carrying their families to worship, giving them a jaunt to the market, or conveying them to a family party at christmas; but tho' I am now acquainted with a hundred times as many farmers as I was then,

this convenience is looked for in vain. It is replaced, in some instances, with the humblest buggy, but more frequently with the *taxed cart*; and the appearance of the farmer now, when compared with his grand-father, is that of a pauper being passed home to his parish; he now rides to market or to worship, ginging and shaking and gnashing of teeth.

But why are these comforts fled? It cannot be unknown to *Aristides*, that they are laid aside to answer the demands of the *tax-gatherer*, who threatens to swallow up all our comforts, and deprive us of all our conveniences, to enrich those who are partakers and dividers of the spoil. I am told that farmers drink, and get drunk too. So does the *parson*, the lawyer, the senator, and the statesman. But are we, on that account, to accuse the whole of those classes with this nauseous vice, and charge them with all the mischief and calamity that awaits this once happy country? Such a mode of reasoning would be accounted illiberal and inconclusive. It must be equally so if the whole body of farmers are to be judged by the indiscretion of a few fops and sots. It should also be taken into consideration, Who have turned farmers? It must be allowed, before the character of the English farmer is truly appreciated, that all retired merchants, military gentlemen out of employ, disappointed and unsuccessful speculators, with the remnants of their broken fortunes, must be struck from the list; then I may safely aver that the farmers of England have not abated one jot or tittle in the habits of industry, economy, or frugality, or increased in luxuries. It must likewise be granted, that farmers of enterprise, who have made large fortunes, cannot be considered a fair sample of the generality of farmers. If they have got too rich by turning the desert into a garden, tho' they may in common with other successful classes of society, live luxuriantly, I cannot see how they have made corn dear by growing abundance where none grew before. It is a fact universally admitted, that where several farms have been laid together, cultivation has improved and the quantum of corn much increased; a sufficient proof that this cannot contribute to raise the price of corn.

Having combated these false notions of your correspondent, and others of like

opinion, may I be allowed to state what I conceive to be the real cause of creating a necessity for making corn dear. It must be attributed by every considerate mind to *increased rents and overwhelming taxation*. All our political economists have ascribed the progressive rise in the various articles of life to these causes; but there is no occasion for quotations; we can cast a sum in addition or subtraction: multiplication is brought to our recollection by a increase of evils; and the result of our little arithmetic may be solved by a simple question in the rule of three: If an advance in rent and taxes has increased our expences *fourfold*, what price must corn be at to enable us to hold our farms and retain our situations? The answer is obvious. It is also clear, that, if a large abatement of rent cannot be obtained, a considerable diminution of taxation, and a total riddance of the tythe system, so monstrous, so oppressive and vexatious, there will be no alternative but emigration or a jail. It is equally evident, that there are not only one but many countries where, in mercy to mankind, tythes are abolished, rents one fourth of the rents of England, taxes comparatively *none*; and altho' it is our wish and our pleasure to raise corn in abundance, and sell it cheap to the good people of England, we cannot perform impossibilities. If we are taxed and teased out and obliged to abandon our native soil, we must cross the channel in such numbers that it might puzzle a long headed chancellor to raise his revenues from those who remain. The landlords also will find it difficult to obtain tenants for their farms. As to the Corn Bill now proceeding in Parliament, and which excites such dreadful agitation, I am free to declare that a large portion of farmers do not wish it to pass, because they consider it to be instrumental in advancing the price of their labour, keeping up rents, and *perpetuating taxes*, which ought to be repealed. They are truly alarmed at a peace establishment of nineteen millions a year, and believe with you, Sir, that there is no necessity for such an expenditure; that *this excessive taxation is the rich pasture on which corruption feeds, fattens and grows insolent*. Why then inflame the public mind against the farmer? Why not, to use a farmer's expression, lay the saddle on the right horse? Rather

let the pen of *Aristides* be directed against the common enemy *taxation and corruption*, those co-partners in mischief and misery. Then may we be brought back to the enjoyment of the blessings of our ancient constitution and the constable's staff, instead of a large military force, and an embroidered militia in time of peace. While economy and retrenchment are recommended to the farmer, we will kindly return the good advice, and recommend it to government also as the only efficient remedy for our aggravated evils. Yes, while we are curtailing comfort after comfort, convenience after convenience, we advise those above us to share in the like privations; and while our laborers are bearing with patience a reduction of 2d. or 3d. in the shilling, on account of the reduced price of provisions, let us demand also that the servants of the state should be reduced in the same rate. I could easily point out what a load of taxation the good people of England might be relieved of from this just and well-founded claim being adopted, from the prince on the throne thro' every department of the state and every servant in office; but I shall leave this to abler pens, and as my chief object was to defend the farmers from those ill-founded and precipitate charges of extravagance and luxury which have been brought against them, arising no doubt from gross misconception, I shall conclude with subscribing myself their devoted friend and servant.

R. F.

America Triumphant.

Those vile slaves of corruption, what now will they say,
Who assur'd us, the Yankees would all run away,
Soon as ever they came within sight of our men,
And that England would make them her subjects again.
One would think, they believed these American elves,
Were compos'd of such dastardly stuff as themselves.
They forgot, that their bosoms beat high in the cause
Of true LIBERTY, JUSTICE, RELIGION, and LAWS,
And that one common spirit pervaded the land,
To resist the Aggressions, Injustice had plann'd.
Alas! had our Rulers wise measures observ'd,
Had they ne'er from a just line of policy swerv'd;

Had they treated as men, whom they treated with scorn ;

The beams of our glory had never been shorn ;
We should never have suffered disgrace or defeat,
Nor from those we despis'd been oblig'd to retreat.
From what height of power has England been hurld,

By th' example these Yankees have shewn to the world ;

What a blow to our greatness, how humbled our pride,

To be beaten by those we so often defied ;

The trident of Neptune, our glory and boast,
By injustice, and weakness, for ever is lost.

Could our forefathers know, could they rise from their graves,

And behold that their sons can submit to be slaves ;

That the country, for which so much blood has been shed,

Is now govern'd by those whom Corruption has bred ;

With what feelings indignant their bosoms would glow,

With what grief they would see we were fallen so low.—

And are we so fallen, so regardless of shame,

As to tamely submit to the loss of our fame ?

Is the spirit of Britons become so depress'd ?

Are those sentiments lost, our forefathers possess'd ?

Shall we never awake, 'till our ruin is seal'd ?

Can the wounds of our Country never be heal'd ?

Oh ! let us avert, whilst we're able, the storm,

And abolish Corruption, by peaceful Reason ;

Let the voice of the people be rais'd through the land,

And our Rulers must grant what we firmly demand ;

Let us tell them the Rights that to Britons are due,

That the Many no more will be slaves to the Few.

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

General Jackson's Account of the Operations at New Orleans.

Copy of a Letter from Major-General Jackson to the Secretary of War dated Camp, four miles below Orleans, 9th Jan. 1815.

8th.—During the days of the 6th, and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labour they had succeeded, on the night of the 7th, in getting their boats across the lake to the river by widening and deepening the

canal on which they had effected their disembarkation. In my encampment every thing was ready for action, when, early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my entrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation with which my whole line received their approach—more could not be expected from veterans inured to war. For an hour the fire of the small arms was incessant and severe as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit. Twice the column which approached me on my left was repulsed, by the troops of General Carroll, those of Gen. Coffee, and a division of Kentucky militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion, cannot be estimated at less than 1500 in killed, wounded and prisoners. Upwards of 300 have already been delivered over for burial ; and my men are still engaged in picking them up within my lines and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them. This is in addition to the dead and wounded whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field during and since the action, and to those who have since died of the wounds they received. We have taken about 500 prisoners, upwards of 300 of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally. My loss has not exceeded and I believe has not amounted to 70 killed and as many wounded. The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of the river. Simultaneously with his advance upon my lines he had thrown over in his boats a force to the other side of the river. These having landed, were hardy enough to advance against the works of Gen. Morgan ; and, what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for, with a confi-

dence approaching to a certainty, the Kentucky reinforcements, in whom so much reliance had been placed, ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces; and thus yielded to the enemy that most fortunate position. The batteries, which had rendered me for many days the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned; not however until the guns had been spiked. This unfortunate route had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without hazard, and by means of which they might have been able to defeat, in a great measure, the effects of our success on this side of the river. It became therefore an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object, all the means in my power, which I could with any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. Perhaps, however, it was owing somewhat to another cause that I succeeded even beyond my expectations. In negotiating the terms of a temporary suspension of hostilities to enable the enemy to bury their dead and provide for their wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to as a basis; among which this was one—that although hostilities should cease on this side of the river until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it is not to be understood that they should cease on the other side; but that no reinforcements should be sent across by either army until the expiration of that day. His Excellency Major-General Lambert begged time to consider of those propositions until 10 o'clock of to-day, and in the mean time re-crossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagerness I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted. The enemy having concentrated his forces, may again attempt to drive me from my position by storm. Whenever he does, I have no doubt my men will act with their usual firmness, and sustain a character now become dear to them. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON,

Major-General Commanding.

Hon. James Monroe Secretary of War.

Copy of a Letter from Major-General Jackson, to the Secretary of War, dated Head-quarters, 7th Military district.

Camp, 4 miles below N. Orleans, 19th Jan. 1815.

Last night, at twelve o'clock, the enemy precipitately decamped and returned to his boats, leaving behind him, under medical attendance, eighty of his wounded, including two officers, fourteen pieces of his heavy artillery, and a quantity of shot, having destroyed much of his powder. Such was the situation of the ground which he abandoned, and of that through which he retired, protected by canals, redoubts, entrenchments, and swamp, on his right, and the river on his left, that I could not, without encountering a risk, which true policy did not seem to require, or to authorize, attempt to annoy him much in his retreat. We took only eight prisoners. Whether it is the purpose of the enemy to abandon the expedition altogether, or renew his efforts at some other points, I do not pretend to determine with positiveness. In my own mind, however, there is but little doubt that his last exertions have been made in this quarter, at any rate for the present season, and by the next I hope we shall be fully prepared for him. In this belief I am strengthened not only by the prodigious loss he has sustained at the position he has just quitted, but by the failure of his fleet to pass Fort St. Philip. His loss on this ground, since the debarkation of his troops as stated by all the last prisoners and deserters, and as confirmed by many additional circumstances, must have exceeded 4000; and was greater in the action of the 8th than was estimated, from the most correct data then in his possession, by the Inspector General, whose report has been forwarded to you. We succeeded, on the 8th, in getting from the enemy about 1000 stand of arms, of various descriptions.—Since the action of the 8th, the enemy have been allowed very little respite—my artillery from both sides of the river being constantly employed, till the night, and indeed until the hour of their retreat, in annoying them. No doubt they thought it quite time to quit a position in which so little rest could be found.—I am advised by Major Over

ton, who commands at Fort St. Philips, in a letter of the 18th, that the enemy having bombarded his fort, for eight or nine days, from 13 inch mortars without effect, had, on the morning of that day retired. I have little doubt that he would have been able to have sunk their vessels had they attempted to run by.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW JACKSON, Major-Gen. Com.

P. S. On the 16th our prisoners on shore were delivered to us, an exchange having been previously agreed to. Those who are on board the fleet will be delivered at Petit Coquille—after which I shall still have in my hands, an excess of several hundred.

20th—Mr. Shields, Parser in the Navy, has to-day, taken 54 prisoners, among them are four officers.

A. J.

Hon. James Monroe; Secretary of War.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH AMERICA.

JAMES MADISON, *President of the United States of America, to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting:*—Whereas a treaty of Peace and Amity between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty, was signed at Ghent, on the 24th day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, by Plenipotentiaries respectively appointed for that purpose; and the said treaty having been, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, duly accepted, ratified and confirmed, on the seventeenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and ratified copies thereof having been exchanged agreeably to the tenor of the said treaty, which is in the words following to wit;—

Treaty of peace and amity between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship and good understanding between them, have, for that purpose, appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries, that is to say: His Britannic Majesty, on his part, has appointed

the Right Honourable James Lord Gambier late Admiral of the White, now Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, Henry Goulburn, Esquire, a Member of the Imperial Parliament, and Under Secretary of State, and William Adams, Esquire, Doctor of Civil Laws:—And the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has appointed John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin, Citizens of the United States, who after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article 1. That there shall be a firm and universal Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception, of places or persons. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease so soon as this Treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as hereafter mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken from either party, by the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this Treaty, excepting only the Islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange in the ratifications of this Treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons, which, in the course of the year, may have fallen into the hands of the Officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong. Such of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the Ratification of this Treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made in conformity with the 4th article of this Treaty. No disposition made by this Treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall

in any manner whatever, be construed to affect the right of either.

Art 2. Immediately after the Ratification of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects, and citizens of the two powers to cease from all hostilities: And to prevent all causes of complaint that might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of twenty-three degrees north to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic ocean, as the 38th degree of west longitude, from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: That the time shall be 30 days in all other parts of the Atlantic ocean, north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish Channels, for the Gulph of Mexico, and parts of the West Indies; 40 days for the North Seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean; 60 days for the Atlantic Ocean south of the equator as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope; 90 days for every part of the world south of the equator; and 120 days for all other parts of the world without exception.

Art 3. All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored soon as practicable after the Ratification of this treaty as hereinafter mentioned, on their paying all debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge in specie, the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

Art 4. Whereas it was stipulated by the second Article in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the

Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia; and whereas the several islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the Island of Grand Monan, in the said Bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of and previous to the aforesaid Treaty of 1783, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia. In order, therefore, finally to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two Commissioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz. one Commissioner shall be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and the said two Commissioners so appointed shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said Commissioners shall meet at St. Andrew's in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall, by a declaration or report under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And if the said Commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such a decision as final and conclusive.—It is further agreed, that in the event of the two Commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said Commissioners refusing, or declining, or wilfully omitting, to act as such, they shall make jointly or separately, a report or reports, as well to the Government of his Britannic Majesty as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds upon which they, or either of

them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And his Britannic Majesty, and the Government of the United States hereby agree to refer the report or reports of the said Commissioners, to some friendly Sovereign or State, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or upon the report of one Commissioner, together with the grounds upon which the other Commissioners shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the Commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly Sovereign or State, together with the report of such other Commissioner, then such Sovereign or State shall decide *ex parte* upon the said report alone. And his Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States engage to consider the decision of some friendly Sovereign or State to be such and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

Art. 5. Whereas neither that point of the high lands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, and designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, now the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, has yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominion of the two powers which extends from the source of the river St. Croix, directly north to the above-mentioned northwest angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed: it is agreed, that for these several purposes, two Commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and au-

thorised, to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said Commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points above-mentioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said treaty of peace of 1783, and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked according to the said provisions. The said Commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be the true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, of the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing or declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made, in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth Article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. 6. Whereas, by the former treaty of peace, that portion of the boundary of the United States from the point where the 45th degree of north latitude strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to the lake Superior, was declared to be "along the middle of the said river, into lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water, between that lake, and lake Erie, thence along the middle of the said communication in the lake Erie,

(To be continued.)

CORN BILL.

Finding that it would be too late to present a petition after calling together any part of the County, and resolved myself to state, to one, at least, of the Houses of Parliament, my reasons for objecting to this Bill; resolved to shew, in the most formal manner, that I, at any rate, rejected the *protection*, which has been so much talked of, I drew up, and forwarded to Earl Stanhope, a petition, of which the following is a copy. This step became the more necessary as it was, in some sort, my duty to make it known to the House of Lords, that the High Sheriff of Hampshire had *refused to convene a meeting of the County*, and, thereby, to shew them, that they would have had a petition from this whole county, had things taken their natural and usual course. Upon this occasion I may be fairly looked upon as signing a petition in behalf of a great majority of the inhabitants of Hampshire; or, at the very least, in behalf of the 581 gentlemen, who signed the Requisition. I will now insert the Petition, and then add such remarks upon the subject as appear to me likely to be useful.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, dated on the 17th day of March, 1815.

HUMBLY SHEWETH.

That your Petitioner, on the 10th instant, delivered to the High Sheriff of Hampshire, signed by your Petitioner himself, and by five hundred and eighty one other Inhabitants of the County, many of whom are freeholders, landholders, and land-cultivators, a Requisition in the following words, — to wit: —

“ Sir, We, the undersigned Freeholders and other Landholders, Tradesmen and Manufacturers of the County of Southampton, perceiving, that, in various parts of the Kingdom, evil-disposed, or misguided, persons are endeavouring to prevail on the Legislature to impose duties on the Importation of Corn, and being convinced, that such a measure would grievously oppress the labouring classes, would be ruinous to Tradesmen and Manufacturers, would, in the end, be injurious to the Growers of Corn, and the Owners of Land themselves, and might possibly disturb the peace of his Majesty's Dominions, request that you will be pleased to convene a Meeting of the County on a day as little distant as may be convenient, in order to take into consideration and to discuss the propriety of presenting a petition to the two Houses of Parliament, earnestly praying, That no such measure may be adopted, and also praying for a repeal of laws, hostile to our rights and liberties, passed during the late wars, and for a constitutional Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.”

That the said High Sheriff has refused to call such Meeting of the County, and that, therefore, your Petitioner, deeply impressed with the injurious tendency of any law to prohibit, or restrain, the importation of Corn, has thus humbly presumed to make his individual appeal to the Wisdom, the Justice, the Humanity of your Lordships.

That your Petitioner does not presume to be competent to judge of the precise degree in which the Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers of this Kingdom may be affected by the proposed law; but while common sense tells him, that it must seriously injure these classes of the community, that it must so enhance and uphold the price of shipping, freight, and manufactured goods, as to transfer the building of ships, the employment of ships, the making of goods, together with vast numbers of our best artisans to countries,

where the necessities of life are at a much lower price: while common sense tells him, that to uphold the price of food is to drive from their native country great numbers of persons in search of better living on their incomes, leaving their share of the taxes to be paid by those who remain, and that, too, out of diminished means arising from a diminished demand for their produce, their manufactures, and their professional labours; while common sense says this to your Petitioner, his own experience, as an owner and cultivator of land, enables him to state, with more precision, to your Lordships, the grounds of his conviction, that any law tending to raise, or keep up, the price of Corn, will prove, in the end, to be no benefit, but an injury to the owner and the cultivator of the land.

That your Petitioner has seen, with great surprise, that, in certain Petitions obtained privately and sent from this County, it has been asserted, that the *Expences* of a farm remain nearly the same as when corn was at the late high price. Your Petitioner's observation and experience enables him most positively to contradict this very material fact. When Wheat was sold at an average of 100 shillings a quarter, the weekly wages of a labourer, in this neighbourhood, were from 15 to 18 shillings, and that now, when the average price of Wheat is about 60 shillings a quarter, the weekly wages of a labourer are from 10 to 12 shillings. The price of Brickwork, which was 80 shillings a Rod, or Perch, is now 40 shillings. The price of Smith's and Wheelwright's work is experiencing a proportionate fall; and the price of plough and cart-horses has fallen a full third.

But, there is another great head of expense, to which your Petitioner is particularly anxious humbly to solicit the attention of your Lordships, as it is intimately connected, not only with the comfort of the great mass of the people, but with their political, civil, and moral conduct; namely, *The Poor's Rates*, which, in the Parish of Bishop's Waltham, where the land of your Petitioner principally lies, have been reduced in such a degree, that your Petitioner has had to pay, in the said parish, during the year just now expiring, one fifth less than he had to pay during the last year.*

* In the parish of BOTLEY a still greater reduction has taken place.

with the pleasing prospect of a progressive diminution in this head of expense and in the vast numbers of those persons, who are now included under the degrading appellation of paupers; who, in entering the pale of pauperism, have, in general, left behind them all those sentiments of independence, of patriotism, of love of liberty, of hatred of oppression, for which the very lowest classes of Englishmen were, in former times, so highly distinguished, and have, along with the name and garb of paupers, assumed the tone and the manners of slaves.

For the practical, the undeniable proof, that high prices have an immediate tendency towards the creating of paupers; your Petitioner humbly begs leave to refer your Lordships to the official documents amongst the records of your Right Honourable House, where it clearly appears, that pauperism, kept in check for a long series of years by the native spirit of the people, was let loose like a torrent over the land by the enormous prices during the late wars, which, in depriving men of their food, deprived them, and even their children of that shame which had before kept them from the Poor-List; and, therefore, your Petitioner cannot but view with profound sorrow, that a legislative act should be in contemplation, having, as he firmly believes, a tendency to prevent for ever the restoration of the labouring classes to their former state of comfort, of independence of mind, and of frankness and boldness of manners.

Your Petitioner is well aware, that, unless prices be raised and upheld, it will be impossible for the owners and the cultivators of the land to pay the taxes that will exist after the Property Tax shall have ceased; he is well aware, that to ensure them a high price for their corn is the only means of enabling them to pay these taxes; but, then, he is clearly convinced, that a very large part of those taxes might be dispensed with; that the army and navy, which swallows up so considerable a portion of them, might be reduced to the state in which they were previous to the late war, and that the whole of the public expenses (exclusive of those attendant on the National Debt) might be reduced to what they then were, namely, six millions a year; and thus without raising the price of corn, the credit,

the safety, the honour of the nation, might all be amply provided for and secured.

For these reasons your Petitioner humbly prays, that your Lordships *will not pass any law to prohibit, or restrain, the importation of Corn*; and, as the nation, once more, happily, sees the days of peace, he also prays for the repeal of all the laws, *laying new restrictions on the Press*, passed during the late wars; and, further, he most humbly but most earnestly prays and implores your Lordships to take into your early consideration that subject, which, in point of real importance, swallows up all others: namely, the state of the Representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

W. CORBETT.

Thus it appears to me that I have done every thing which I had the power to do against this Bill, which, I am afraid, will, in spite of all our efforts, become a law.—It is proposed, I see, by the City of London to petition the *Regent* not give his assent to the Bill. I hope that this will be done, and that the Regent will listen to the voice of so large a part of the nation as have expressed their abhorrence of the Bill.—I shall be exceedingly happy to have to communicate to my readers, that the Royal Prerogative has, in this case, been exerted in behalf of the petitioners.—In the mean while, I hope, that it will be clearly understood, that the owners and cultivators of land would *not be gainers* by the Corn Bill. But, if they have exposed themselves to public hatred by becoming the humble cat's-paws of those who want to *keep up the taxes*, I am not one of those who pity them. I have often enough warned them against this; and, if their short-sighted selfishness has blinded them and made them deaf, let them get their eyes and ears open as they can.—They have petitioned and voted to *have their corn made dear*, when they should have made a stand for the reduction of the expenses and the taxes. But it would really seem, that they wish for a large standing army in time of profound peace; and, that they want high prices to enable them to pay the taxes, necessary to keep up this army.—(Sir GILBERT HEATHCOTE, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Mr. CALCRAFT, and some others are exceptions; but, what but the senseless

fauaticism of agricultural societies could have induced such men as Mr. COKE and Mr. WESTERN to enlist themselves under the banners of *Taxation*!—I have been much vexed at the sentiments in many of the petitions against the Bill. The petitioners, always upon a false scent, ascribe the Bill to the *Land-owners*, though they see it *brought in by the Ministers* and supported by all the settled *Ministerial Majorities*, in exactly the same way that every place-bill or war-bill or grant-bill or tax-bill is supported. Can they not see, that it is really a *government measure*? Why do they fly with such fury at the Landholders, who, if the Bill pass, will only be enabled by it to pay the government the *taxes* which it wants to keep up its great establishments? However, as the avarice of some Landholders, and the folly of others, have let them into the snare, let them get out of it as they can.

After transmitting the above for publication, I received a letter from Lord Stanhope, informing me that my petition only reached him on *Tuesday*, which was too late to be presented. "Had it been 'one day sooner,' says his Lordship, 'I would have presented it with pleasure.'" 9

NAPOLÉON'S RETURN.

It is now *Tuesday noon*. The next newspapers may inform me, that Napoleon is *at Paris*, or, that he is *dead*. It is impossible for me, or for any one in England, who has not a faithful and active correspondent at Paris, to be able to form any thing like a correct opinion as to the result of the enterprise of this man of consummate skill and consummate bravery. The newspapers at Paris are as much under the controul of the Government as the black slave is under that of his master. Nine tenths of ours are as completely enslaved in an indirect manner. The other tenth is under the influence of fear. So that, as to the opinions, or even the statements of *the press*, very little reliance indeed can be placed upon them. All that is said about the loyalty of the people of France, about the zeal and fidelity of the soldiers, about the numerous corps which surround Napoleon: these may all be true, and they may all be false as the hearts of those who publish them. One fact, and

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one fact alone, can we rely upon; and that is, that the Official French paper has stated Napoleon to be at *MACON* or *Chalons*, which is in the very heart of *France*, and that no body of troops had yet appeared to stop him on his way to *Paris*.—This fact being undeniable, it follows, that his arrival at *Paris*, and his restoration to the Imperial Crown, are, at least, *possible* events; and, therefore, I shall lose no time in endeavouring to shew, that, if these events should take place, *England ought not, until sufficient cause by him given, to make war upon him and upon the nation who will have now, in reality, chosen him for their sovereign*.—The performance of this duty is the more pressing as I see our Cossack newspapers, especially the *Times* and the *Courier*, labouring very hard to work up the country to the temper of war, even before they know that Napoleon will get upon the throne, and before they can possibly have any grounds for believing that he will not be sincerely disposed to live at peace with us, if he does get upon the throne of France. It is notorious that we once made a peace with him. It is also notorious, that we would have made another peace with him, if he would have consented to reduce France to her ancient limits. Why, then, should we not make peace with him again?—As I said before, the Bourbons may not only remain upon the throne, but, they may be freed from all apprehensions by the death of Napoleon, who, “*coward*” as our Cossack writers describe him to be, has, at any rate, in the most deliberate manner, STAKED HIS LIFE upon the success of an enterprize, which they have all along asserted to have been wholly hopeless. Yes; this “*coward*,” even according to their own accounts, was last seen marching from *LYONS*, at the head of 8 or 2,000 men, at most, and advancing towards *Paris* in the face of more than 100,000 royal troops, while 30,000 were closing in upon his rear!—The Bourbons may not only remain upon the throne, but may be freed from their dread of Napoleon, and that, too, without the aid of an assassin. But, on the other hand, Napoleon may be successful; and, therefore, it behoves us now, without waiting for the result, to decide upon the important question of *peace*, or *war*.—The Cossack writers do not attempt

to state any *reasons* for our going to war. They do not attempt to make out any grounds of war. They deal in vague assertions, and in brutal and unprovoked abuse of Napoleon. They recommend the marching of our Belgian army to *Paris*; and, for what?—Why, “to save *Paris* from the audacious enterprizes of “an infamous rebel.”—By the way, these are the very same writers, who urged the Allies to *burn*, and, not having succeeded in that, to *plunder this same Paris*, which they now (vile hypocrites!) are so anxious to *save*, and that, too, from the man, who had filled it with the very things of which they so laboured to cause it to be plundered! Vile hypocrites!—But, *rebel?* Napoleon is *no rebel*. He was made *sovereign of Elba*. He owed no allegiance to the king of France. By solemn treaty, to which England was a party, he *abdicated* the throne of France, his legitimate possession of which had before been acknowledged by Austria, the Pope, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, and, indeed, all the powers of the Continent. He abdicated that throne on condition of receiving the full sovereignty of *Elba*; and, he was as much a sovereign as the king of France himself. Therefore, it is impossible that he can be a *rebel*. He says, that the king of France has violated the treaty of abdication; and, therefore, he comes with the openly declared intention of taking from that king his authority and throne. His allegations may be *false*; his enterprize may be really *unjust*; but the act, or the attempt, cannot make him a *rebel*. He comes with the avowed object of *conquering France*; and, I should be glad to know what makes this object more unlawful, or more hateful, in him than in any other conqueror.—The *right of conquest* is, in fact, in the law of nations, what the *right of possession* is in municipal law; and, though the attempt may be *immoral*, in the present instance, it is certainly not *unlawful*; and, at any rate, there is not the smallest pretence for calling Napoleon a *rebel*; for he owes no *allegiance* to the king of France, and, therefore, cannot be a *rebel*.—The truth is, it is a *struggle for the sovereignty in France*. There are two men contending for that sovereignty; and, it remains to be seen which of them will triumph. But, it is a question for the *French nation themselves to decide*, and

not for us to have any thing to do with. —On the part of Napoleon, never was a question more *fairly*, more *generously*, brought to issue.—Reader, I beg your attention to a plain, and, I am sure you will say, fair statement of the case. I beg you to divest yourself of all prejudice, and to take up the consideration of the case in the spirit of truth.—Napoleon was represented as a tyrant over the French; the Senate and the Corps Legislative denounced him as a tyrant, and described the people as most miserable under his sway. By the aid of a million of foreigners in arms, in, and on the borders of France: By the aid of an immense foreign army at Paris itself, the Bourbons were restored to the throne, and Napoleon placed in the Island of Elba. The Bourbons have had the rule of the kingdom for a year; they have, as we have been assured, behaved in a way exactly opposite to that of Napoleon. They have taken all his old generals into their pay and service; and, as we are told, they have made the people happy and free.—Now, then, says Napoleon, I will put the truth of all these assertions to the test. The people have had a year's experience of the Bourbons. The Bourbons have had the presses of France, England, and all Europe wherewith to abuse me for a whole year; wherewith to excite a mortal hatred against me in the breasts of the people of France. The Bourbons have had a standing army of 200,000 tried soldiers; they are surrounded at Paris by 30,000 picked men; they have all the Offices, all the military commanders, all the treasures of that great country in their hands; and, what will I do? Why, I will land in France with only 1,000 men; and if the French nation do not, in spite of all the power of the Bourbons, place me upon the throne in their stead, I will be content to perish in the enterprise. Was there ever any thing so brave as this conduct? Did ever man act so fairly, say with such excessive *generosity*, in bringing a question to issue?—If Napoleon should fail; if he should be defeated, and driven from France, or killed in France; it will, by no means, be a proof, that the people were *not* for him; because his adversaries have all the *force* of the country in their hands; but, if he should succeed; if he should place himself upon the throne, is it possible, that

any one; that even the writer of the *Times*, will have the impudence to pretend, that Napoleon is not the *chosen sovereign* of the people of France? And, if it become an undeniable fact, that he is the sovereign chosen by the people of France; it follows of course, that, to make war upon him, without new provocation, IS TO ENDEAVOUR TO DICTATE BY FORCE OF ARMS A GOVERNMENT TO THE FRENCH NATION. This is so clear; it is so impossible to be misunderstood; that a new war against him would expose its authors to the just execration of all just men; of all who do not wish to see the world completely enslaved. Mr. WHITBREAD has, in the House of Commons, on Monday last, touched upon this important subject; and also upon the subject of Ferdinand's conduct in Spain. On the former he is reported to have spoken as follows:

"He desired to animadvert very briefly on the awful news which we had recently received from the continent of Europe. It was probable that the sovereigns at Vienna had thought the exile of Elba gone for ever, and concluded that such hatred of him must exist in Europe for his oppression, that they might *play any pranks they pleased with perfect security*; but their conduct had operated to reproduce him. He was aggrandised by his enemies. He was dethroned by himself. The Sovereigns had now reproduced him; and if he should again be seated on the Imperial Throne of France, it would be ascribable in no small degree to the misconduct of those Powers. He desired to know whether the proclamation, stated to be issued by Bonaparte at Bourgoing on the 8th of March, *was genuine or not*. Persons from Paris had informed him that it was so. The treaty of Fontainebleau made with him, as Emperor of France, gave him the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba, settled Parma and Piacentia on his wife and son, and provided a large pension for him and his family. The noble lord had given a limited assent to it, and it was signed by Marshal Ney. He thought it would have been the best of policy to keep good faith with him, in order to mark the contrast between the conduct of the allies and his own, and to take

“ away from him every possible pretext
 “ for disturbance. It appeared, how-
 “ ever, from his statement, that the
 “ French government *had never paid his*
 “ *pension since he went to Elba.* He
 “ also stated, that the *stipulated provi-*
 “ *sion for his wife and son had not been*
 “ *made,* and was not to be allotted;
 “ and still farther, that an endeavour
 “ was made, under the authority of the
 “ Congress, to *force him from Elba to*
 “ *some more distant place.* Was the
 “ noble lord ready to *contradict all*
 “ *this?* If not, what a case had been put
 “ into his hands, and what an appeal
 “ was afforded to make to Marshal Ney
 “ who was now opposed to him! He
 “ was sure that if he had any thing to
 “ say of the present King of France,
 “ Louis XVIII. in the way of reflecting
 “ on his conduct, this was not the mo-
 “ ment for doing so; but if a person in
 “ his (Mr. W's) situation expressed his
 “ opinion on the subject, he would say,
 “ that he felt the greatest respect for the
 “ conduct and character of Louis
 “ XVIII. ever since his restoration to the
 “ throne. He had conducted himself
 “ with great moderation, and had evin-
 “ ced a discriminating, gentlemanly, and
 “ honourable feeling. (hear). He be-
 “ lieved that what had been done well
 “ in France, had been owing to the
 “ King himself; and that what had been
 “ done wrong, was attributable to his
 “ advisers. If it should please God that
 “ he should be dethroned, he believed
 “ that his conduct would have little to
 “ do with it. He hoped that if the
 “ House of Bourbon prevailed, which
 “ all must wish, there would be moder-
 “ ation in France; but that, if that
 “ should not be the case, there would be
 “ peace in England. He hoped all the
 “ Powers would learn what were the
 “ effects of misconduct. If the Bon-
 “ aparts remained, the lesson might yet
 “ be beneficial. Should Bonaparte
 “ succeed, he hoped, if it was possible
 “ to impress the lessons of moderation
 “ upon him, by the experience of re-
 “ verses, that he would find his interest in
 “ practising them; and that, thereby,
 “ peace would continue. Not a peace of
 “ partition and barter, and traffic of
 “ human creatures; but one in which
 “ the interests of subjects in general
 “ should be consulted as well as the
 “ interests and objects of Government.

“ He had detained the house so long
 “ that he should now proceed to move
 “ an Address to the Prince Regent,
 “ praying his Royal Highness to commu-
 “ nicate to the House of Commons, such
 “ information as might be afforded with-
 “ out inconvenience, respecting the pro-
 “ ceedings of the Congress at Vienna.”
 “—I do not argue with Mr. WHITEBREAD
 in all he says here in favour of the King
 of France, nor in what he says respecting
 what ought to be our wishes on the sub-
 ject of Napoleon's enterprize. But, he
 put a very important question; and now
 we shall see the report of Lord CASTLE-
 REAGH's answer.—It is as follows:—
 “ The hon. gentleman had asked *what*
 “ *line of policy this country should*
 “ *adopt in regard to the convulsion by*
 “ *which France was at present agi-*
 “ *tated.* He (Lord C.) would give it
 “ as his opinion, that on the issue of the
 “ contest depended the continuance of
 “ *all the blessings to which this country*
 “ *could look forward (hear, hear),* and
 “ that it never could be said that if Bon-
 “ aparte were re-established in France
 “ *England could look forward to tran-*
 “ *quillity.* On the result of that contest,
 “ it depended whether the world could
 “ return to that moral system which could
 “ ensure the happiness and prosperity of
 “ nations, or should be compelled to
 “ revert to that military system which
 “ Bonaparte's domination compelled
 “ other nations to adopt. Were that
 “ man restored in France, he should be
 “ glad to know how the continent of Eu-
 “ rope could avoid being again convert-
 “ ed into so many armed nations, as the
 “ only security for their independence.
 “ On the issue, then, of the present con-
 “ test, on the success of the Bourbons,
 “ *it depended whether we could look for-*
 “ *ward to the restoration of the natural*
 “ *order of things, or return to that ar-*
 “ *tificial state from which we had so re-*
 “ *cently escaped.* He trusted that PRO-
 “ VIDENCE would conduct this country
 “ and Europe through the remainder of
 “ its difficulties. The noble lord then
 “ congratulated the house on the general
 “ adoption of representative governments
 “ in the different states of Germany,
 “ and said that with regard to the states-
 “ general of Hesse in particular, their
 “ deliberations had been conducted with
 “ a degree of moderation, talent, and
 “ prudence, that did them credit. As

“ great deal had been done to promote the happiness of nations, and if Bonaparte was not suffered to intercept the prospects which were arising, never could Europe look forward to brighter days than those which it might now anticipate. The noble lord sat down amidst loud applause.”—Here is a good deal to remark upon; but, here is NO ANSWER to Mr. WHITBREAD’s question. He asked, whether Napoleon’s *complaint was just*? whether the treaty of *Fontainebleau* had not been violated? whether the pension had not *gone unpaid*? whether a plan was not in agitation to *remove him from Elba*? This, none of all this, was answered by Ld. CASTLEREAGH, who contented himself with giving an *opinion*, that Napoleon and the Bourbons between them held in their hands the power of making England happy or miserable for ages, perhaps, to come.—This is comfortable, to be sure; but, it is *no answer* to Napoleon’s Proclamation.—Well, but, Spain? What did his lordship say about Spain?—Mr. WHITBREAD had complained of the conduct of Ferdinand: and what was the answer of Lord Castlereagh? why this, as the reports in the newspapers say:—“ The noble lord then briefly alluded to the affairs of Spain, and contended, that *painful and disgusting* as the proceedings of one party in that country were against the other, *we had no right to call that government to account for its proceedings*. He had every reason to suppose, that the Spanish government wished to cherish a friendly connection with this country; nor was there any reason to suspect, that what was called the family compact, at least in its offensive parts, would be renewed with France. Looking then, generally, at the foreign relations of the country, he thought them highly satisfactory.”—Very good, my lord; and, I beseech you, let us apply the same doctrine to France. Let us not talk of war against Napoleon, while he gives no proof of hostility towards us. I grant, that the re-establishment of the *Inquisition* in Spain is no ground for our going to war with Ferdinand; no ground for our interfering in the domestic affairs of that country; but, then, I hope, that you will be pleased to grant me, in return, that the change of rulers in France, if such change should take place, is no

ground for our making war upon that nation, or on the successful rival of the present rulers.—Lord CASTLEREAGH’s language does not amount to a declaration, that we *shall* be plunged into a war against Napoleon, if he should be placed upon the throne; and, I am very glad, that it does not, but, I wish it had been *plain* in the negative; for, I am fully convinced, that such a war would be the most calamitous that we ever saw, drawing into it, as I am sure it would, a war with America, or the instant ruin of our trade and commerce, which, though the nation could exist without them, are, at this time necessary to enable us to pay the taxes absolutely necessary to discharge the interest of the Debt.—Only think of a new war in the present situation of our finances! Only think of an annual expense of more than 100 millions sterling! If Napoleon attacks us. If he attempts to injure England, let us fight him as long as we have the means of purchasing powder and ball. But, if he is ready to live in peace with us; peace and friendship with him and his people let us have.—Perhaps all this reasoning and all this protesting may be rendered wholly unnecessary by the events which will be announced to us, long before this paper will go to the press; but, as the Cossack writers had begun to cry out for *war beforehand*; I think it right to cry out for *peace beforehand*. It is now *Wednesday* afternoon, and we are told, that Napoleon was at AUTUN on Thursday, the 18th instant, in spite of all the forces in his front and in his rear. It is now said, that he has 15,000 men after all the *desertions* from his 8 or 9,000! He is a strange man indeed!—This clearly proves, that there is no reliance to be placed in the newspaper accounts. According to these accounts more than 100,000 regulars, besides national guards and volunteers, were on foot in pursuit of him more than ten days ago; and yet he proceeds without a single shot being fired at him!—A short time will put an end to all speculation. *Thursday* afternoon, The great question is decided. Napoleon has entered Paris without a single shot being fired, except in the way of rejoicing, or the least opposition shews to his resumption of all his former power and dignity.—His whole journey has, in fact, been a triumph.—Every where he was greeted

with acclamations, not only by the military, but by the inhabitants, men, women and children. All seem to have considered his return a jubilee, as a deliverance from some terrible calamity, as the greatest of blessings which could be conferred on any people. The hopes of those men of blood, who were confident that Napoleon could not reach the capital, but over the slaughtered bodies of the National Guards, have been for ever blasted.—Even the household roops of the unfortunate Louis, the tens of thousands of Volunteers who assembled round him; and the “lives and fortune” men, who swore that they would spend their last shilling, and shed the last drop of their blood in defence of his person and government: These all deserted him, and rendered homage to the man whom they had, only a few moments before, denounced a *rebel* and a *traitor*: Napoleon will know how to estimate the loyalty of these supporters of “ancient institutions.”—It is to the *people* that he owes every thing. It was the *people* who at first called him to the throne of France: It is the voice of the *people*, now more united and fervent than ever, which echoes that call; and as long as he retains a firm hold of their affections, which he can only do by making their happiness his principal care; no power on earth, I am persuaded, can shake the stability of his throne. Never, indeed, in the whole history of the world, was there a monarch, with a competitor for the crown in possession of the capital, who obtained the prize with so much ease; or was so cordially received, as Napoleon has been, even by the friends of his rival:—With so many proofs of the *entire devotion of a whole nation*, not satisfy the friends of war, that this wonderful man is in reality the sovereign of their choice?—What better evidence would these wretches have of the fact?—Or rather, do they not shut their eyes against all evidence? Do they not consider war their harvest, to bring about which they would sacrifice every principle of honor and of justice; if it can be supposed that they possess any.—Can it be forgotten how eager they were, when they thought the power of the Bourbons re-established, to involve France in a new war with her neighbours?—How they insulted that *gallant nation*; how they endeavoured to sow the seeds of jealousy, as to her

rising power and greatness, for the base purpose of exciting hostile attempts against her; even when all hopes from this source failed, how often, and how anxiously did they endeavour to create a civil war in that country, by the unprincipled and insidious advice which they gave the Bourbons, to withdraw their confidence from those men, who alone were distinguished for talents, and upon whom only the nation could rely in the hour of danger. The seeming tranquillity, which was about to diffuse itself over Europe, had disappointed the sanguinary hopes of these men of blood; but these feelings were not eradicated. They were only put aside as a reserve, to be ready, when an opportunity occurred, of being again brought into action. The return of Napoleon, they now consider that opportunity; and instead of uniting with thirty millions of people in hailing an event, which, if the sovereigns of Europe studied their true interests, might be rendered conducive to general happiness, they hold it up to view in no other light than as a signal to unsheath the sword, to replunge this country into all the horrors of interminable war, and to draw the allied powers into a new union, similar to that total union which was formed in the early part of the revolution, which roused the whole population of France, and enabled them so effectually to defeat the projects, and to baffle all the attempts of their invaders.—The *Courier*, already anticipating the fruits of this, to them, promising harvest, exultingly exclaims—“now we shall have reason to bless that delay in the march of the Congress, which many were disposed to blame. Had they terminated their proceedings last Autumn, the monarchs would have returned home—their troops would have been reduced to the peace establishment, and the Conquerors of Paris would have been in Poland and in Russia, in Styria or in Hungary. But they are on the full war footing—all ready to act at once.” IN A FORTNIGHT WE SHALL SEE THEM AGAIN ON THIS SIDE THE RHINE. Deeply therefore as we regret this successful invasion of Bonaparte, we see no reason to deplore it.—Unprincipled miscreant!—Are we to be told, after the terrible experience of twenty-five years of murderous war, that a renewal of it is a blessing? Is it possible

to look at the state of our own country, (to say nothing of other states) reduced by war to the verge of bankruptcy, and shut out from almost every other nation as a manufacturing and commercial people; is it possible, I ask, to contemplate so gloomy and deplorable a picture, and yet "not see reason to despond," in the prospect which the return of hostilities opens to our view? Have the bedlamites of the *Courier* and the *Times* contemplated the mighty odds that is now against us? When we entered upon the late war with France, her finances were deranged, an immense load of debt hung round her neck, and her armies were in a state of disorganization. Our finances, on the contrary, were in their vigour, our debt trifling, compared to what it is now, and our naval and military force in the highest state of discipline. France has come out of the contest renovated; we have retired, ruined in our commerce, ruined in our manufactures, and ruined in our finances. The national debt of France has been swept away. Ours has increased to the fearful amount of *One Thousand Millions!* In 1792, it was only two hundred and fifty-nine millions. It is true, our fleets and armies, particularly the former, obtained considerable success in the late contest with France. — But, will all the force we may be able to bring against her, be sufficient to make an impression upon her in her now formidable condition? What has the late pause in the hostile operations on the continent been, but a breathing period for France—a period during which her armies have been enormously increased, by the return of her veteran troops; and (what is of still more consequence to her) during which that astonishing genius, who now directs her affairs, has not only had leisure to counteract that foul treason, which compelled him to abdicate his throne, but to digest and bring to maturity plans for the future glory and security of that empire to which he has been called by the spontaneous and unanimous voice of an admiring and grateful people. We were told that he had become corpulent and inactive, in the isle of Elba; that he had given up all idea of again appearing as a public character on the theatre of the world, and that he occupied his leisure hours there, by writing a history of his eventful life.—Very different indeed, it now appears, were

the objects with which his mind were employed. He felt that he had not yet done enough for France. She had claims upon him which it was his imperious duty to discharge. The past events of his life might have served "to point a moral, or adorn a tale;" but he wished to occupy the more dignified page of history; he was desirous to ensure the suffrages of posterity by deeds rather than by words; a vast field for action opened before him. There he has embarked his all, his valour, his skill, his claims to the homage of a great nation; there he will refute all the calumnies which his enemies have heaped upon him; and there, I, for one, most fervently hope, he will render himself worthy of the high destiny to which he has been called, by cultivating habits of peace amongst his subjects.—It has been with feelings of sincere regret that I have observed an address of Louis XVIII. "to the French army," in which that unfortunate Monarch seems to have wished to attach the military to his interests, by the fears of a civil war, and a foreign invasion. "Think, (says "he) that if the enemy should triumph, "civil war would immediately be kindled "amongst us, and that at the very moment more than 300,000 foreigners, "whose arms I could no longer chain, "would rush from every side on our "country." This proclamation bears to have been "printed from the original in "the King's own hand." To what a low ebb must that Sovereign's affairs have been reduced, when he resorted to measures of such a description, instead of confiding in the loyalty of his people; when he menaced them with the bayonets of 300,000 foreigners, instead of relying on the justice of his cause, and on the fidelity of that nation, who, if what he has all along been telling us is true, were ready to a man to die for him. I am afraid, if the allies should really have an intention to interfere in the settlement of the internal Government of France, that this address of Louis has produced that effect. The reception which Napoleon has met with, has banished from my mind all idea of a civil war in that delightful country; but I cannot conceal my apprehensions, that the language of Louis may be regarded by the enemies of Napoleon, as an invitation again to attempt the subversion of his power, and thus rekindle the flames of war in Europe.

I see that Louis XVIII. on the 19th inst. officially announced to "the foreign Ministers at Paris," that it was his intention to repair to Lille, where he hoped to meet "the members of the diplomatic body accredited at his court." Is it intended at this meeting to arrange with the foreign Ministers a plan for the entrance of the "300,000 foreigners" into France? Have the Bourbons already forgot, that it was owing to measures of this description Louis XVI. was dethroned, and ultimately lost his life? Looking to the past, I cannot anticipate a more favourable result to this new attempt upon France, if such an attempt is really in contemplation, than that which took place, when all Europe combined marched its numerous armies into that territory, for the avowed purpose of regulating its internal Government. If experience has placed at the head of the allied forces more able commanders, France has, in this respect, been, at least, equally benefitted—Napoleon himself is more than a match for any General in Europe; and although some of his Marshals have abandoned him, there are many, who continue attached to his cause, fully capable of taking the field with every probability of success. Then consider the spirit with which the French soldiers must now be animated; the enthusiasm with which the return of Napoleon has inspired them. This of itself is sufficient to conduct them to any enterprize into which he might lead them; but when there is added to this the "love of country," the flame which inspires every patriot when the territory which gave him birth is trodden by a foreign foe; when this noble feeling is mixed up with that ardent personal affection, which the soldiers of France entertain for the man who led them to so many victories, I cannot entertain a doubt as to the termination of the contest.—But should this country, notwithstanding all these considerations, still seek a war with France, where are we to find the means of keeping in our pay, those immense foreign armies, those "300,000 foreigners" with which *Louis the desired* menaced his enemies, and which, it is necessary we should keep constantly in our pay, if we seriously intend to wage war until we finally overthrow Napoleon?—Even with the Property Tax, which the unanimous voice of the nation

has consigned to its deserved fate, we found it impossible to answer the unceasing demands of the allies, without resorting to public loans, the interest of which imposed new and overwhelming taxes not only upon this generation, but upon all generations to come. Are we able then, in the event of another twenty years war, to bear the burdens which must attend it? Is the monied interest, as they call themselves, sufficiently rich to advance seven or eight hundred millions to ministers, as was done during the last war, for the "glorious deliverance" of the countries of Europe?—And are the people prepared to pay those taxes, that must be levied, to meet the interest which such an enormous expenditure will occasion?—These are questions which ought to be solved, and that satisfactorily, before this nation again allow itself to be dragged into a contest, the only object of which, according to our corrupt newspapers, is to restore Louis the 18th, to the throne of France, and to destroy that man, who is already restored by the unanimous consent of the French people.

DECLARATIONS OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE AND THE ARMY.

Bay of Juan, March 1, 1816.

NAPOLEON, *by the grace of God and the constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French.* &c. &c. &c.

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

FRENCHMEN!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army of which I confided in him the command, was by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris. The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte and of Bourgoign, and the

position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoy and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource: it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa, gave up the capital, and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of those two Generals, who betrayed at once their country; their Prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such; that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve. Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard. Raised to the Throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national Government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A Prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law: he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.—Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you demanded that Government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You ac-

cused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country. I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind: I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are your's. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be forever ignorant of: it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. These are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization. Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a Prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a Prince Regent of England. It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing. By the Emperor,

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The Grand Marshal performing the functions of Major-General of the Grand Army. (Signed) Count BERTHARD.

Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815.

NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

TO THE ARMY.

SOLDIERS! We were not conquered; two men risen from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their Prince, their benefactor. Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our true France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would

be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature. They seek to poison what the world admires: and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle. Soldiers, in my exile, I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils; your General, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you: come and join him. Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for 25 years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tri-colour: you bore it in the days of our greatness. We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who shall presume to be masters over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lützen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during 19 years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those Princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the Grand Army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes; those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people, the legitimate Sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies. Honours, rewards, affection are given to those who have served against the country and us. Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your Chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your

interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride:—"And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul plot which treason, and the presence of the enemy, imprinted on it." Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for 25 years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country. By the Emperor,

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

The Grand Marshal performing the functions of Major-General of the Grand Army.
BERTRAND.

Declaration of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, to the French, and particularly to the Parisians.

After an abdication, the circumstances of which you are acquainted with; after a Treaty, all the articles of which have been violated; after having seen my retreat penetrated by numerous assassins, all sent by the Bourbons; after having seen the French Ministers intriguing at Vienna, to wrest from me the asylum to which I was reduced, and to take from my wife and son the States which had been guaranteed to them; from that son, whose birth inspired you with so lively a joy, and who ought to have been to all the Sovereigns a sacred pledge. All these attempts made in violation of plighted faith, have restored me to my throne and my liberty. Frenchmen! soon I shall be in my Capital. I come surrounded by my brave brethren in arms—after having delivered our Provinces of the South, and my good city of Lyons from the reign of fanaticism, which is that of the Bourbons.

Fifteen days have sufficed me to unite these faithful warriors, the honour of France: and before the 30th of this month, your happy Emperor, the Sovereign of your choice, will put to flight those slothful Princes who wish to render you tributary to foreigners, and the contempt of Europe. France shall still be the happiest country in the world. The French shall still be the Great Nation—Paris shall again become the Queen of Cities, as well as the seat of sciences and the arts. In concert with you I will take measures, in order that the State may be governed constitutionally, and that a wise liberty may never degenerate into licentiousness. I will mitigate, to the satisfaction of all, those imposts become odious, which the BOURBONS gave you their princely word, they would abolish under the title of *Droits Reunis*, and which they have re-established under the title of indirect impositions. Property shall be without distinction respected and sacred, as well as individual liberty. The general tranquillity shall be constantly the object of my efforts; commerce; our flourishing manufactures; and agriculture, which under my reign attained so high a prosperity; shall be relieved from the enormous imposts with which an ephemeral Government have burdened them. Every thing shall be restored to order; and the dissipation of the Finances of the State to gratify the luxury of the Court, shall be immediately redressed. No vengeance.—It is far from my heart; the BOURBONS have set a price on my head, and I pardon them. If they fall into my power, I will protect them; I will deliver them to their Allies, if they wish it, or to that foreign country where their Chief has already reigned nineteen years, and where he may continue his glorious reign. To this my vengeance is limited. Be calm, Parisians; and you, National Guards of that noble City—you who have already rendered such great services—you who, but for treason, would have been enabled to defend it for some hours longer, against those Allies who were ready to fly from France. Continue to protect property and civil liberty; then you will have deserved well of your Country and of your Emperor.—From my Imperial General Head-quarters, Bourgoing, March 8, 1815.

(Signed)
NAPOLEON.

Countersigned, The General of Division BERTRAND, Grand Marshal of the Palace, exercising the functions of Secretary of State.

MR. CORBETT—I have observed for some time past a series of letters in your Journal on *Religious Persecution*, by a person signing himself ERASMUS PERKINS, whose writings I consider particularly dangerous. I have no fault to find with his arguments against persecution, because I deem it perfectly inconsistent with the genuine spirit of christianity; nor do I object to the various illustrations he has brought forward in support of his favourite positions; but I think his articles have a mischievous tendency, inasmuch as they are tinged with a *profession* of religion, when they are evidently aimed at the very foundation of it. This writer stands behind the bastions of the Church, and is at the same time discharging his artillery against her, by artfully directing your readers to the perusal of almost every sceptical writer who has flourished since the birth of our Saviour. The principal reason of my troubling you with this, is, that I have lately seen a new monthly magazine advertised, in most of the Country papers, under the title of, "THE THEOLOGICAL INQUIRER," and purporting to be conducted by a person of the same name as your hypocritical correspondent; a circumstance that has deterred me from becoming a subscriber, as I could not form a high opinion of a Religious Journal under the controul of such a man as *Erasmus Perkins*, who appears, if I may judge from the general tenor of his letters, to be a decided enemy to revealed religion, notwithstanding he so often makes use of the phrase, "*our holy religion*."—I shall feel myself particularly obliged, if any of your readers will give me correct information on the subject; or if they are ignorant of the identity of the persons, they may perhaps be able to acquaint me, through the medium of your Register, with the complexion of the work, which will, of course, guide me in forming a judgment as to how far it is worthy my support.

I am, &c.

VERBAX.

Sheffield, March, 20th, 1815.

THE FAIR SEX.

SIR,—Your zealous endeavours to prevent the *few* from oppressing the *many*, embolden me to apply to you on the present occasion; and however your attention may be occupied by weightier matters, I flatter myself you will not refuse a small portion of your paper, to my remarks.—Whether the means adopted by Government for the last few years, have been beneficial or injurious to the country, I will not pretend to determine. Certain it is, that money must be raised for the exigencies of the state; and Mr. Vansittart has considered that men free from the expenses attendant upon a family, can best afford to contribute to this purpose.—Is this a sufficient cause for the sarcasms now directed against women?—Their foibles are exposed and ridiculed, and their respectability lessened, by attacks, which, but for their frequency would be undeserving of notice.—That state of life which enables us to confer, as well as to receive happiness, will naturally be preferred to one of unsocial, though tranquil satisfaction. Nor need the avowal of this preference, raise a blush on any cheek.—Yet am I persuaded, from my own experience, that two thirds of those distinguished by the appellation of *old maids*, owe it to their filial duty, to their prudence, or to their rectitude of principle.—Bachelors, when they exclaim against the present tax, forget that they do not, like the Father of a family, present to their country a numerous and active race, to adorn and to defend it; nor do they, like women, add to the sum of domestic happiness, by those attentions which soothe the wretched, and assist the helpless. Let them then rejoice at the opportunity now afforded them of proving their patriotism; and let not those, at least, among them, who have a mother or a sister to respect, insult that sex by whom they are succoured

in their infancy, solaced in the busy prime of life, and soothed in their declining years.

Tuesday, March, 21st. 1815.

REFORM, WAR AND TAXES.

Mr. COBBETT.—Nothing can be more serviceable to the cause of Reform, than the passing of the Corn Bill, through the House of Commons. The direct opposition which innumerable petitions have received cannot fail to impress the minds of the people with the necessity of radical alterations in the constitution of the Commons' House of Parliament. The people can never forget it. And in all the county meetings, when speaking of reform, (and every political and religious evil relates to it) we must never forget to produce *this fact*, in order to shew to the people, the importance of a true representation, annually assembled. It will be a plain and irresistible argument, which the public will easily understand, and acknowledge. Whenever I think about reform, and constitution, and liberty, I cannot help thinking about America. This is the land of freedom, not false adulterate freedom, but freedom in the genuine sense of the word, civil and religious; and it is to America we must look for the model of a good, free and cheap government. With what scorn and contempt did we speak of this noble republic, but a very little time ago, and now this same *contemptible* republic, victorious by land and sea, stands upon a prouder eminence than all the other nations of the world put together!—What a pity it is, that we should have thus exposed ourselves to the ridicule of all the world.—WHIGS and *Tories*, all were for the American war, tho' obviously one of the most *unjust* that this country ever entered into. The treaty is ratified; the war itself is over, but the *effects* of this war, are not over, and will never be over, as long as the world lasts! There is no event of so much *consequence* to our country. I think America will henceforth be the arbiter of all other nations. All other nations must keep their eyes upon America; and all the lovers of freedom must remember the republic. You are the only public

writer who has taken a just and masterly view of this subject; and you were perfectly right in following your own judgment, and in not taking the advice of those who wrote to you to desist. The government and people of this country are not yet aware of the consequences of this war against free men; and Napoleon's return is calculated to absorb all attention for the present. If war should be revived against France, will the people of England be ready to petition against it as they did against the Property Tax, which tax was only the effect of the war? A short time will determine this and many other questions. Let the people remember that the war is the cause of the taxes; that if the war is renewed, taxes must be collected; the debt will increase every day, and fresh taxes must be levied to meet the increasing interest of the debt. It is foolish and absurd to petition against taxes, and not to petition against the cause of the taxes.

Your's &c. G. G. FORDHAM.

Sandon, March 20th, 1815.

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.

(Continued from Page 352.)

through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication into the "Lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior." And whereas doubts have arisen, what was the middle of said river, lakes, and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of his Britannic Majesty or of the United States: In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two Commissioners, to be appointed, sworn and authorised to act exactly in the manner directed, with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said Commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the state of New York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit: The said Commissioners shall, by a report, or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two

contracting parties the several islands lying within the said river, lakes, and water communications do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of 1783. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the 4th article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. 7. It is further agreed that the said two last-mentioned Commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorised, upon their oaths impartially to fix and determine according to the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace, of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the water communication between lake Huron and lake Superior, to the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods, to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers, forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace, of 1783, and to cause such parts of the said boundary, as require it, to be surveyed and marked. The said Commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And, in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both, or either of them refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. 8. The several boards of two Commissioners mentioned in the four preceding articles, shall respectively have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journals of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of his Britannic Majesty, and

to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorised to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said Commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said Commissioners shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such Commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such Commissioner was appointed, and the new Commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties. It is further agreed between the two contracting parties, that in case any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles, which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decision of any of the Boards of Commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to, as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war, by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or islands, had by such decision or decisions, been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

Art. 9. The United States of America engage to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians, with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification; and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities; provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities, against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly. And his Britannic Majesty engages, on his part, to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to, in 1811, previous to such hostilities; provided always, that

such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic Majesty, and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

Art. 10. Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

Art. 11. This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides, without alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties; and the ratifications shall, be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty, and have thereunto affixed our seals.

Done in triplicate, at Ghent, the 24th day of December, 1814.

(L. S.) GAMBIE, (L. S.) HENRY GOULDSBURN.
(L. S.) WILLIAM ADAMS, (L. S.) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, (L. S.) J. A. BAYARD, H. CLAY, (J. S.) JONA. ROSSSELL, (L. S.) ALBERT GALLATIN.

Now, therefore, to the end that the said treaty of peace and amity may be observed, with good faith on the part of the United States, I, James Madison, president as aforesaid, have caused the premises to be made public; and I do hereby enjoin all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, faithfully to observe and fulfil the said treaty, and every clause and article thereof.—In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the City of Washington, this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirty-ninth.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,

JAMES MUNRO, Acting Secretary of State.

PEACE! PEACE!

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

MY LORD,

The grand event, which has just taken place in France, and which is so well calculated to convince all mankind of the folly as well, as the injustice, of using foreign force for the purpose of dictating to a great nation who they shall have for their rulers, or what shall be the form of their Government; this grand event, instead of producing such conviction in the minds of those persons connected with the London Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews, who are called *Cossack writers*: so far from producing such conviction in their minds, this grand event seems to have made them more eager than ever for interference in the domestic affairs of France; and, while the cries of our countrymen at *New Orleans* are yet vibrating on our ears, these men are endeavouring to urge you and your colleagues on to the sending of thousands upon thousands more of our men, and to expend hundreds of millions more of our money, in order to overset a Government which the French nation love, and to compel them to submit to one which they hate, or, at least, despise, from the bottom of their hearts, and with an unanimity absolutely unparalleled.

My Lord, if my advice had been followed, we should have had no American War; the 20 or 30,000 men and the 50 or 60 millions of money, which that unfortunate war has cost us, and which have only, as it turns out, created an American Navy, and exalted the Republic amongst the nations of the world, would all have been saved. The literary Cossacks of London, were, I verily believe, the chief cause of that war. They urged you and your colleagues on to the destruction of the American FORM OF GOVERNMENT. Napoleon being, as they thought, down, never to rise again, they urged you to make war, till you had

put down James Madison, and "DELIVERED THE WORLD of the existence of that EXAMPLE of the success of DEMOCRATIC REBELLION." "No peace with Madison," was their cry. Kill! kill! keep killing, till he is put down, in like manner as Napoleon is put down! This was their incessant cry. And, in a short time after Napoleon was exiled to the Isle of Elba, these literary Cossacks published a paragraph, which they inserted in the report of the debates in the House of Commons, as the report of the speech of SIR JOSEPH YORKE, then and now one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in the following words; to wit.— "SIR J. YORKE observed, that although "one great enemy of this country, Bonaparte, had been deposed, there was "another gentleman whose DEPOSITION was also necessary to our interest; "he meant Mr. President Madison; "and with a view to THAT DEPOSITION, a considerable naval force must "be kept up, especially in the Atlantic. "But as to his honorable friend's opinion on respecting the reduction of the "Navy, he wished it to be considered "that a number of shipping were employed in conveying French prisoners "to France, and bringing home our own "countrymen. So much for the occupation of our navy on the home station.—But from the Mediterranean for instance, several three deckers were ordered home, and he could swear that "no practical exertion would be remitted "to reduce the expence of our Naval "Department."

With what shame! with what sorrow, would these writers, if they had not lost all sense of shame, and all feeling for their country, now look back on their conduct at the time to which I am referring! Instead, however, of feeling shame for that conduct, they are now acting the same part over again; they are now reviving all their old calumnies against the Emperor Napoleon; they are abusing the French army and the French people; they are bestowing on them appellations almost

too infamous to be repeated; and they are calling upon you and your colleagues to make a war of extermination upon that people, unless they will receive and adopt the ruler and the Government appointed, or pointed out, by England. These men called *Mr. Madison* a TRAITOR and a REBEL; and they are now calling *Napoleon* a TRAITOR and a REBEL. They called the Americans *slaves, villains, thieves*; and these appellations with many others, not excepting *cowards*, they are now bestowing on the French people. They now see that you and your colleagues have found it necessary to make a treaty of peace and amity with *Mr. Madison*, whom they called a traitor and a rebel; but, these men are of that description of fools to whom experience cannot teach wisdom, and they are now repeating their cry, *no peace with Napoleon*: no peace till the Bourbons are again on the throne of France; war with the French until they adopt a ruler in whom *we* have confidence.

There is something so unjust in this proposition: something so savage in the very idea of making war for such a purpose: something so arrogant, so impudent, so insolent, that, were it not for the *impotence* of the persons who make it, it could not fail to fill every Frenchman's breast with indignation inexpressible. Nevertheless, having seen the effect of the writings of these men as to the American War; having seen how completely they succeeded in causing the people of England to believe, that it was just and wise to make war for the purpose of deposing MR. MADISON, there is reason to fear, that their present labours will not be wholly ineffectual: that, indeed, it is possible, that they may again succeed in their mischievous objects: and, therefore, I shall endeavour to shew, that the war, which they recommend, would be unjust and hateful in its objects, and, in its consequences, likely to be fatal to our country.

I am aware, my Lord, of the mortification which is now felt in England: I am aware of the acuteness of the sting: I see how difficult it must be for the rejoicers of April last, the wearers of laurel and white cockades, the roasters of *salutators* (female as well as male) and the "*Gallant*" heroes of the Ser-

pentine River, the crawling worshippers of Whiskers and of Jack-boots: I am aware, my Lord, how difficult it must be for these persons, comprising no very small part of those who call themselves the UPPER ORDERS, *now to look each other in the face*. I am well aware of the fire that must burn in their bosoms, and I pity them accordingly. I am aware, too, of the situation of those public men, who, since the exile of Napoleon, have expressed "their sorrow, that those great "statesmen, *Burke, Pitt, and Perceval*, "were *not alive* to witness, and to participate in the general joy at the *triumph of their principles*." I am aware of the situation of those (amongst whom is the Chancellor of the Exchequer) who have so recently eulogized the Income, or Property Tax, upon the ground of the *complete triumph* which it had enabled us to obtain over Napoleon, and of the fair prospect which it had given us of a long and prosperous peace. I am, above all, aware of the feelings of yourself, my Lord, who have acted so high a part in the exiling of Napoleon, who have been so loudly *cheered* on that account; who, after detailing the grand views and proceedings of the different powers at the Congress of Vienna, told the House of Commons, on MONDAY, the 20th of this month of March, that our great and enormous sacrifices had purchased a fair prospect of happy tranquillity for us and for Europe, for twenty years to come; and who learnt, on the NEXT WEDNESDAY, that Napoleon was again at the head of the French nation, *Louis le Desire*, having already reached Abbeville on his way out of France! I am well aware of the existence and of the powerful effect of all these feelings: but, still I do not abandon the hope, that the disappointment, the mortification, the shame, the blind rage of the herd of Napoleon's haters will not be able to induce you and your colleagues to listen to the dictates of *passion* instead of those of reason, and to plunge your country into a new and fatal war.

There are too objects very distinct, for which the literary Cossacks are calling for war: the *first* is, to put down and destroy Napoleon and to compel the French people to submit to the Bourbons: the *second* is, to secure Belgium to the new king of the Netherlands, who, only on the 16th of this present month,



took upon himself, formally, the sovereignty of the Belgian provinces. I am against war for either of these objects. I think, that, for neither of them, nor for both together, we ought to go to war; and, I now proceed to state the reasons upon which that opinion is founded.

As to the *first* of these proposed objects of war, the case is this. For more than a century, the French people had been objects of contempt with the people of England, because the former patiently submitted to arbitrary and oppressive government, ecclesiastical as well as civil. I appeal, not to our songs and theatrical pieces (though no bad criterion), nor to our paintings and prints; but, to the most approved historical, political, and moral writings in our language, and to the speeches in both Houses of Parliament. I appeal to these for proof of the fact; that, up to the year 1789, the English nation held the French nation in contempt on account of their patient submission to an arbitrary king, who could imprison or exile any of them at pleasure, and to a cormorant priesthood, who, in a great degree, devoured the *fruits* of men's labour. In short, it is notorious, that, previous to the year 1789, *Frenchman* and *Slave* and even *Coward* were, in the minds of Englishmen, almost *synonymous terms*. In 1789, the French nation began to make a *change*, or *revolution*, in their Government, and expressed their determination to have perfect *freedom*. Between the beginning of this year and the summer of 1791, many schemes of Government were proposed: and, at last, one was agreed on and formally accepted by the king. But, in spite of the king's acceptance, his BROTHERS, *Louis le Desiré*, and the *Comte d'Artois*, together with the other Princes of the family, went out of France, and, from places on the borders of that kingdom, issued their *protests* against the King's acceptance of the Constitution. In these protests they declared their resolution to upset the constitution by force of arms if they could, and if force should be necessary. At length, in 1792, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia marched an army into France, under the late Duke of Brunswick, who issued a proclamation, stating it to be his intention to "restore the King of France to his legitimate power," and threatening to inflict on the people the most terrible punishments if

they opposed him. This step enraged the people; they soon after put the king and queen to death. They marched against the Duke of Brunswick and his Germans; beat them, and began that series of conquests, which have made France so famous and so much feared in the world. It is well known, that divers changes in the internal government of France had taken place previously to the time when Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of that country. It is also well known, that he was exiled in April 1814; and, that, while the Capital of France was occupied by an army of Austrians, Prussians and Russians, *subsidized by us*, the eldest brother of the late king of France was brought to Paris from England, put upon the throne, and made ruler of France instead of Napoleon.

Now, then, my lord, let us take a view of *our conduct*, through this series of years, as far as relates to the *internal government of France*. At the out-set, the French expected us to be the *first* people on earth to congratulate them on their newly-acquired freedom, and the very last in the world to find fault with them for over-stepping the real bounds of liberty. They soon found their mistake; for, Mr. Burke, whose profound wisdom the Chancellor of the Exchequer has, within a few weeks, so highly extolled, attacked the French people, in speeches in Parliament and in pamphlets, so early as 1791, two years before the king was put to death. Mr. Burke called upon England and all other powers of Europe to make war upon the French people; and, Mr. Burke, soon after this, had a pension granted him of 3,000 pounds sterling a year.

When France was invaded in 1792, and a great emigration took place from that country, the emigrant nobles and priests were received in no country with so much kindness as in England; and, it is notorious, that we paid them *pensions* from that time to the time of their death, or their return last year. It is equally notorious, that we have employed many of these emigrants, as officers, or soldiers, in our wars against France.

When we began our first war in 1793, we professed to have no desire to interfere in the internal government of France. We complained of her *disorganizing* principles, which, we said, threatened the overthrow of all *regular governments*;

and, that, therefore, our war against her was a war of *self-defence*. Of late years, our tone has been wholly changed. We no longer talk of the *disorganizing principles* of the French. On the contrary, we have, of late years, represented them as living under a *most horrible despotism*. We have been constantly talking of the *iron sceptre* of Napoleon, and *pitying* the poor wretches who lived under it. It was not against the French people, we said, that we were making war: but against the "*tyrant*," as we called him, who had loaded them with chains, and to free the poor creatures from which chains was one of the benign objects for which we and our allies, the Russians and Germans, marched into France.

How stands the case, then? Up to the year 1788 inclusive we despise the people of France, because they are *slaves*, under the reign of the Bourbons. When they throw off the authority of the Bourbons, we call them *anarchists and rebels*. When they choose an Emperor, we again call them *slaves*: and when we succeed at last by the aid of an immense army of Russians and Germans, in putting the Bourbons on the throne again, we say, that we have restored them to *liberty*. Now, my Lord, if I were to grant this latter assertion to be true, I should not be less disposed to object to a war for the second restoration of the Bourbons: because the French people themselves are the best judges of the sort of ruler that they shall have, and because it is now impossible to deny, that their choice is in favour of Napoleon.

If, indeed, Napoleon had landed with a numerous army: if, by any extraordinary means, a considerable army had been prepared to join him on his landing: if, there had existed an insurrection in the country previous to, or on his landing: in either of these cases, there might have been doubt with regard to the free sentiments of the people; but, the country is perfectly quiet; no rising, no disturbances, any where; the whole country is in the hands of Louis's officers, civil and military; and Napoleon lands and rides on to the Capital, not only *without an army*, but in as defenceless a condition as if he had been a private gentleman coming home to his estate. For eleven long years we repented him as hated and detested by the

people of France, whom we represent as suffering all sorts of oppression under him. We represent the conscripts dragged in chains to his armies; we represent the land as become fruitless for the want of tillage; we represent the disconsolate fathers and mothers rending the skies with execration on the murderer of their beloved children; we represent the country as being full of Bastiles and these filled with prisoners like the dungeons of the Inquisition. These representations the far greater part of the people of England really believe; and they rejoice at his fall and his exile. Well, *le roûlé exilé!* It is done. He is exiled. The Bourbons are restored. We are immediately told, that all France is happy; that the government of *Louis le Desiré* is a "*paternal*" government; that law, religion, liberty and happiness are restored to a people, so long oppressed. The Bourbons have the government in their hands for a year; they pass laws, make a new constitution; grant rewards, appoint officers, reorganize the army, garrison all the towns, have all the treasure and all the power of this vast and populous country in their hands; and, at the end of the year Napoleon lands with eleven hundred men, the people flock around him in every direction, he proceeds along the great road 500 miles from Cannes, to Paris, and though proclamations, decrees and orders, and promises of immense rewards are poured forth against his life, not a single man does all France contain to hold up a hand against him! and, amidst the acclamations of millions, he comes, without a sword to protect him, to resume his authority! Ah! my Lord, feel as we will; say what we will, this is the grandest, the most magnificent spectacle, that ever presented itself for the contemplation of the human mind.

Of all the triumphs that TRUTH ever obtained, this is the most signal. For eleven years almost all the *presses* of England, and, indeed, of the greater part of Europe; half the presses of America; the makers of harangues; the political preachers, were at work to cause it to be believed, that Napoleon was the cruellest tyrant that ever blackened the page of history; and, since his fall, the calumnies which have been poured out on him by the presses and the speechmakers of England, Germany, and France, exceed, perhaps, all that were ever uttered before

since the art of printing was discovered. The pencil has been brought into the aid of the pen, in order that those who could neither read nor hear, might imbibe against him hatred through their eyes. And, as if the exertions of the French partizans of the Bourbons were insufficient in that country, it has been inundated with Englishmen and English women, who looked upon it as a duty to their native land to aid in the promulgation of these calumnies. Yet, such had been his conduct towards the people of France, that he had only to present himself to their eyes to blow all these calumnies to the winds. To give to him and to TRUTH this triumph, there were wanted his exile and his return. Had these not taken place, the deep impressions of falsehood would never have been removed. Until now, it has been deemed, in England, almost a crime to express a doubt of his having been a monster of tyranny, held in the utmost abhorrence by the people of France. Did TRUTH ever before gain such a triumph!

These events will soften, if not wholly do away, the enmity of only fair enemies, the Republicans of France. For it cannot now be pretended, that he does not reign by virtue of the peoples' consent and choice, signified in the freest and most unequivocal manner. The light, in which he now stands, is very different indeed from that in which he stood before. He was *chosen* Emperor; but the choice was made, it was said, by persons appointed by himself: that he had all the power and all the treasure of the country in his hands at the time; and, in short, that his election was like some *other elections*, the character of which are too tender to be touched by a pen so rude as mine. This was what was said *before*; and this cannot be said *now*: for, if he be not now fairly *chosen* by the people of France, never was man fairly chosen in this world. In his proclamations he rests his authority upon the will, the choice of the people: he says he owes, and will owe, that authority and his rank to them and to them only. The Republicans, therefore, cannot now have the same objections to him which they had before. Besides, as I have more than once observed, his government, though the Chief be an Emperor, is essentially Republican. No titles but such as are the reward of services and talents; no hereditary ma-

gistracy; no dominant church; no feudal tenures; no privileged orders; one Code civil and criminal, to which all men are alike subject; no borough elections. In short, France has a republican government with a Chief called an Emperor. And, though that government is not yet, and never may be, precisely what it might be wished, it is likely to come as near to the standard of liberty as the character and genius of the French people, and the state of Society in France will permit. This is, at least, my hope; and, if I am not disappointed, is there any one who will say, that the late event is not to be hailed with joy? However stiff the republicans of France must be; however angry that their own plans of government are not adopted, they must be convinced, that, if the Bourbons had remained, their hopes would have been blasted for ever; and that, therefore, as long as the question lies between the Bourbons and Napoleon, it is their duty, upon their *own principles*, to be for the latter. It must give any friend of Freedom great satisfaction to see, that, in all the proclamations and decrees of Napoleon, and even in the address of the Imperial Guard, signed by M. DROUET, the great principle is always put forward, of the *right of the people to choose their ruler*, a principle to which if they adhere, the French will be a happy and free, as well as a great nation.

This event, so honourable to Napoleon, is little less honourable to the people of France. They had all possible temptations held out to them to oppose him; to take him, to kill him. Not a man; not a single man was found to yield to any of these powerful temptations. Threats were dealt out largely on the other hand. They were continually reminded of the great foreign armies ready to invade France: they were told that the Prussian army was advancing upon Thionville: that the Austrians were already at Turin: that 800,000 Russians, with the Cossacks at their head, were on their march; and, lastly, that 70,000 English, with the Duke of Wellington for commander, were on their way from Belgium. The people of France seem to have heard of the approach of all these armies with as little concern as if they had been told of the approach of so many mice. They seem to have said: "Give us, only give us Napoleon, and let the world come in 'arms against us.'" And is it for us, my

Lord, to think of dictating a government to such a people?

There is another characteristic in this great event, which is worthy of particular remark: that is the absence of all bloodshed and violence. The Bourbons were not only suffered to depart without harm, but, they appear to have experienced not any obstruction, or even insult, on their journey. It is no more than just to suppose, that their conduct has been such as to excite no very great degree of hatred against them: but, however good their conduct might have been, we know, that under such circumstances, the persons of the falling party have seldom escaped with their lives. This example of forgiveness seems, however, to have been given by Napoleon himself, who, in his proclamations, disclaims all *vengeance*, and generously repays with a general pardon and oblivion all the calumnies against him, and even the instigation to murder by setting a price upon his head. It will give me great pleasure to find, that the family of Bourbon have experienced no ill-treatment of any sort; because, in that case, the conduct of the French people, upon this memorable occasion, will form so striking a contrast with that of our Cossack writers, who, from the hour of Napoleon's exile to that of his return, hardly let one day pass without inculcating the necessity of destroying him. Their hypocrisy could never make them disguise their malice. It was their object to make the world believe, that he was so much hated in France and the Bourbons so much beloved, that there was not the smallest danger of his being able to give the latter any trouble. It was their object to make the world believe, that he was sunk into complete contempt. Yet, in spite of their hypocrisy, their malice broke out into continual insinuations, that his *life* was an *evil*. What a contrast do the conduct of Napoleon and that of the French people form with the conduct of these writers!

The conduct of the Bourbons was not what they *promised*. They promised, that they would leave *property* as they found it: and, they immediately set to work to restore part of the National Property to the Emigrants, who had been abroad, if not serving against France, for 25 years. They promised that there should be *liberty of the press*; and, they immediately put that press under a *censorship*, while

they imprisoned and fined many of the printers and public writers. They promised that in matters of *religion* all men should be free to follow their own opinions, as they had been before: and, they punished men for promulgating religious opinions contrary to those professed by the priests. One man, in particular, was *imprisoned for five years* for uttering what was termed *blasphemous language*, and that, too, in a country where the King was daily creating men *Knights of the Holy Ghost!* It is from our own newspapers: from the mouths of the friends of the Bourbons, that we have this account of their conduct: and, when I heard of the landing of Napoleon, the first thought that came athwart my mind was, that now those men who had been imprisoned for LIBELS would be restored to freedom, an object worth, of itself, a little revolution. The truth is, that, from the moment the Bourbons landed in France, our Cossacks were engaged in instigating them to acts of oppression. They pointed out to them victim after victim: they dictated to them whom they should punish and whom they should reward. The Bourbons were beset with these English dictators, whose will they appear to have but too faithfully obeyed. But, the better, the less offensive, the conduct of the Bourbons was, the greater is the triumph of Napoleon: for, it is now certain, that however *good* they might be, the French nation had found him to be *better*.

Much has been said, in our daily vehicles of falsehood, of the ill-treatment, which the English people in France have experienced. If this be true, as I hope it is not, it has, without doubt, been owing to their restless tongues; to that incessant abuse of Napoleon, which they learnt at home, and which they must have been impatient to perceive was not in fashion in France. In general they would naturally be of that description of persons, who went to enjoy the spectacle of seeing the French nation again subjected to the sway of the Bourbons: to indulge in the vindictive joy of seeing the conquerors of Europe subjected to the sway of those who had been protected by England. It is very probable, that, amongst all the feelings which have operated in favour of Napoleon's return, those excited by English arrogance have not been the most feeble and ineffective.

And, my Lord, I think we may be well assured, that, if there were still wanting any thing to endear him to the people of France, that thing would be an attempt, on our part, to drive him again from his throne.

It was said, during the war against the French Republic, that we did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of France: but, that, *our own safety* required us to war against those whose principles, if we were at peace with them, would subvert our excellent constitution in Church and State. It is curious to observe how the same sort of doctrine is cooked up again, or as the French would call it, *rechauffé*, for the present occasion. We do not want, not we, now to interfere in imposing a Government upon the French; they might have Napoleon to scourge them for their sins, and we should be glad of it; but, we must *take care of ourselves*: and, as he is a dangerous man to us, we ought to march into France ourselves, and call out all our Russian and German allies to go along with us, to compel the French people to take back the Bourbons, who are a good and peaceable sort of people. In other words, we do not pretend to have a right to *dictate* a Government to the people of France; but, unless they take the Government that we choose for them, we have a right to *go to war with them*. With persons, who have the folly, or the impudence, or both, to hold such a doctrine it would be useless to attempt to remonstrate; but, your Lordship will, doubtless, look back a little at what the late wars have cost us. We did, indeed, place the Bourbons on the throne of France, at the end of 21 years of war; but, in what a condition has the enterprize left us? Are we prepared to add another 700 millions to our National Debt? Are we prepared to continue the Property Tax? Are we prepared for 21 years more of sacrifices?

There is something truly ominous in the similarity of the state of things now to that of things in 1792. The French Princes were then hovering on the Northern frontier of France; they were then hoisting the white flag at Coblenz; and we are told, that they are now to hoist it at Brussels. The Austrians and Prussians were then marching to their aid; and, we are told, that they are now to march to their aid. Is it not evident,

that, if there wanted any thing to unite the people of France; to give them a degree of alacrity and of courage greater than ever were witnessed in any other people, it would be a repetition of the attempts of 1792 and 1793? I know, that it is said, that the Powers of Europe are better prepared, than they were in 1793; that their armies are all on foot; and that they have not forgotten that they have very recently marched to Paris. Granted that they be ready, and that we be ready with the necessary *subsidiés*. But, let it be borne in mind, that Napoleon has 2, if not 300,000 veteran troops in France *more* than he had last year; that the treaty, which his presence of mind, his deep diplomacy, pointed out to him, has restored to him such an army as the world never before saw; that he has obtained by that treaty more means than he, at any one time, ever before possessed; and that, along with these immense means, he has in the eyes of all the world, but especially in those of France, acquired a reputation and has obtained claims to greater confidence than at any former period of his wonderful career. His restoration, and more particularly the manner of it, clearly shews to every one, that he can place implicit reliance on his people. He needs no garrisons in the interior; scarcely a guard at Paris; all the mighty means of France he may safely draw towards the frontiers, and there pour them forth upon the first assailant. Very different indeed, then, is the situation of France from what it was in March and April 1814. In short, the conquerors of Amsterdam, Berlin, Hanover, Vienna, Rome, Madrid and Moscow are all again, and that, too, under the same chief, ready to repeat their march; and let the blame fall on those, who shall give them any fair pretence for the repetition. For my part, I am for giving them no pretence at all, and, therefore, I am against all attempt at interference, even in words, in the internal affairs of France. I am for none of the half hostile measures of 1792; I am for cordially receiving his ambassador, if he send any, and, in short, for doing every thing consistent with our honour, calculated to prevent a renewal of war.

With regard to the other proposed object of war; namely, *the securing of*

Belgium to the new king of the Netherlands, we do not yet know, that Napoleon will demand the restoration of those provinces to France. But, I will frankly confess, that I believe, that he never will rest satisfied until he has obtained that restoration, in the desire to effect which object he will be heartily joined by the whole of his people. The question, then, is, ought we to go to war with him if he demand, and if he endeavour by force to effect, that restoration? I say, NO. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that we ought immediately to withdraw our army; to send home the Hanoverians; and to leave the Belgians and even the Dutch to defend their country against the French, or, again to unite themselves to the French.

I know how some people will stare and blow out their cheeks and snap their mouths at this, as if they were going to bite one's head off: but, you, my Lord, who are a cool, sensible man, are aware, that, if I can offer any solid reasons for this opinion, the opinion ought to have some weight, and that it *will* have some weight. In order that these reasons may have their fair chance, I must trouble your Lordship with a few preliminary remarks. I know that I am here about to attack your Lordship's darling project; that you will cling to it like the fond parent to an only child: but attack it I must, seeing in it, as I do, the cause of endless war, expense and misery.

By Belgium I mean all that country, which, it seems, has, by the Congress, been taken from France and given to the new King. It is not all *properly* so called: but, one name is better than three or four, if it answers all our purposes as well. This Belgium, before the French Revolution, belonged to the House of Austria. It was conquered from that House by the brave and insulted Republicans of France, who also conquered other countries, not belonging to the House of Austria. By and by, peace was made between these powers. *Austria confirmed Belgium to France by treaty, and received from France other of her conquests in return.* This was nearly twenty years ago. Belgium has belonged to France from that time to the month of May last, when the *King of France*, by the Treaty of Paris, concluded while the Russian and German Armies were there, *gave it up to be disposed of as the Congress*

should determine. And, we must observe here, that Napoleon might have retained his throne, if he would have consented to do the same thing. He refused; the war was pushed on; he was overpowered and exiled: and *Louis le Desiré* gave up to us and our allies that Belgium, which had been won by France, during the time that he was absent from France. So that, it must be evident, to lose this part of their Empire must be very galling to the French.

But, you will say, and with very good reason; what is their soreness to us, if it be for *our good* to keep them out of Belgium? Now, my Lord, I do not say, that it is not *desirable* to us, that the French should be kept out of Belgium; but, I am convinced, that it would be much better for us that Belgium should return under the sway of France, than that it should belong to a power, which, without our aid, *without our constant assistance*, never can keep it for any length of time. When Belgium belonged to the House of Austria, then, indeed, there was a power with half a million of soldiers at its command to defend Belgium. This power was *unable* to defend it; and, if such a power could not keep it out of the hands of France; if Austria was glad to get rid of the burthen of its defence, how is it to be defended by "the King *of the United Netherlands*," who took the Royal title on him only on the 16th instant, and who has been made a *King* in that Holland, which was before so proud of its Republican institution and liberties.

Belgium, we are told, is a *barrier* against France. A barrier to protect *whom*, and *what*? For an answer to this question, I will refer to your memorable Speech, made on the very day on which the Emperor Napoleon entered Paris. Your reporter makes you say, in that speech;—"With respect to Holland, it was evident—"that nothing could be of greater importance to this country, than that France—"should not have a continuity of sea-coast—"extending along the whole of the Netherlands. He had the satisfaction to say,—"that the Allied Powers on the Continent—"were not more convinced of the importance of this point to us, than to themselves; and therefore all were agreed—"that the union of the Netherlands with—"Holland was one of the most important—"improvements of the face of Europe in—"modern times. Neither was it consider-

"ed by them as a concession to Great Britain, or to the Prince of Orange in particular, but was most cordially listened to as a means of *strengthening the equilibrium of Europe*. A kingdom would thus be formed powerful in all the resources of soil, commerce, navigation, and military strength; and he had the satisfaction of stating that no Sovereign ever resumed the exercise of his functions who displayed more industry and talent in calling forth all the resources of Holland, and uniting into one, its various parties, than the Prince of Orange had done. He hoped that this kingdom would be sufficiently strong, both from nature and art, *and in future to be able to resist any assault either from the north or the west, at least until other powers came forward to its support*. He trusted it would not be supposed that any *undue concessions* had been made, with the view of obtaining an *increase of territory to Hanover*. On this point there had always been some degree of jealousy in this country; but he was rather inclined to think that Hanover had generally speaking *suffered more than she gained from the connection*. Its people had recently proved themselves faithful supporters of Great Britain; and he would say, that there had not been a more efficient, more faithful, and honest body of men in our service than the *Hanoverian Legion*; they amounted to not less than 12,000 men, to which number they had always been kept up by voluntary enrolment, and it was not too much to say, that the absence of such a corps might have had a most injurious effect on our military exertions. The preservation of the importance of Hanover, as a constituent state of Germany, should, therefore, *be dear to us*, as well in this point of view, as from its *connexion with our reigning family*. The increase of territory she had received, *tended to consolidate her connexion with this country*, by the extent of sea coast which it gave her: while liable to be intercepted from this country, her efficiency was less considerable. From the moment she was also *in close contact with Holland for an extent of 150 miles*, this naturally contributed to *strengthen and protect her*. Neither was this a connection of which our continental allies were at all disposed to feel jealousy. They were thoroughly convinced

"that no interest was felt so strongly in this country, as the conservation of the general liberties of Europe."

Such, then, is to be the use of Belgium! Belgium is to cover the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands is to cover the Kingdom of Hanover, "which should be very dear to us!" I will pass over your episode on the *Hanoverian Legion* and on the character of the Prince of Orange, as matters too high for my pen; but, really, I cannot refrain from saying, that this scheme, this darling scheme, which you seem to think so advantageous to England, and the account of which seems to have given so much pleasure to your Honourable Hearers; seems to have wrapt them in wonder at your surprising skill, penetration, and grandeur of views; I cannot refrain from saying, that this scheme appears to me to be one of the weakest that ever entered the head of mortal man; and, which is a great deal worse, fraught with endless calamities to England, because it *must* be a source of continual war and expence.

You say, that this new Kingdom (which by the bye, has not yet actually been organized) will be able to "*resist any assault*," at least "*till other powers can come to its support*." So this King, like a Watchman, is, when danger approaches, to spring his rattle, and call others in to his assistance! My good Lord! pray keep yourself cool; but, really, such a scheme! such a scheme was never before thought of in this world.

I will not enquire, whether the Belgians, the Dutch, and the Hanoverians would be better off under these arrangements, than if they were under the French; and, I will, for argument's sake, allow, that if Belgium be yielded to the French, the Kingdoms of the Netherlands and of Hanover will soon be blown into very thin air. But, what I contend for is, that, to keep Belgium from France *England must constantly keep on foot a great army in the country*; rather than which, it is my opinion, that we ought to suffer the French to regain, not only those countries, but *all* the countries which they possessed in 1813. I am far from wishing, that they should possess all those countries; but it would be preferable to our being involved in continual war.

In truth, my Lord, military achievements have turned our heads. We have

gone on from step to step, till, at last, we really seem to conceit ourselves a greater *military* than we are a *naval* power. Too many amongst us seem to look with sorrow on any thing which shall deprive us of all excuse for keeping up a great army. Never was there seen so much reluctance to lay aside the gorget and the sash. We have fallen into a set of notions quite foreign from all our former notions. We are military-mad; and, in the midst of the rage, we seem almost to forget the *fleet*, the defence which reason and nature so clearly point out to us.

Continental connexions, against which our forefathers were so anxious to guard, are now really sought after with eagerness; and, indeed, full of the notion that it was *we*, who reduced France, we seem to think it necessary, that we should become almost an integral part of the continent. To defend the kingdom of Hanover, we must first defend the King of the Netherlands. To defend the kingdom of the Netherlands we must *constantly* keep a large army on foot in the Netherlands, and more troops ready to go to the assistance of that army. That country must always be filled with troops in our pay, in peace, or in war. And, is this nation in a state to support such an expense?

Shall I be told, that no peace can be *safe* which leaves Belgium in the hands of France? You, my Lord, will hardly tell me so, who defended the *peace of Amiens*, which left *Belgium in the hands of France*; nor will the Earl of Liverpool, who *made* that treaty, and who contended, in its defence, that the *extension of territory* which France had gained *had not rendered her more formidable to us*. Come back, then, to your former doctrines: disclaim all connexion with a continent where we never can have power without the ruin of this island; and then we shall have peace; the fund-holders will be paid; our fleet will still be our bulwark: we shall prosper and shall be as great as France.

But, if war is again to be our lot; if we are to send out armies to fight amidst the fortresses of Belgium; if millions are to be expended in the kingdoms of the Netherlands and of Hanover; if a war without prospect of termination; and almost without a clearly defined object is to be our lot, whence are the means to come? What new sufferings are in store for us?

It is well known to your Lordship, that the rejoicing of the people at the late peace arose chiefly from the hope of their being relieved from the long-endured burdens of the war. It is well known to you, that, even in *peace*, our resources, without the war taxes are insufficient. It is well known to you, that *loans* are in contemplation to supply, in part, in *peace*, the absence of the Property Tax. What, then, is to be the fate of the fund-holder, if a new war is now to be our lot?

However, I perceive, and I perceive it with indignation, that there are persons, who are willing to sacrifice even the fund-holders, to send them forth to beg, to spread general ruin and misery over the country, rather than not enter into a new war. I have seen the following alarming words, printed in a very conspicuous manner in the *Courier* Newspaper of Tuesday last. They are words which every man in England ought to see; and which ought to draw forth the unanimous voice of the people, in a constitutional manner, against entering upon any war, not absolutely necessary to the safety of the country and His Majesty's crown.

"In contemplating so great an evil, as war under any circumstances must be, though it may be a blessing by comparison, our means of maintaining the contest should be considered. And first, the war, independent of its justice and necessity, will have the *public* voice on its side, even more than in France it can have. Our *naval and military men* with their connexions, forming nearly as large though not so absolute a part of the governing class of society, will *meet war with smiles*. Our landed gentry and farmers will *secretly welcome it*, as it brought them so much *profit before*. Our shipping and commercial interests it will, as hitherto, favour, while our navy secures us the *sovereignty of the seas*. Our artizans and labourers had their *wages raised* during the late contest. Even our manufactures will prosper, with the Continent of Europe and *America open*.—*ANNUITANTS* will, indeed, suffer by the progress of taxation: but that is the consequence of their *taking themselves out of the circle of activity, of productive wealth, and of national prosperity*. In the *revolutions of property* the *DRONES OF THE STATE* WILL NATURALLY FALL TO

"THE BOTTOM. The nation has prospered under a war, and may do so again, notwithstanding the predictions of croakers a thousand times falsified. Internally Britain has enjoyed perfect tranquillity, improvements and riches encrassing in every part. If war then be forced upon us, let us weigh the advantages as well as the disadvantages with which we shall enter upon the contest. The only ground of uneasiness will be in our FINANCES; but these with a prudent and skilful management may be made, with their usual ELASTICITY, to *adapt themselves to the occasions*, as they arise."

Such, my lord, is the language of the great partizans of war. You see, they are already paying the way for a seizure of the *funded property* by stigmatizing the owners as DRONES OF THE STATE, whose fall to the *bottom* they seem to contemplate without the smallest degree of pain or inquietude. In short, rather than not gratify their vindictive feelings against the ruler and the people of France, they seem perfectly ready to involve England in all the miseries of *Revolution*; for, I am sure your lordship wants nothing from me to convince you, that the measures here plainly hinted at would plunge the country into general confusion and blood-shed.

Whether the "*public voice*" will be for war we shall, probably, soon see, but, who would have expected to hear those, who are accusing Napoleon of a *design* to go to war to gratify his army, urging you to go to war, because war will please our *naval and military men*! and because (as it is *falsely* asserted) war will gratify the *cupidity* of landholders, farmers, ship-owners, merchants, and manufacturers! Was there ever before urged such reasons in justification of war?

But, my lord, long as this address to you already is, there is one view of this impending danger, to which I must yet beg leave to call your serious attention.

It is said, that "war will, as hitherto favour our shipping and commercial interests, while our navy secures us the sovereignty of the seas." And, afterwards, it is said, that our "Manufacturers will prosper with the continuance of Europe and America open."

Does not the very name of *America*, coupled with that of *war* in Europe, give

rise to a thousand thoughts in the mind of your Lordship? Do you not see the rising navy in the mouths of the Susqueanah and the Hudson?—In short, what Englishman can look *that way* without alarm? It is well known, that our commerce and shipping, during the last war, were supported by the restrictions, which our navy enabled us to impose on the commerce and navigation of *neutrals*, and especially on those of America. It is well known, that, had we not claimed the sea as our own, and exercised our power there accordingly, our commerce and navigation must have dwindled into a very small compass, and that those of America would have been swelled to an enormous size, while France, open to the shipping and commerce of America, would have experienced little injury from the power of our navy.

Well, then, is it to be believed, when we look at the progress and conclusion of the American war, that we shall again attempt those restrictions on her commerce and navigation? This is not to be believed; and, if we were to attempt them, is it to be believed, that we should not instantly find America a party in the war against us? The late event in France, will excite, in America, joy unbounded, and especially amongst those against whom the malicious shafts of the editors of our newspapers were levelled. When they hear these men describe Napoleon as a "*traitor* and a *rebel*," they will recollect, that the very same men described the President, their constitutional Chief Magistrate, as "*a traitor* and "*a rebel*," and that they called upon his fellow citizens, who had freely chosen him, to depose him and kill him. The Americans, my Lord, are not to be made believe, that Napoleon has forced himself upon the French nation; they are not to be made believe, that he has none but the army on his side; they are not to be made believe, that he is merely the head of "*a band of Janisaries*;" they are not to be made believe, that, with a mere handful of soldiers, he could have marched from Cannes to Paris, unless he had been the man of the people; they are not to be made believe, that the Bourbons would have fled from a throne and from the sovereignty over 30 millions of people, unless they had been convinced, that that people were on the side of Napoleon; they are not to be made

believe all, or any, of these things; but they will see, in this event, a proof of the fact, of which fact some of them before doubted, that Napoleon reigns in virtue of the love and the choice of the French nation.

The American Government will, for a while, at least, be disposed to remain at peace with us; but we may be well assured, that it will never again submit to any restrictions on its commerce and navigation, not warranted by the well-known and universally acknowledged law of nations; and, it would not be at all surprising, if it should lean very strongly towards France, if we were to make war upon the latter for the purpose of dictating a Government to her in direct opposition to her will, now so clearly declared.

Here, therefore, is a difficulty, which we had not to contend with in the last war. These *prizes*, which this writer holds out as a bait to our naval officers and their connexions, would not be so numerous. Indeed they would be very few in number. The commerce of France would, to a great extent, be carried on in American ships. America would be the carrier for both nations. The increase of her navigation would signify nothing at all to France; indeed, France would rejoice at it, because it would be tremendously dangerous to us.

Let no flatterer persuade your Lordship, that the Americans are to be either wheedled or corrupted. They love *peace*; but they are a wise people, and they will well know, that they must provide for war. The last year has taught them, that they must depend solely on their arms. They will remember the flames at Frenchtown, Stonington and Washington. They will remember their sufferings from the hands of our Indian allies. They will remember our considering their naturalized citizens as *traitors*. But, above all things, they will remember this: that, the moment Napoleon was down, and we had no enemy to contend with in Europe, our newspapers inculcated the necessity of *subduing* America; of *punishing* her; of *destroying her form of Government*; of *dividing her States*; of getting rid of this *example* of the success of *Democratic rebellion*. They will remember, too, that our presses called their *President* a *traitor* and a *rebel*; that they *vowed never to have peace with*

him; that they called upon the people to kill him. They will remember, that even the Prime Minister, in his place, stated, that, from the kind treatment of our prisoners of war in America, it appeared that a part, at least, of the people of that country *wished to put themselves under his Majesty's protection*. They will be well convinced, that from *utter ruin and subjugation* they have been preserved by the wisdom of their Government, the patriotism of themselves, and the skill and bravery of their navy and army; and not by any forbearance on our part. In short, when we look back to what has passed during the last year, can we, if we go to war with Napoleon, suppose it *wonderful* if the Americans prepare themselves *immediately* for taking any advantage of any circumstances, which that war might offer, to deal us such a blow as would, for ever after, put it out of our power to bring their independence into danger?

The return of Napoleon will necessarily produce great satisfaction in America; because, the Bourbons were essentially her enemies. Talleyrand had lent his aid to the annihilation of the last of *Republics* in Europe. All Europe seemed to be bound down *for ever*, or at least, *for ages*, within the lines and limits of the monarchs at Vienna. They and their ministers, without reference to the wishes of any body of people, inhabiting any of the transferred countries, had disposed of the whole at their will. All the ligatures were prepared and put in their places, the tying of the last knot being all that was wanted. Your Lordship says, that this was done with the sole view of insuring long tranquillity and happiness to Europe. I dare say it was; but different men view the same transactions in a different light. America would see this grand work with great pain; and, of course she would rejoice at that event which, in a moment, has snapped all the ligatures and blown them to the winds. Our great naval power, and especially the disposition which we have evinced to use that power, when occasion offered, against the commerce, the shipping, and even the soil of America, will naturally induce her to wish to see us enfeebled. It will be impossible for an American to look back to the flames of Washington and the plunder of Alexandria, without wishing earnestly to see our

power reduced. And, in this temper of mind, is it not to be feared, is it not to be expected, that, if we are at war with Napoleon only a few years, some occasion will be seized on by America to assist in reducing us to a state which will relieve her from all future apprehension of hostility from us? Napoleon, who has now seen of what stuff America is made, of what importance she is, and of what greater importance she will be, and *must* be, in the world, will take special care to cherish her friendship, to gratify her merchants and traders, to treat her Government with respect. America and France have no objects of *rivalship*. Neither is *afraid* of the other. The products of one are wanted by the other. The growth of the power of each tends to the good of both. Both, from unhappy circumstances and events, are the bitter enemies of England; and, if we go to war with France, at this time, and without such grounds as shall justify war in the eyes of all the world, have we not reason to fear, that we shall have America also for an enemy.

My Lord, in conclusion, let me beg of you to observe what mighty mischief has been done by the vile men, who conduct the principal of our London newspapers. In America, where our language is the language of the country, all our threats have been repeated through a thousand channels. There is not a single man, or boy of ten years of age, in all that vast country, who has not read the outrageous abuse and the insolent and bloody denunciations of the *Times* newspaper against the President, the Congress, the People of America. Not a soul of them has failed to see their country marked out for plunder and subjugation; themselves for chastisement; or, in the words of wise Curtis, for “*a consounded good flogging*”; their President as a man to be “*deposed*,” being “*a traitor and a rebel*.” Thus have been implanted in the mind of a people not given to passion, the feelings of hatred and revenge; feelings which cannot be eradicated for many years; feelings which must exist during the present generation; feelings which have already produced, and which must continue to produce, incalculable mischief to our country. At the present moment, these same vile men, are proceeding in precisely the same course. They denominate Napoleon “*a traitor*

“and a rebel;” they call him, just as they called Mr. MADISON, *imposter, liar, villain, slave, felon, coward*, and insist that he ought to be considered as out of the pale of all legal protection. They call upon all the world to come and scourge the French nation whom they call *thieves, slaves, blood-hounds, murderers, kill-kings*, and every thing else that is abominable. It is impossible that this language of our press should not produce a great and lasting mischief. Indeed, there is good reason to believe, that these writers have, in no small degree, contributed towards the facilitating of Napoleon's return. They have been continually holding up our army as the *conquerors of France*; they have incessantly laboured to vilify all those who shone in the French army; they have been marking men out for vengeance as *Jacobins, Regicides, &c.* they have been recommending and applauding every measure, tending to re-exalt the emigrants and to shake the property of the new proprietors. It was they who first urged the *restoration to the noblesse* of the national domains which remained unsold, a measure which could not be regarded as any thing less than a preliminary step to the ousting of the whole of the new proprietors; *a measure against which I repeatedly cautioned the King*; a measure, which, perhaps, more than any other, has contributed to his overthrow. Then, my Lord, the *falsehoods* of these men. Their wilful falsehoods. Their impudent fabrications. Their disgrace to the press, to literature, to the country, is now manifest to all men. It is to the readers, the silly or malicious pupils, of these wicked men that the French people have offered ridicule, scorn and insult in this hour of the people's triumph. One of these pupils, in the *Courier* of Tuesday last writes from Brighton thus: “The only persons in France “who appear in trouble about this “event are the *poor English*. The roads “are covered with them—their desperate haste—their *melancholy faces*—“and their bad French—all serve to “excite the risibility of the people of “France as they pass through their “country.” I can assure you that they “are not sparing of their *insolence* and *ridicule*, nor do they forget to charge “you for what you take. I stopped at

"a small inn for a few minutes, about 25 miles from Dieppe; at the door there were crowds of persons amusing themselves with remarks upon the English passengers. The news just then arrived of Bonaparte's approach to Paris, and probable entry in a few hours—all was vehemence and confusion, and *unbounded joy expressed*. "*Notre Empercur,*" "*Napoleon,*" "*Napoleon le Grand,*" appeared to electrify and fill their hearts with joy."—Here, then, my Lord, in spite of all their fabrications, peeps out the fact, that THE PEOPLE of France as well as the army are filled with joy at Napoleon's return. And why should the "poor English be in trouble and have melancholy faces" at this event? Strange indeed, that they should sorrow for themselves! It is their annoyance; it is their insolence, which has thus been repaid with ridicule and scorn. They had the audacity, to look upon France as a sort of colony of England; and in their sorrow, their melancholy faces, at Napoleon's return, the people of France saw no feeble proof, that that return was for the good and for the honour of France.

Thus, my Lord, have I given you my reasons for objecting to a war with France, either for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons, or for that of securing Belgium to the new King of the Netherlands. I do not, I must confess, entertain very sanguine hopes, that this my advice will be attended with better success than that which I offered as to the commencement and prolongation of the unfortunate and disgraceful war against the American States; and, if, in spite of what I deem the plain dictates of sense and reason and love of country, this new war is to be waged, I have only to add my sincere wishes, that my predictions may not, in this case, as in the former, be so completely fulfilled.

I am, &c. WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 30th March, 1815.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

Mr. COBBETT.—The praiseworthy, the patriotic and honourable exertions which you are now making, to avert the calamities consequent on a renewal of the war with France, call for the support of every real friend to his country.

Feeble as my pen is, when compared with your hieroglyphic labours, and the powerful energies of your mind, I feel it to be my duty to raise my voice, at this awful moment, against the prosecution of measures which have already proved so fatal to our national prosperity, that, in place of Great Britain now occupying the proud eminence, from which she commanded the homage of nations, she appears, alas! to be fast verging to a state of irretrievable ruin, and to have become an object of contempt amongst those who formerly envied her greatness. What a terrible, what a useful lesson has the American war taught our rulers, if they are at all capable of being taught by misfortunes!—Only a few short months before, they formed the resolution of overthrowing democracy, of extinguishing republicanism on the other side the Atlantic, we had acquired the renown of having defeated, in numerous battles, the soldiers of a nation that had, for twenty years, overawed the Continent of Europe, and that had dictated terms, in their very capitals, to all its sovereigns, who considered themselves happy in being permitted to hold their crowns by the suzerainty of the victors. Not only so, but to our powerful exertions, it was owing that the greatest captain of the age, the man who could boast that victory had never deserted his standard, was so completely subdued as to seek for safety in retirement, leaving the field of battle, the scene of all his glory, and that of the people who had so long exulted in his and their triumphs, in our full and undisputed possession! What an elevated rank to hold in the scale of nations! What an enviable situation! Had the helm of the State been guided by prudence; had moderation influenced our national councils, we never could have been driven from this lofty pinnacle. Ages might have passed away, but Great Britain would have remained the admiration and the envy of the world. Pride, hatred and ambition has subverted the stately fabric. Nothing would satisfy us but the overthrow of American independence. In place of attributing our successes here to a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, we fancied ourselves invincible. We entered the contest vaunting of our omnipotence. We despised the enemy

we had to encounter. Already we had made preparations for putting the seal upon the final subjugation of the American continent. Every friend of liberty stood aghast at the daring attempt. Every lover of his native land sighed, and his spirits sunk within him, when he contemplated the probability of its success. But, the charm of our invincibility has been broken; the talisman of our omnipotence, has been dissipated; and Britain, proud Britain, has fallen from the summit of her greatness! A band of *freemen*, whose Government she threatened to overthrow, to whom she arrogated the privilege of dictating the law, rushed forward in defence of their rights. The country which had been invaded, became the grave of the invaders. Even the ocean, on which she had so long ridden triumphant, was destined to witness her defeat and her disgrace. A reverse so unexpected, a change so sudden and extraordinary, naturally produced a correspondent feeling. The nations of Europe, who were formerly awed by the splendour of our victories, now began to question our pretensions. They no longer regarded us as invincible: they were indignant that they should have so long yielded us the rank which we possessed. This indignation, at what they considered their own weakness and folly, gave birth to feelings of hatred and contempt. The eagerness with which we sought an opportunity to enter into negotiations with America, was no way calculated to counteract this impression; and it only remained to complete the degradation, by finally making concessions to the foe we despised, which no other could expect or exact but one that had frustrated our designs, and driven us from the field.—At this critical moment, when our fame for deeds of arms has so fatally declined, the adversary, whom we had overthrown, and on whose re-appearance we never calculated, stands again into view.—He comes arrayed with tenfold more terrors than at any former period. If ever it was a matter of doubt that Napoleon possessed the hearts of the people of France, the reception which they have now given him must effectually remove it. Already he is said to have an army at his command of 500,000 veterans; and such is the attachment and devotion to his person which pervades all France, that he might

double that number in the course of one short month, if so tremendous a force was necessary to give stability to his throne, or even to extend his conquests.—It is impossible at present to divine his intentions. Circumstances may justify the opinion, that he will insist upon making the Rhine the boundary of France. If he should, it would be a wise policy in the allied powers not to oppose this. They have accused Napoleon of being *unbounded* in his ambition. Would it not be worth the trial, to give him those limits which nature has so clearly pointed out as belonging to the French Empire? Should he pass these, without cause of provocation, he might then be opposed as the common enemy of mankind. To war against him, in his present favourable situation in order to prevent his obtaining that object, would be folly; but to draw the sword for the purpose of reinstating the Bourbons, would be the extreme of madness.—In the former case the chances are two to one against his opponents: In the latter they are ten to one. If we calculate on the victories of Marquis Wellington, they will be met by our defeats at Fort Erie and New Orleans. If we speak of the entry of the Allies into Paris, we shall be told that treason no longer exists in the French army; that Napoleon never was defeated when the soldiers he led to battle were true to their colours. Our naval and military glory having been so greatly tarnished by the contest with America, and the fortunes of Napoleon having so greatly improved, it is lamentable to observe with what eagerness our ministerial newspapers are endeavouring to involve this country in a new war with France. Have these tools of corruption forgotten the arguments which they made use of, in the end of the year 1813, to dissuade the allies from giving peace to Europe? Are they not aware that the conclusions they *then* drew as to the favourable effect this would have upon France, *now* operate with double force against our taking up arms against her? The language of the *Courier* at that time was particularly striking and remarkable. In that journal of 25th December, it was said, "By peace, France will gain *every thing*. She will regain at least 300,000 of her best troops, one half of her best officers, and seamen sufficient to man 50 sail of

"the line.—In six months after a peace, France may have *fifty sail of the line*, well manned, and an army of *half a million of men*, commanded by a great military genius. One victory may again give him possession of Vienna."—The event here anticipated has actually happened. Napoleon has regained, by the peace, all his best troops; the greatest part of his best officers, and all his seamen. He possesses more than fifty sail of the line, and he has at his command half a million of armed men. If then the allied powers should provoke him to hostilities, let them beware that *"one victory does not again give him possession of Vienna."*

H.

THE FARMERS.

MR. COBBETT.—A letter, under the signature of *Aristides*, has, it seems, given offence to sundry of your Correspondents, who seem impressed with the idea of his being hostile to farmers in general, whereas the contrary is the case; for while deprecating the now pending Corn Bill, as an arbitrary, partial, and unjust measure, no man entertains more affection, respect, and, I may say, veneration for the plain, rough, honest true old English Farmer, than *Aristides*; neither does any one more ardently wish, or would more earnestly endeavour, (overwhelmed as the nation is with Lords, Baronets, Knights, and Nabobs,) the renovation and multiplication of the ancient British Yeomanry.—But monopolizers of land, speculators and vile imitators of the luxuries of a court, cannot meet the approbation of a well wisher to his country; the more especially when, to enable themselves to continue such, they wish to put every mouth in that Country under tribute. Honest indignation in the cause of the poor, may then be allowed to burst forth.

Aristides agrees with the bulk, and better part of the nation, that Corruption and Taxation have gone hand in hand for a number of years; but wherefore good people of England do you now cry out against them?—You were in use to discourage, by all the means in your power, those who sought to rid you of the oppression; nay you lent your

willing aid to corruption to keep her in her seat; and now, forsooth, you pout and whine like way-ward Children.—A person of no small abilities, yet espousing the cause of the Corn Bill, uses the following most excellent remark, which, as it suits the cause of the people much better than the one in the service of which it is enlisted, you will permit me here to quote.—The writer says and says justly, that, "Equal protection is the right of all under a free government. All must participate in the benefits of society, otherwise the bond of association loses its legitimate force, as in Asia, where a tyrannic partiality makes favoured Casts, and treats others as if they were not of the human species; or, to use the words of the poet, 'Nature's bastards not her sons.' Such favour and affection may do in Asiatic governments, but not in England".—If this argument be just, let the ministers explain upon what foundation they proceed with regard to the Corn Bill; for certainly the land-holders and farmers form but a comparatively small part of the community.—The manufacturers exceed them greatly in number. Besides these, there is a multitude who belong to neither of the above classes.—Yet all are to be oppressed, that the farmer may be enabled to pay a rack-rent to the land-holder, and therefore the land-holder seated in power, most unfeelingly lays it on. Having, in the above quotation, mentioned Asia, give me leave, Mr Cobbett, to ask some little information as to a transaction mentioned to have happened there some years ago. I mean a monopoly of rice, said to have caused the death of several millions of persons, who may be presumed to have been neither land-holders nor farmers, but of nearly a similar description with our manufacturers and labouring poor. Perhaps the corn bill may be meant as an experiment (upon a smaller scale) to take place here, according to an idea held by an author of the fashionable world, that there may at times be political wisdom in *diminishing* the population; and for that perhaps could be found no better expedient than the CORN BILL. ARISTIDES.

TO LOUIS.

ON THE REAL CAUSES OF HIS LATE
EXPULSION, AND ON THE FUTURE
PROSPECTS OF HIMSELF AND FA-
MILY.

SIR,—While I feel, in common with most of my countrymen, compassion for you, under the present circumstances, I think it right to address you my thoughts on the real causes of your late expulsion from France, and on the prospects which now present themselves to yourself and family. To do this I think myself the more fully entitled, as the advice, which I offered you upon your restoration was, not followed, and, as it now appears, the acting in opposition to that advice has furnished the grounds of numerous accusations against you and your Government. It appears to me very clear, that the House of Bourbon never can reign again in France. A war, in which all the rest of Europe, with the purse of England, emptied into their hands, should league against France, might produce great revolutions in that country; but, I am convinced, that it is wholly impossible for any combination of power, or of events, to make your House again for any length of time, the sovereigns of France. The reasons for this opinion will become apparent when I have described what I deem to have been the real causes of your late expulsion.

In the Proclamation to the French people, which you issued in England in the early part of 1814, you said, that you were resolved to owe your restoration solely to the people of France. But, you were hardly arrived in France, when it was stated in the *Moniteur* and in the English news-papers, that you had, under your own hand, declared to the Prince Regent of England, that you owed your Crown to him; and the substance, if not copies, of the letter, containing this declaration, were published in these same papers. I do not pretend to say, that this was the fact. I would fain believe

that it was not; but, it is impossible to blame the people of France for having believed that which every man in England believed, and especially when overt acts of a nature so striking, and so humiliating to France, accompanied this memorable declaration. You had expressed your resolution to owe your restoration solely to the people of France; and the people of France saw you escorted from the Prince Regent's palace to Dover by English Guards; they saw you conveyed across the Channel in an English ship commanded by an English Prince; they saw you received on French ground and conducted to Paris by German and Prussian soldiers, subsidized by England; they saw Paris filled with those troops; they saw those troops remain there until Napoleon was landed on the rock of Elba, and until you had re-organized the army and the civil authorities of France; they, in short, saw you put upon the throne by foreign armies, and they heard England, who had been the constant enemy of France under all her forms of Government, held up as entitled to all the merit of having accomplished this event.

Was it likely; was it possible, that a nation like the French should not burn with desire to wipe away this broad, this staring stain on its character? To see the English regiments of horse traverse almost the whole of France, when they might have been embarked very nearly at the spot where the war had closed; to see the studied parade of English "conquerors," as they were called, in the streets of Paris; to be told, as they were through our news-papers, that you had, at the request of our Government, forcibly detained American armed ships in the ports of France, and that you had, by special command, prevented Frenchmen from sailing to America, lest they should enter into the service of that country; to see and hear these things must have added greatly to the mortification and resentment of the French people, who, always remarkable for their love of

military glory, would under such circumstances, naturally be ready to burst forth against your authority upon the first fair occasion.

Yet, if you had returned unaccompanied by the ancient *Noblesse*, and the *Clergy*, things might possibly have settled down into something like content. But, loaded with a numerous class of persons, all on the tiptoe of expectation; all expecting employments and honours; all eager to be restored, as well as yourself, to power and to wealth; and, all having, which you had not, to contend with *rivals* for that power and that wealth, and with rivals, too, whom they found in possession; loaded with this almost numberless class, who, to say the truth, had claims as fair as your own to a restoration, it required wisdom and energy that do not fall to the lot of mankind to prevent those heart-burnings which arose from this cause, and the effects of which we now so clearly trace, not in speculation, but in decisive facts. A man bereft of power or profit, always becomes a bitter enemy of him who has displaced him. But if such changes become pretty general throughout a whole country: if a sort of proscription be set on foot; and especially if the grounds of that proscription be such as almost every man in the community will naturally see level, in some degree, against him, and even against his children; it is manifest that a convulsion can be prevented by the bayonet alone. And, if the danger; if the suffering, extend itself to the military as well as to all other persons in power, who can expect that any thing short of a great, an overwhelming, foreign force, constantly present in the country, will be able to support the ruler on his throne?

While these changes were at work, producing hostility in every part of the country, the *priesthood* seem not to have been idle. I am not blaming them for their endeavours to bring back the people to their former sentiments. They might deem it their duty. But, as was to be expected, they proceeded with very little caution. The people, who had, in general, long set aside the old way of thinking along with the tythes and the convents, saw with great jealousy and alarm the *crucifixes* re-hoisted at every corner, in the towns, and on the sides of the high ways; and, as if you scorned to approach the *altar*, you re-established

the ancient rules with regard to the *Sunday*; rules never, perhaps, very wise, and now hostile to the habits of the whole of the generation whom they were to affect. This measure of itself was sufficient to produce a shock. It would naturally create a belief, that *all* was to be attempted to be restored, as far as *religion* was concerned. Nine tenths of the *active* men in France are, perhaps, no more Catholics than I am, having, with their mothers' milk, imbibed a dislike, and even a hatred, of that Church and its clergy. The effect of such measures *must* be to fill them with discontent, alarm, and resentment; for every man living soon *hates* whatever makes him *uneasy*. If measures of this kind, which I can allow to have been adopted by you from motives of real piety, were calculated to revive all the apprehensions of religious persecution, the re-burial of the late king and queen's remains marked out not a few of the greatest men in the country for *regicides*. The funeral service upon that occasion; the annual humiliation appointed; the language of the noblesse, the clergy, the Royalist pamphleteers, the official journal, clearly showed, that there was, in the end, to be neither oblivion nor forgiveness for what was called the "*murder*" of the late king and queen. And, thus another list of proscription was promulgated, written in characters of blood.

But, if it had been possible for you to remain upon the throne amidst the hostility excited against you by all these causes, your power must have been destroyed, and yourself dethroned, by the *attacks upon property*, which were made in so open a manner. The notion which the presses in this country are so very anxious to inculcate is, that your overthrow is to be attributed *solely to the army*, who, we are told, *governs the people* of France, and forces upon them whatever laws and government it pleases. We are told, in one column of these papers, that Napoleon is *unable* to collect a large army: that he has been compelled to lower his tone because he wants an army; that he has expressed his willingness to abide by the Treaty of Paris because he wants an army; that he has abolished the Slave Trade, which you would not abolish, because he wants an army; that he pays his court to the people and promises them liberty of the press and free



representative government because he wants an army: and, strange to say, in the opposite column, we are very gravely assured, a sa matter of fact taken for granted, that it is *the army* and the army *alone*, who has brought him back to France, and put him upon your throne, *against the will of thirty millions of people!* It really seems, that delusion is never to cease. It really seems, that, upon that subject, men are to continue in wilful blindness unto the end, unless their eyes be torn open by some dreadful convulsion or calamity.

Before your restoration, it was generally believed in England, that Napoleon's government was so oppressive, and that the people of France were so miserable under it, that they only wanted an opportunity to cast off his yoke and to hoist the White Flag. We have been assured and we have very generally believed, that your reign was a *paternal* reign; that it was a continued series of benefits to the people of France; that you had restored them to morality, religion, liberty, peace, and happiness; that, in short, your government produced effects *precisely the contrary* of the effects produced by his government. Yet, at the end of eleven months, he comes back with only six hundred men, and, instead of finding a people armed to arrest his progress, he rides on, almost without a guard, to the gates of Paris, over a tract of 500 miles, through many populous and fortified towns, without seeing a single arm raised against him, and, indeed, amidst the shouts of a people, who hail him as a *Deliverer*. While, on the other hand, you, who are in possession of all the powers and treasures of that great country; are supported by the two Chambers of the Legislature: are surrounded by hundreds of thousands of armed men, leave your palace and quit the soil of France, without being able to discover a single individual to draw a sword or to speak a word in your defence. Nay, the very guard of hired foreigners: even the *Swiss soldiers*, against surrounding your person with whom the fate of your unfortunate brother was not a sufficient warning; even these wretched men, who let themselves out to fight for hire, are quietly disbanded and banished out of the reach of popular resentment, by a decree of Napoleon published at Lyons. Can it be believed by any body on earth, except

the credulous part of the English nation, that such a revolution could have taken place without the consent and approbation, nay, against the will of thirty millions of people full of spirit and military notions?

It is notorious, that the eleven months of your reign was employed by the writers and haranguers of France to extol your government, and to traduce the government and character of Napoleon. It is notorious, that, while the press was free for men like *Chateaubriand* and *Cretelle*, whose employment was to blacken Napoleon and to applaud you, it was closed against those who dared to think of taking the other side. It is notorious that you established a *Censorship* after having pledged yourself to maintain the *Liberty of the Press*. It is notorious that many persons were already in prison for long terms for what were deemed *libels*. Yet, with this most powerful instrument in your hands, you were wholly unable, with the treasures of the country at your command, to gain over to you any part of the people in number sufficient to make their voice heard. Is it possible, then, for us to be made believe, that the people of France did not, from the bottom of their hearts prefer the government of Napoleon to that of the Bourbons? They talk to us of the *army*, of *conspiracies*, of *fraternities*, & I know not what; but, how could any, or all of these prevent the people France from falling upon Napoleon on his way to Paris, or at the gates of Paris?

The truth is, that there needed neither armies nor conspirators nor fraternities to overset your throne, the existence of which was opposed to the feelings, the habits, and to the *immediate interest* of the present inhabitants of France, who, besides the grounds of discontent, resentment, and alarm before stated, proceeded, in this instance, upon the further and still stronger ground, that their *property*, their *real property*; that nearly the whole of the real property in France; that the *preservation of all this, and of every part of it, was incompatible with the reign of the House of Bourbon, however great the wisdom and the virtues of the Princes of that House may be*. I myself am of the same opinion. I was of that opinion when I wrote the answer to your Proclamation of January 1814. It was not in reason, it was not in nature,

that the Bourbons should be welcome guests in France, because their presence there menaced the whole nation with ruin.

The people of England, many of whom are now for rushing headlong into a war for the purpose of again restoring you by force of arms, know though they appear determined not to know, any thing of this, the greatest of all the obstacles to the success of such a project. Nor is this so very wonderful, when there have been found the means of persuading *you*, that it was practicable. The truth is, that, where powerful interests are opposed to reason, though the latter be clear as the noon-day Sun, the former generally prevail in deciding men's opinions. It is, therefore, not at all surprising, that the Noblesse of France should still have believed, that the people of that great country were to be brought, if not to submit to their former vassalage, at least, to yield up their estates. They will, I dare say, like the STUARTS, live along, generation after generation, in the indulgence of this ridiculous belief; but, I am persuaded, that it will soon be discovered by the people of England, and especially by the great holders of our Funded Debt, that their fortunes ought not to be expended in so foolish and so wicked an adventure.

When the powerful class, to whom I have last more particularly alluded, shall have brought to their aid in this discussion, not *philanthropy*, not *humanity*, for, though natives of their bosoms, they are discarded in a question of war or peace with France; but, when they shall have brought to their aid that *common sense*, unclouded by passion, which is their guide in their private concerns, they will perceive that another war for the purpose of placing the Bourbons upon the throne of France is an undertaking, which, as long as the *possession of property* is desirable amongst men, can never succeed.

We have been so long accustomed to talk about Napoleon *only* as the obstacle to the restoration of your family; we have spent so many years in invective against him and his revolutionary predecessors in power, that, at last, we seem to have wholly overlooked what has been going on in the *interior* of France. We seem to have forgotten, and we may be well excused for it seeing that you and your advisers appear to have forgotten it also: we seem to have forgotten, that the *whole* of the houses and lands of France, were,

previous to the revolution, the property of the Crown, the Noblesse, and the Church, the exceptions being so insignificant as to be almost unworthy of notice. We seem to have forgotten, that *all* the property of the crown: *all* the property of the Church, even to the very Churches and Church Yards in many cases; and a great part of the property of the Noblesse, was confiscated, and was sold to individuals. We seem to have forgotten, that the houses and land of the whole country thus came into the hands of new owners, and that the land was sold in such small parcels and under such circumstances so very advantageous to the purchasers, that a great part of the labouring men became proprietors of land. We seem to have forgotten, that the *titles* to these innumerable estates rest *solely* upon the *legality* of the sales and upon the due execution of the laws passed by the National Assemblies and by Napoleon and his Legislative Bodies. We seem to have forgotten, that to call the *legality* of these acts in question is to shake the titles of the whole of these proprietors.

If we had not completely forgotten *all* these things, we should not have been surprised, that the people were alarmed at seeing you begin dating your official acts in the *NINETEENTH year of your reign*, thereby clearly declaring by implication, that all the laws passed since the death of your brother were in fact, null and void, whenever you chose to declare them null and void. We should not have been surprised at the suspicions excited by the conduct of the Clergy, some of whom talked of refusing absolution to persons who had purchased Church property. We should not have been surprised at the general indignation arising from the dismissing of men from public employments because they or their relations held property formerly belonging to the Crown, the Church, or the Noblesse, or from the shutting out from the officers of the army all those against whom existed similar objections. We should not have been surprised at the general alarm and out-cry against the act for *restoring*, directly and *as matter of right*, to the Noblesse, all that part of this property not yet sold by the nation, and which struck, at once, at the root of all the titles of the property which had been sold. We should not not have been surprised at in short, we should not have been at all sur-

prized at the return and at the cordial and joyful reception of Napoleon, whose very presence put an end to all these alarms and terrors which your restoration and the subsequent measures of your government had spread through every department and parish in France.

Even if one could possibly suppose, that a whole nation would be indifferent to the security of their property, the idea of the return of that property to its ancient owners must have given rise to the horrid apprehension of a return of all the ancient oppressions of the Feudal System, under which the people of that fine country were wretched slaves. If the estates returned, the *seigneuries* would have returned; for, such things are never done by halves. Indeed, the power which was found sufficient to dispossess people of their landed property would have been more than sufficient for every other purpose. And, when we know, that the Feudal System sent thousands of persons annually to the Gallies for offences now unknown to France; when we know that the *petit Seigneurs* were, in many instances, judges as well as accusers; that the litigations and vexations arising from their multifarious jurisdictions were endless; that justice was almost openly bought and sold in their barbarous courts; and that, in many cases, their power extended to the taking away of life itself. When we know all this, can we be surprized, that the people of France trembled at the sound of any name connected with the recollection of the *Ancient Regime*?

It is not my design to insinuate, that any blame rests on you for any of the causes to which I ascribe your expulsion, I really do not blame you for any part of them. If there were some things done contrary to your promise, it was evident to me, that you were *unable* to fulfil your promise. And, if your Government was taking great strides towards the restoration of the Noblesse and the Clergy in the possession of their property, it is very clear, that you had not the power to prevent it; and, indeed (promises out of the question), that you were bound to effect such restoration, or to risk, at least, your crown in the attempt.

The right of the Noblesse and of the Clergy to their estates, to their privileges and to all the feudal powers attached to their titles and domains rested upon

precisely the same basis as your right to your crown. You were very careful not to acknowledge, that you owed your crown to the people. Setting aside the compliment to our Prince Regent, your declarations bore, that you derived your crown from your ancestors and from Divine Providence; and, accordingly, you dated the commencement of your reign from the day of the death of your predecessor in the line of kings. Now, if what had passed, during the last twenty five years had, in no degree, impaired your rights, it was impossible that it could have impaired the rights of the Clergy and the Noblesse, which were as ancient and as sacred as yours.

If, in spite of the fair claim that these two orders had upon you; if you, firmly seated yourself, had disregarded these companions of your exile, or had pleaded the public good for the abandonment of those who had been proscribed along with yourself, they might, and they, doubtless, would, have reminded you of your *protest*, dated from Coblenz, in 1791, in which you and the other Princes of the Blood DENIED that LOUIS XVI had any RIGHT to accept a Constitution which gave up the rights of the Clergy and the Noblesse; that gave up any of their rights, their tithes, their church-lands, or their feudal titles, privileges, or powers. These two Orders, therefore, might with perfect consistency, have charged you with having violated your pledge to them, even as things stood; and, at any rate, they had a right to demand of you to do every thing in your power to smooth the way for their restoration, your own having been effected. To have done *less* than you did, must have exposed you to the execration of these Orders and to the contempt of mankind; and yet you did a great deal *too much* to make your reign bearable to the people of France.

Thus, Sir, in the best defence of your conduct, is found the proof that it was impossible for you to reign in France, and also the proof, that your family never can, except for a short time, and that, too, by the aid of a foreign force, reign in that country. The present French are not only unlike the French of 1787, but they are precisely the opposite. They are of a new character. Their manners, their habits, their minds, all are changed. They never *required* you back. You

were put upon the throne while a foreign force was stationed in the capital; and, the moment they had an opportunity they expelled you. If, however, there could have been any doubts upon this subject before, there can be none now. If there were any persons weak enough to believe, that it was possible for you to return without the Noblesse and the Clergy, that belief must now be at an end; and, therefore, it appears very clear to me, that any war, which shall have your restoration, or that of any part of your family, in view, can produce nothing but misery, a waste of money and a waste of lives.

To make war upon France for the purpose of compelling her to change her rulers is, however, what, I imagine, no nation in Europe will be weak enough openly to avow. And yet, what other real object can a war against her have, if she forbears from new aggressions? Napoleon to all other traits of greatness in his character has now added that which rarely falls to the lot of man, namely, to acknowledge his errors. He, after being long borne on the wings of military glory; after seeing every continental sovereign at his feet, has returned to the dictates of moderation and to the principles of freedom. The men, whom he has now called to his councils are the very men, or the survivors of them, at least, who founded the Republic; who built all government upon the sovereignty of the people; who declared that rulers were made for nations, and not nations for rulers; who insisted, that all taxes were robberies, unless proceeding from the people's consent, and who rejected with indignation the doctrine, that birth without merit constituted a claim to superiority; except for the sake of the public good hereditary succession was thought necessary to the chief of the state. These were the principles of the constitution which your unfortunate brother accepted. And these are the principles upon which Napoleon now reigns. At 1792, he disavows, in the most explicit manner, all views of foreign conquest, unless first attacked. I would hope, for the sake of my country, that another crusade against Jacobinism is not now about to begin; and yet, I must say, that I fear.

If it is to be begun, however, the cause of the crusaders is far more hopeless than

it was before. The principles they have to contend against are precisely the same. But the people of France are now in actual possession of the fair fruits of those principles. They are a changed people. Their state is prosperous. Beggary, poverty, servility, have been banished from their soil. Those who have travelled through France to witness the destruction and misery, occasioned by the revolution, have returned and told us, that they could find no traces of either. They have found healthy, decent, happy proprietors where they formerly saw squalid and ragged slaves. "From DIEPPE to MONTPELLIER" says Mr. BIRKBECK, "we saw not one of those poor famished looking creatures, who are to be seen in every parish, I had almost said, on every farm, in England." All, we are told, bears the marks of morality, plenty, and happiness; and, when he asked "what had become of the old miserable peasantry," he was told that they disappeared with the feudal rights and the ancient regime.

This state of things, therefore, renders the example of France infinitely more formidable than ever to those, if there be any such, who are, for whatever reasons, afraid of the effects of that example. I am quite ready to acknowledge this; but, who will attempt to justify a war against France, lest the contagion of her principles; lest the contagion of her freedom and her happiness should extend itself beyond her geographical limits? For years past we are told, by those who had contended for war against her principles, that now her principles were no longer to be dreaded, seeing that the result of them was carnage and misery. But, no sooner do events enable us to see for ourselves than we find, that, while she was carrying her victorious arms to every capital on the continent, she was flourishing at home amidst the improving arts of peace. In these facts, which will daily become more and more notorious, wider and wider spread; there is, I must confess, cause, and very ample cause, for tyrants to hate France, and to wish to urge war against her to avoid a communication with her people. But, for that very reason it is the duty of every friend of freedom to endeavour to prevent such war.

I am, &c. &c. W. COBBETT.
April, 4th, 1815.

THE REGENT'S MESSAGE.

Contrary to general expectation ; contrary at least to the war-breathing and sanguinary wishes of the conductors of our Cossack newspapers ; contrary to the views of the numerous herd of public contractors ; contrary to the anxious desires of naval and military promotion hunters ; but extremely consolatory to my mind, and, I trust, to the minds of all those who sincerely love their country, and wish the happiness of the human race ; the Prince Regent's Message to Parliament is *not* a Declaration of War against France, either for the overthrow of Napoleon, or restoration of the Bourbons.—The following is a copy :—*George P. R.* The “ Prince Regent, acting in the name and “ on the behalf of his Majesty, thinks “ it right to inform the House of Com- “ mons, that the events which have re- “ cently occurred in France, in direct “ contravention of the engagements con- “ cluded with the Allied Powers, at Paris, “ in the month of April last, and which “ threaten consequences highly danger- “ ous to the tranquillity and independ- “ ence of Europe, have induced his “ Royal Highness to give directions for “ the augmentation of his Majesty's land “ and sea forces.—The Prince Regent “ has likewise deemed it incumbent upon “ him, to lose no time in entering into “ communications with his Majesty's Al- “ lies, for the purpose of forming such “ a concert as may most effectually pro- “ vide FOR THE GENERAL AND PER- “ MANENT SECURITY OF EUROPE. “ And his Royal Highness confidently “ relies on the support of the House of “ Commons, in all measures which may “ be necessary for the accomplishment of “ this important object.”—The effect which this moderate language has already had, upon our infamous newspaper press, forms, indeed, a striking contrast to the outrageous abuse, with which it has teemed, ever since the return of Napoleon, particularly since the famous declaration of the Allies of the 12th ult. which, from its extraordinary complexion, I was, at first, inclined to consider a forgery ; but which, I am not sorry to find, was really put forth by the ministers of the crowned heads, assembled at Vienna. As the publication of this declaration is likely to produce some important changes at home, in the event

of our not going to war with France, or in that country, if we should be so unwise as to renew the contest, and as it may be necessary to refer to it in future discussions, I have annexed a copy of it to this article. To me it appears to favour the doctrine of assassination ; but I may be wrong in this opinion. Ministers have disclaimed this construction of it, and I am willing to give them credit for the disclaimations. In the *Times* and *Courier*, however, the writers of these detestable papers have the audacity to tell their readers, in direct opposition to the disavowal of ministers, that it was the intention of the Allies to give Napoleon up to the dagger of the assassin.—Even so late as the 8th inst. the *Courier* speaks of the Declaration as a measure by which the sovereigns of Europe have “ put him (Napoleon) out of the pale of “ the law, and SET A CAIN MARK UPON “ HIM.” No language can be plainer than this. The denunciation upon Cain, the murderer of his brother, as recorded in the Bible, was, “ a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be on the earth ;” which Cain immediately interpreted thus, —“ And it shall come to pass, that every “ one that findeth me shall slay me.”—It would seem, notwithstanding the atrocity which this man had been guilty of, that it was not intended he should be put to death, without some form of law ; therefore a mark was put upon his forehead, “ lest any finding him should kill “ him.” But the *Courier* tell us that the allies have put Napoleon “out of the pale “ of the law” ; which can have no other meaning than that he should be put to death without trial by any one who chooses to become his assassin ; and that there are people ready to perform this very *honorable* deed, is pretty evident from the manner in which the doctrine of assassination is discussed in, what is called, the free press of this *virtuous*, this *moral*, this *religious* country.—Amongst the innumerable falsehoods that have lately been propagated by the men of blood, to excite a new war against France, I am glad to find one of these pointedly contradicted by Ministers which encouraged the belief that “ there was a secret article in the “ treaty of Paris, by which this country “ became bound to support Louis XVIII. “ in case of insurrection in France.” This has been formally and officially contradicted in both Houses of Parliament,

What then can those advocates for perpetual war now say, when they find their favourite project a *civil war*, an insurrection against Napoleon's Government, so soon blown into air? One would have thought that the miserable termination of the La Vendée war in 1792 would have taught these men the folly of relying on so rotten a foundation. We are every day told that Napoleon is a monster and a despot, and that he cares no more for the people of France than to make them the tools to serve his private ends, and promote his ambitious projects. But let those who hold him up in this light, recollect the magnanimity of his conduct, when he abdicated the throne of France, and consented to be an exile, rather than allow one drop of French blood to be shed for his personal rights.—Let them remember this unparalleled instance of magnanimity, and let them compare it with their own endeavours to create a civil war in France, in support of an unnatural claim to the crown against the unanimous suffrage of the whole people. If they are capable at all of feeling repugnance, for error, this comparison would make them blush for their infamous conduct; and hide their heads in silence for ever.

DECLARATION.

The Powers who have signed the Treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them. By thus breaking the convention which has established him in the island of Elba; Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended—by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law; and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

They declare at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the Treaty of Paris of 30th May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that Treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts; that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions. And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate Sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the Sovereigns of Europe animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France, and to the French nation, or to any other Government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it. The present Declaration inserted in the Register of the Congress assembled at Vienna, on the 13th March, 1815, shall be made public. Done and attested by the Plenipotentiaries of the High Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, Vienna, 13th March, 1815.

Here follow the signatures, in the alphabetical order of the Courts:

Austria.—Prince Metternich, Baron Wessenberg.

France.—Prince Talleyrand, the Duke of Dalberg, Latour du Pin, Count Alexis and Neuilles.

Great Britain.—Wellington, Clancarty, Cathcart, Stewart.

Portugal.—Count Pamella Saldanha Lobos.

Prussia.—Prince Hardenberg, Baron Humboldt.

Russia.—Count Rasimowsky, Count Staackelberg, Count Nesselrode.

Spain.—P. Gomez Labrador.

Sweden.—Lafsenhelm.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER VIII.

"We do not pretend to destroy error by force and violence."

Discourse of the Clergy of France to Louis 13th.

MIRABAND, in his *System de la Nature*, which may be considered the Bible of *Materialism*, says, that "Preists unceasingly repeat, it is pride, vanity, and the desire of distinguishing himself from the generality of mankind, that determines man to incredulity. In this they act like the great, who treat all those as insolent who refuse to cringe before them. Would not every rational man have a right to ask a Priest—Where is thy superiority in matters of reasoning!—What motives can I have to submit my reason to thy delirium?—On the other hand, may it not be said to the Clergy, that it is *Interest* that makes them priests; that it is *Interest* which renders them Theologians; that it is the *Interest* of their pride, of their avarice, and their Systems, of which they alone reap the benefit."—It is a great misfortune that the bulk of Mankind can seldom give those persons credit for Virtue or Sincerity whose opinions are much opposed to their own.—For my part, (as a primitive Christian) I am a decided enemy to an order of men called *Priests*, because I am convinced that Jesus was too sensible a person to have invented, or encouraged, in the slightest degree, an institution so pregnant with Calamity to the Church of God as that of Priestcraft.—And though I think that the Systems of Religion most in vogue at present ought to be denominated *Priestianity*, instead of Christianity, I am by no means so illiberal as to assert that all priests are hypocrites. I am seriously persuaded that numbers of them take up their office entirely through zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of Christ, and with the sole view to the salvation of souls, by bringing them within the pale of their conventicle. This, to be sure, is most applicable to the dissenting interest; for having, in the days of my youth, been a fanatic, and a preacher among them, I ought to be acquainted with some of the motives that influence their conduct. With regard to the State religion, its ministers are brought up to it in a more trades-like manner, and are not likely to

be so sincere and serious as those who are induced to officiate through the impulse of their own feelings, which is commonly termed "*a call of God.*" If a nobleman or gentleman has several sons, the principal part of his fortune goes to the eldest, and the remainder must fleece the public in the character of a priest, a soldier, or a legalized pick-pocket. How many a young man is brought up to the trade of a priest without having the least taste for the craft, or a single serious view; yet, before he can be admitted into the exercise of his business, he is obliged to make a false oath, and swear he is moved by the Holy Ghost to take that office upon him, when he ought rather to say, "I am moved by the spirit of emolument."—But even these kind of men, unless they are thinkers, are not always hypocrites. Though they do not act up to the character of a spiritual christian, their education has led them to believe in the truth of their religion.—I am aware that thousands of them do not credit what they preach, because the studies of many learned men have the unfortunate tendency of leading them to scepticism; but I will be bold to assert, that the bulk of them firmly believe their religion to be genuine and authentic, and that some few have that warm interest in their system which is called piety.

Esoteric and exoteric doctrines, are not so much in use now, as they were among the ancients, who inculcated superstition only among the lower orders, while they initiated every enlightened person into the pure and simple precepts of NATURE. But with us there are thousands of accomplished scholars, and persons of rank, who still retain the prejudices of education, it being no part of our civil or religious polity, to free them from these shackles. I am willing to admit, what *Miraband* says of the Priests, that their interest must necessarily attach them to systems from which they reap so much benefit. We all know that nothing is more than interest calculated to entrap us. But how weak is their argument, when they assert, that it is pride, vanity, and a desire of distinguishing themselves from their fellow creatures, that determines them to infidelity.—I should like to be informed what advantage any man has gained, by being a professed unbeliever? Or, whic-

ther the acknowledgement of such sentiments has not always been attended with certain loss, and caused the individual to be viewed with horror and suspicion, by the ignorant and narrow minded, who form the mass of society; besides being persecuted by the Priests and all fanatical bigots. A man can only be credulous, or abound in faith, or incredulous; and be a sceptic, according as those things which are proposed for his belief strike his understanding, over which he has no command; he must submit to be guided by the impressions it receives, whether strong or weak, right or wrong. He is much more likely to be governed by ambition, pride, vanity, ostentation, and sordid avarice, when he puts on the garb of religion, (so current a commodity with the world in general,) than if he confessed himself an infidel, which would immediately raise the public voice against him, and cause him to be looked upon as a bad man, who, wanting faith in incomprehensibles and incredibles, could not possibly possess good morals, or be a worthy member of society. The ignorant, bigotted, and superstitious, are many; the enlightened, rational, and sceptical, very few, and those few often concealed. The stimulus to action must therefore be on the side of the hypocritical religious, rather than on that of the ostentatious Deist. But I cannot, easily believe that there are any persons who have faith and profess infidelity, because I can see so few cases where a person would have an interest in so doing. Nothing is more absurd than to think people cannot be sincere in the opinions they profess, merely because they appear monstrous or ridiculous to us. Such is the effect of education, habit, situation, and circumstances, that I can credit the superstition even of learned Bishops, and eminent Philosophers; and such is the force of human reason, when once the mind is set free, that I can equally give credence to its arrival at the speculations of Deism, the doubts of Scepticism, and even the cold and cheerless decisions of Materialism (so unflattering to self) with the same implicit sincerity as the dying Christian, or Mahomedan, yields his soul into the hands of his Maker.—The reason why I have said thus much of the Priesthood, without coming to *Religious Persecution*, my favourite theme, is that I consider the spirit of persecution to have

emanated from Priestcraft. If in the present instance, therefore, I labour more in developing the *cause*, than in describing the *effect*, I trust I shall be considered as still supporting the title I am writing under, which I deem equally comprehensive with that of toleration, upon which entire treatises have been published.

The Priesthood of every Sect promulgate dogmas, which they assert are essentially necessary to be believed by those who wish to obtain salvation. They shew some ancient traditions, which they tell us are infallible, and were written by divine inspiration; that they are the words of eternal truth; and that if we cannot enthusiastically believe every *iota* of them, we shall be consigned to everlasting damnation.

In consequence of these doctrines, the nurse begins to impress certain notions on our memory the moment we can talk; next the school-master confining them through the medium of a catechism, whereby we are asked certain questions (the wisdom or absurdity of which our infantine capacities are not capable of comprehending) and answers are put into our mouths, ready cut and contrived. These, by constant recapitulation, are deeply imprinted on our minds, and we believe them the dictates of reason and truth.—Then comes the Priest, who puts his seal to the statement, already written upon the blank sheet of our youthful understandings; inforces, with a particular emphasis, those ideas which have previously been infused in the mind; and inspires us with a peculiar reverence for sacerdotal office. Having been brought to this trade, like other men to their respective avocations, he works upon the ignorant and superstitious with the same facility that the skilful musician plays upon a well tuned instrument. We are instructed by him to read certain books and to believe implicitly every word they contain; to study them with a view to applaud and adore the matters they treat of; and we are terrified at the infamy with which those are branded who are so unfortunate as to doubt or disrespect any thing mentioned in those books, or that is uttered by the priest. We are honored up by the horrid sentence of an *eternal roasting*, if we should die without *being able* to believe in those points, which our priest says are requisite to procure us a pass-port to the

mansion of bliss. He carefully conceals from our knowledge every thing likely to bring his calling into discredit, or to injure the *profits* of his craft. We thus grow up, bigotted to a variety of opinions adopted without examination, and which we have no better ground for crediting than that we have been *told* they are correct, and that our friends and those around us think as we do. We are taught to refuse the evidence of our senses, to give up our reason as an unfaithful guide, and blindly to conform ourselves to the mandates of our spiritual director, whose *interest* it is to continue us in these errors, of which *he only* reaps the advantage.

ERASMUS PERKINS.

Mr. COBBETT,—The infamy of the "*Times*" newspaper needs not any further illustration than what has been given to it by a variety of your able correspondents, in addition to your own invaluable efforts in the glorious cause of exposing public delusion, and attempting to destroy that credulity of our countrymen which renders them the perpetual dupes of any one who will attempt that species of deception, which is now almost proverbial with the conductors of our daily press. But there is one palpable contradiction to itself, which will, perhaps, cause even some of its readers to blush at the confidence they repose in it, when they see the wretched prevarication and contemptible double-dealing it is obliged to resort to; to give its rhapsodies even an ideal plausibility.

You have doubtless perceived, Sir, that the editor of the *Times*, constantly asserted, that the *people* never were in favour of Napoleon; that they detested him; that the movements had all originated with a few discontented individuals, and that this was the truth, the Editor pledged his *reracity*; (no great risk to be sure!) Notwithstanding all this Bonaparte has reascended his throne—not a shot being fired in opposition to either himself, or his pretensions. And yet all this has happened in direct opposition to the mass of the population of France. Very well. Now let us look at the other side. A few, confessedly, assert the claims of Louis, in the South of France. This is immediately exalted into a proof, that the population, or a large proportion of them, are in favour of

Louis, and we are called upon to consider this trifling *coterie* of the friends of parental sovereignty, as the nation of France. "Oh, it is quite impossible (says the *Times*) but that there must be a great many that are devoted to the parental government of "Louis." And this *great number* did absolutely nothing at the only time when any thing could be done. Unattended by an armed force that deserves any consideration in a country like France, the Emperor reached his capital without any molestation: yet this we are told is no proof he was wished-for by the people. The air resounds with *general* acclamations and 'tis merely the cry of the *rabble*. But when the *real rabble* begin to cry out on their side, their feeble cries are the voice of the nation, forsooth! and we are not to look in the capital of France for the voice of the people, but in the obscure retreats, which are the patrimony of those who are interested in raising the delusive hope of effectual resistance. I am, &c. JUVENIS.

PEACE OR WAR?

Is then my Country so perversely blind,

To what experience must have taught mankind?

To what her welfare dictates as to dare,

Without just cause, plunge madly into War;

Will she unsheath her bloodstain'd sword again,

And swell the dreadful list of England's slain?

Because a nation, to the World has shewn

Its right to hurl a sov'reign from the throne,

Rais'd to the dangerous height, by foreign choice,

By foreign arms, against the people's voice;

Because they've plac'd the sceptre in the hand

Of one, they think more worthy to command?

In such a cause, will England wreck her fame,

For ever lose her once-respected name;

That name, which made despotic monarchs fear,

And which to Britons, should be always dear.

No! if one spark of honour yet remains,

If British blood still flows within our veins,

If love of country still can warm the heart,

From its pure dictates let us not depart;

Let us not headlong on destruction run,

But keep those laurels, we have nobly won.

Do not the precipice, on which we stand,

Appal the hearts of those, who rule the land?

Do they not know, REFORM alone can save

This hapless, sinking country, from the grave?

That she must bend beneath a foreign yoke,
 If by CORRUPTION, her proud spirit's broke;
 Or, that her sons, to desperation driv'n,
 Will seek, by force, those rights by Charter giv'n?
 Who could extinguish then the dreadful flame?
 Who the wild spirit of the People tame?
 From fatal blindness let us now awake,
 When all that's dear to Britons is at stake;
 Let us the proffer'd olive-branch receive,
 And by REFORM, our tarnish'd name retrieve;
 By WAR we are to certain ruin hurl'd,
 Disgrac'd, despis'd, unpitied by the world.

Buckinghamshire.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

RETRENCHMENT AND REFORM.

MR. COBBETT.—The gross mismanagement of the political concerns of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, seems to have acquired a sort of sanction from habit, so that all animadversion on the subject is deemed hackneyed, is regarded as a story too often told to interest further attention. But, Sir, you know very well, that the axioms of morals are not less steady in their influence than those of physics, and that if it be physically impossible to render unequal means adequate to given ends, so is it alike impracticable to pursue ruinous courses of conduct, without ultimately incurring the inevitable ruin, attending such moral necessity. Is not, therefore, the scheme of expending national treasure at the rate planned by the British Government, so widely unequal to the resources of the country, that it must, sooner or later, induce unavoidable ruin? Can the individual having five hundred pounds a year, afford to expend at the rate of five thousand? Would he who could be at once so profligate and entertain an idea of *lasting* solvency, he deemed *composmentis*? Would not the Lord Chancellor of these realms, on application for that purpose, issue a decree of lunacy against the person who would attempt to vindicate such an insane procedure? If small things then may be compared with great, what a *dwarfish* case of wasteful and wild expenditure is this, compared with what is gravely, is indeed legislatively, done and doing by the existing mode of Government? To provide for the exigencies of the day, without regarding the tremendous workings of a debt that cau-

not be seriously contemplated without hopeless dismay, seems to form the grand object of the parliamentary session.—The representative interests of the country would appear to be confined to authorising schemes of finance of an almost unbounded extent, and of course, fraught with the eventual ruin of the people. To speak of the extravagant wasting of public money, of the corrupt purposes for which it is expended, and the grinding system of taxation by which it is furnished, is now become so very trite, so tamely common place, that it makes but little more impression on our "thinking people" (as they have been phrased) than the usual cursory remarks on the prevailing weather. What is all this senseless apathy, this base supineness, this stupid direction of public spirit owing to? To say that we are *degenerated*, is a simple affirmation of an undeniable fact; but it would be important to state the *cause* of the degeneracy, for the purpose of retracing our wayward steps, that some chance may be afforded of the *British Isles* being once again inhabited by *Britons*; that is to say, by a people worthy of those, who by manliness, simplicity, courage, and wisdom, acquired the renown that raised and established the British name and character. This luckless degeneracy has for the most part grown out of the miserable taxing system, and the consequent unblushing dissipation of public money for ends and objects, at irreconcilable variance with the constitutional laws and liberties of the land. Money is a powerful engine of corruption, and the immense sums that have been wrung from the labours, and from the necessities even, of the people have been audaciously employed in purchasing, pensioning, and enslaving a large portion of the political independence of the country.

No character is so despicable, either in self estimation or in public opinion, as the person who accepts a pecuniary consideration for indefinite services. In native and in honourable feeling, the *Galley slave* is a magnanimous being, compared to such a revolting wretch. The sentenced slave, has his person only fastened to the Galley, whilst his mind may be as free as the air he breathes, and alive to every just and generous sentiment that constitutes the genuine pride and ornament of human existence; but the bought

and sold parasite, the dangler after self at the expence of all morality, possesses not a feeling but what degrades him beneath the beast of the field, and marks him out as an object of universal disdain and contempt. How is this annihilating degeneracy to be reclaimed? You, Sir, have often answered the question, and if your admonition had been adopted, this country would have been at the present moment, at once the model and envy of the civilized world. You, Sir, have repeatedly said, that an *unrestrained* liberty of the press, a *real annual* representation of the people in parliament, with such retrenchment and economy in the national expenditure, as would supersede all necessity for burthensome taxation, would strike the hydra evil at its very source, would regenerate our fallen state, and cause our once happy nation, Phoenix-like, to emerge from the ashes of its own destruction, into resuscitated purity, vigour, and prosperity.—Why then is not this remedy tried? Can there be any risk in the experiment? America has furnished a convincing proof of the beneficial effects of an unshackled press. It is, indeed, true, that it prints a great deal of falsehood; but then it also fearlessly tells the whole truth, which infinitely counterbalances and destroys the influence of what is false. It is the liberty to publish the false, and the restriction imposed on making known what is true, that do all the mischief. Mr. Sheridan once affirmed in the British House of Commons, that with the aid of a free press, he would defy whatever fleets and armies, state intriguers, spies, parasites, and traducers, that might be marshalled against him; with that weapon alone, he would repel them all, would strip them of their imaginary power, and triumphantly hold them up to merited derision and execration! By a *real* and an *annual* representation all the sham work and foolish mockery of a wise institution would be avoided, whilst the shortness of the sitting would soon repossess the electors of that suffrage which they would take care to confide where it would not be likely to be abused. By this only wise and politic mode of procedure, an incessant check would be imposed on the representative, and the represented would be always able to correct the faults of representation. The British Constitution has provided this guardian principle of political justice,

and authorises its application; but British apathy and corruption have at least suspended, if not annulled this sacred privilege. If this master right were fully resumed, corruption, in all its forms and degrees, would soon shrink out of sight, and quickly cease under its beneficial influence; and without it no radical or lasting amendment can be effected.—Retrenchment means lopping off useless places, pensions, and emoluments, as the morbid excrescences of a corrupt and vitiating Government. The labourer is, indeed, worthy of his hire, but there should be no worthless hirelings for sinister purposes. The indispensable offices of Government should be frugally filled, and the most rigid economy should be observed in every department of the State. A system of Government founded on public justice and economy, will sustain itself by its own importance to the people. It becomes at once the basis of social order and of all public and private virtue. It will therefore be invulnerably secure; the shafts of falsehood will not reach it, whilst the purity of truth will imperishably establish it. The American Government has this sort of moral security, and will continue to have it as long as it shall retain its present equitable and enlightened system of legislation. Its intrinsic worth will be its stable support, and all the powers on earth will not be able to overthrow it whilst it remains true to the sacred principles of freedom on which it is bottomed. Let the decrepid, the mutilated, and debased parent receive wholesome instruction from its offspring. Let America, in all its youth and vigour of legislative wisdom, admonish the councils of the British Government to *unshackle* the press, to give truth an *unlimited imprimature*, to be *real* in its representation, to be *annual* only in its legislative confidence, to abolish all useless expences, to be economical in all the out-goings of the State, to bring taxation within the moderate and natural limits prescribed by the unavoidable disbursements of Government. Then, indeed, and not till then, will the political condition of the British realms be regenerated and become worthy of her American sons, whose inimitable greatness, however, it must be confessed, originated from a *virtuous abandonment* of British degeneracy.

A TRUE BRITON.

NO WAR WITH FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT.—It is with pleasure I see the praiseworthy and patriotic exertions you are making to avert that dreadful evil, at this eventful crisis, a war with France to reinstate hereditary imbecility on the throne of that fine country. I trust your endeavours will prove successful. Surely the evils that have befallen this country, during one and twenty years of war, will teach our ministers moderation, and prevent them from madly rushing into a war, for the express purpose of placing upon the throne of France a man, who has no other title to it, than the proud claim of legitimacy. They have not, now the fallacious pretext to justify themselves, that the *people* of France are sighing for the "paternal government of Louis," or that Napoleon's ambition is so unbounded, that an honorable or advantageous peace cannot be concluded with him; for he has declared by the advice of his council, "that he will faithfully observe the treaty of Paris." He says, "his own sentiments are contrary to that, but he will wave them, as it is considered advantageous for France to remain at Peace," and he has renounced all idea of aggrandizement by conquest. The progress of Napoleon with a small band of followers from Frejus to the Metropolis itself nearly across the whole territory, is so great a manifestation of the national will in his behalf, not only of soldiers, but likewise of the people, that it must be allowed, if ever man was called to the throne by the voice of a nation that man is Bonaparte. Even the greatest sticklers for Louis are constrained to acknowledge it, and as they are forced to abandon the subterfuge of Napoleon's tyranny, they dispute the right of every nation to choose its own Sovereign; a right which our own constitution ensures to us, and which has been exercised in calling our present Royal Family to the throne. But overlooking all this, and regardless of the consequences, it is to be feared that ministers are determined to renew the war, for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of France. With such prospect before us, it becomes every one to take a view of the state of this coun-

try before the last war, and to compare it with the present. Let us also compare the state of France at the commencement of the war with its present state. France had then innumerable difficulties to grapple with; a civil war, an unsettled government, no armies prepared for war, comparatively speaking, no experienced commanders to direct even those armies, and her finances in a bankrupt state. But now all is tranquil within her borders; a man of sublime and peculiar energies is placed upon the throne, who has the confidence and ardent affections of his subjects; numerous veteran soldiers, panting to be led forth to battle, to wipe off the disgrace which has been cast upon her by foreign soldiers polluting her soil and her capital with their presence as Conquerors, are at her command; also experienced Commanders who have risen from the ranks to exalted dignity solely by their merit. Her finances are in a flourishing state, having scarcely any debt to contend with. Indeed in the midst of war she alone has prospered in every thing. England was plunged into a war when France had all those evils I have enumerated, and many more, to contend with, and yet what has been the result? We have come worsted from the contest; our debt has enormously increased, and our means of defraying the expences of the state decreased. As that has been the result of the last war, it cannot be doubted that worse will be the consequence if we madly rush into another war against human liberty. If we are desirous of preserving our honour, our country, our independence and liberties, let us attempt to stem the torrent of evil and to preserve ourselves from a destructive war, ruinous in its tendency, and infamous in its principle, being contrary to our Constitution; because it would be a war against the principles which placed the house of Brunswick on the English Throne. Let us then implore the Prince Regent, that England may not be made a party in war against France, in consequence of France having changed the head of her government, by calling Napoleon to the throne, and expelling Louis XVIII.

Your's, &c.

HAMERDEN.

HOPES OF PEACE.

MR. COBBETT.—We have again been favored with precious specimens of the *elegancies of the Times*, which would only occasion a few smiles on the countenance of *taste*, were it not that they have the most wicked and diabolical tendency; were they not dictated by the most sordid and scandalous view; to mere gain arising from the blood, and misery of human beings; and, were they not indications of the degradation and vulgarity of the English character, as exhibited by *the more wealthy part* of the community. It is almost incredible, but it is most true, that *the elegancies of the Times* are exactly suited to the Meridian of our Nabobs, our West-India Planters, our Gentlemen, and our Lordships. It is certain, therefore, that the education of our country has woefully degenerated, and that the *generosi, the ingenui homines*; the *virii culti, et liberalis institutiones*; are no longer to be sought for in the higher ranks of the British public, since they, like dumb sows, can eat up all the *druff* of Billingsgate, and *the Times*. I speak not of opinions, but of *taste*; with opinions we should have no quarrel. The pen would correct them. But when slavish opinions are dressed in all the *drabbery* of the vilest *canaille*, and the little great are enraptured with the whoresor gabardine, honor, and taste, and virtue recoil, and shun the loathsome spectacle. The efforts of eloquence and literature are palsied, and retire before the *toushd hag*, the queen of the vulgar great.

But this is not the object of this letter, Sir, nor has it been suggested by the deadly loathing, which any one, with a spark of gentlemanly policy, must experience from the sight of the trash of *the Times*. My purpose is to speak to the probability of the continuance of peace in the present circumstances.

I freely confess that I have much good reason to expect that the nation will not now be plunged into war. Allow me to state those reasons for the consideration of your readers. I. The general sentiment out of the augen stable of the mob that swallows the ordure of the Times, is not for the recommencement of hostilities. This is evident from the necessity which the Times evidently feels of an extraordinary stirring up of the mind that in-

velopes it, to diffuse around its readers an atmosphere of foetid stink that shall vitiate every sense of smell and taste. It is an indispensable *preparation*, even with the loathsome insects who usually feed upon, and live in, its muck and effluvia. The people, generally, with a vague stare, observe, "I suppose we *must* go "to war; but, if we do, we are ruined." This is the common language. Those who are thus persuaded have little need, in order to entertain right apprehensions, except to examine the word *must*. Why must we? Is it because Bonaparte will have it so? Of this, there is not the least proof. Let them consider this, and they will serve their country. Men as they are, they will not be effectually opposed by *vermin and the Times*. Why must we? Is it because *we* will have it so? Aye, that is the true question. Will you, then, have it so? Why? Give a reason. You have not the face to utter it, for you must say that it is *for* Louis, or *against* Bonaparte. You dare not say it, unless you have the foul impudence of the worms fed by *the Times*, who are fit only to be trodden under your feet. What have you to do with Louis or Bonaparte? Will you say that you dread a man of talents, and can you find security only in a fool, as the Ruler of France? Well, are you quite sure that the race of the one will all possess talents, and the dynasty of the other continue fools to the end of time? Do not say it. The doltish skull of a Times-editor alone can contain such a lampoon on the one, and such an encomium on the other. Of such idiotism *the Times* and its admirers give precious specimens every day. No, the people of England, though somewhat stupified, are not for war, which, without doing any good, may ruin them.

2. I augur, from Lord Fitzroy Somerset's continuance in Paris, that the Government does not mean to go to war. No event has lately given me more pleasure than this, which is an evident proof of the peaceable disposition of some of our rulers. It shews their wisdom and magnanimity more than any thing they have hitherto done. Indeed, thinking only of their probable love of war, and their late disappointment as to the sapient settlement of Europe; considering also the turbulent passions of the venal supporters of violent measures, by which they profit so much, and the stupor of the

majority of the public; I could scarcely believe the fact that Lord Somerset had remained in France at the seat of Government. I confess, I did not expect such an indication of *good sense*. Was it possible, that our governors should have surpassed, in prudence and greatness of mind, the warmest lovers of peace? They certainly have, for I would lay a bet that not one of *us* would have before-hand suggested the measure. We sincerely thank you, generous rulers. In this you have done well; you have done admirably. Am I not then justified in believing that we have solid grounds for expecting the continuance of peace? Besides, it is certain that our government communicates with that of France.

3. If report speaks truth, my Lord Liverpool is a decided friend of peace.—You will not scruple to admit some eulogium on this nobleman, although you, as well as I, disapprove of many of his political principles and practices. In truth, Lord Liverpool wears an *improving character*, and is likely to become a true and enlightened friend of his country, of its peace and liberty. There are not many men of this description, for the common course of human nature is from good to better, or from bad to worse, as habits acquire force and ascendancy.—Good and ingenuous minds only are capable of the change from bad to good, while they must be vile indeed which can change from good to bad. Of this last description are our *evangelical politicians* generally. They appear to have commenced with some grains of conscience. They have degenerated with evident timidity. They feared to plunge. But they have almost all plunged into the gulph of political depravity, and there taken their natural course, immersing deeper and deeper in the sink of corruption. Of those who were originally bad, and who, in due course, increased in delinquency, are too many public characters of the present day to admit of consideration. Of those who have refined with time, and have even been changed by experience and reflection, there are

some illustrious examples. Charles Fox was in a course of refinement and melioration to the last moment of his life. Lord Grenville, who began his career with William Pitt, may be suspected of not having set out well. But, assuredly, he has seen his error, and, with some remaining objectionable points, is become an upright statesman, a real patriot—though sometimes mistaken—and an upright friend of the constitution and liberties of his country. With those, there is, I think, much reason to class Lord Liverpool. Often have I wished he could free himself from his present associates, that the bent of his changed disposition might have free course. At this time, I think it almost providential, since he continues to retain his inclinations for the right, and not the wrong, that he has remained in the midst of these men that he cannot help despising. He may make the ascendancy of his incipient and aspiring virtue triumphant over them, and over the confines of ests, nevels and tadpoles that gulp down the *sorides* of the Times. The time is coming when Lord Liverpool will either direct the course of this nation in peace, and wisdom, and reform: or protest against its madness, and folly, and corruption, and stand as a bulwark, with other patriots, against its fall, or be buried gloriously in its ruins.

Such are my reasons, in short, for hoping a continuation of peace. Perhaps I may trouble you again, and am, in the mean time,

Your's,

HORTATOS.

P.S. I forgot to tell you, that it is my intention to publish, about once in a quarter of a year, a collection, price 2s. with this title, "*Elegancies of the Times*," with notes explanatory, laudatory, and critical; to perpetuate to future ages a specimen of the taste of the wealthy British at this period. Your readers will oblige me by subscribing for this work without delay, and you will, I hope, request your publisher to *tast* their names. (This is serious.)

LETTER II.

To LORD CASTLEREAGH.

*On the Message of the Prince Regent,
and the Parliamentary Proceedings
thereon.*

— WILLING TO WOUND, AND YET AFRAID TO
STRIKE.

MY LORD,

If I were to study for the remainder of my life, I could not fall upon a definition of the late Message, more true and complete, than that which is contained in this single line from the pen of the best of poets. But, why are you willing to wound? I can see reasons enough, and you have already seen them from my pen, why you should be afraid to strike. I have read your speech, and also those of the other persons who seem to feel as you feel; and I still can see no reason whatever for war against France; I can see no reason why we should not remain at peace with that country and with all the world; while I see very great danger to this country and to the rest of Europe in a renewal of hostilities.

The war of 1793 was called a *Crusade*, and very justly so called. By some it was decreed a crusade in the cause of religion and social order; by others, a crusade against liberty. That it was a war of kings and nobles, and priests, against the enemies of kingly, and feudal, and ecclesiastical Government, all the world must allow; and, it is impossible to look at the present state of things without perceiving, that Europe is, all of a sudden, come back to the state of 1793, with this difference in favour of the French, that they are now in the actual enjoyment of almost the whole of the benefits promised them by the advocates of the revolution. You seem to have a very different opinion of the matter. That opinion, as it has been communicated to us through the Parliamentary reports, I am now about to examine; promising here, that it appears to me to be very erroneous to auger success against France because her Emperor is ready to

make to us, as it is asserted he is, all sorts of sacrifices in order to obtain peace; for, it ought to be recollected, that the leaders of the Republic, in the year 1793, went much further in this way than the Emperor has yet gone; and still the Republic, when, at last, driven into a war of defence, was found able to frustrate the designs of all her enemies, and, indeed, not only to defend her own soil, but to invade and conquer a large portion of the soil of those who had attacked her.

In the speech, to which I have above alluded, your Lordship sets out with the position, that the late events had led to an order of things likely to release the "world from dangers and calamities; to restore the natural and social system; to restore the body politic of Europe; to improve the state of Europe; to preserve the tranquillity of the world;" and that the return of Napoleon had served to blight the prospects which the great labours of the Allied Powers had operated to produce. You seem to have regarded these positions as universally admitted to be true; for you did not make the slightest attempt to prove the truth of them. As to the "natural and social system," as to the "body politic of Europe;" I do not know the meaning of these phrases, and shall not, therefore, for the present, dispute about them. But, in my view of the matter, the state of Europe was NOT improved by the events to which you referred; in my view of the matter, the world was NOT released from dangers and calamities by those events; and, I think, it is now pretty clear, that those events did NOT lead to preserve the tranquillity of the world. If, indeed, we look upon the fall of superstition and of feudal power as a calamity, then it must be confessed, that the success of the Allies did promise to release a part of the world from calamity; and, if we look upon the re-establishment of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition, on the one hand, and the extinguishment of the Republics of Holland, &c.

ice, and Genoa; on the other hand, as an *improvement* in the state of Europe; then, it must be confessed, that the successes of the Allies had improved the state of this important quarter of the globe; but, there was another quarter of the globe, which your lordship wholly omitted, at which I greatly marvel; because the merit of endeavouring to restore the *natural and social system* in that country; the merit of endeavouring to *improve* the state of America, was exclusively our own; unless, indeed, the Allies did, as it was asserted, by our news-papers, they had done, make a secret contract not to interfere in our war with the transatlantic republicans; and, even in that case, their share of the merit was very small indeed.

My Lord, what would I give to know precisely the meaning of your words, when you talk of the SOCIAL SYSTEM! Until we know this, however, there is no such thing as approving of any of your conclusions. We have seen you at war against NAPOLEON, and against Mr. MADISON, at one and the same time. We have seen, within the space of four months, troops in the pay of England invading both France and America; in possession of the cities of *Paris* and *Washington*. Were both of these Chief Magistrates enemies of the "Social System?" I must again remind you, that the press in England denominated Mr. Madison a rebel and a traitor, as they now denominate Napoleon; that they declared that no peace could be made with James Madison, as they now declare for the second time, that no peace can be made with Napoleon Bonaparte; that they insisted on the necessity of carrying on the war till the *mischievous example* of a Government, founded on a democratical rebellion, should be *destroyed*; that they urged the necessity of prosecuting the war against America upon the *same principle* as it had been so successfully prosecuted against France; and, that they published with impunity a declaration, which they ascribed to one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and gave it as if delivered by him in parliament: in which declaration it was stated, that we must carry on the war till James Madison should be *deposed* in like manner as *Napoleon had been deposed*. It is necessary, that I also remind you, that a

miralty to the Fleet, directly after the abdication of Napoleon, expressed a confident expectation, that the war against America would end in a way to give "*lasting tranquillity to the civilized world*."

Now, my Lord, what would I give to know, whether you look upon the state of things in America as coming within your view, when you talk about the "Social System!" Because the state of things there bears a strong resemblance to the state of things *now* existing, or, at least, fast approaching, in France. A Chief Magistrate, a Legislature, elected by the people; no sovereignty acknowledged but that which proceeds from, and resides in the people; no feudal rights; no superiority claimed by birth; no privileged orders; no dominant church; no compulsory payments to ministers of religion; no religious tests; no restraint on the press as to matters of opinion; perfect equality of civil rights. So that, if this state of things do not belong to the "Social System," it would seem, that the world would still be in a very unsatisfactory state, though the Bourbons were again on the throne of France. Does your Lordship mean, that the "Social System" is restored in Spain? In Italy? At Genoa? It would be conferring a great favour on the nation to let us have have a *yes* or *no* answer to this question; because we should then know, if we are to go to war, precisely what we are fighting and toiling to restore and establish.

Your Lordship's next positions are: that the return of Napoleon to power is by *no means* the effect of the will or the wish of the *people* of France, and, that it is *quite clear*, that the event is to be ascribed wholly to *artifice* and the overwhelming influence of a military chief and *his army*! You are a cool, a very cool man, my Lord, or I should think, that this must have been a misrepresentation of your words. What! believe that Napoleon, an exile in Elba, could land with 680 followers, and go 500 miles along the high road, and then enter Paris, without a single hand raised against him, through many very populous and strongly fortified towns, without the good wishes of the people! Really this must be that sort of faith which is able to remove mountains. In my last letter to you and in my letter to the late king



of France, I have *proved*, that the people of France did wish, because their interests compelled them to wish, for Napoleon's return; but, how strange is it for us now to be told, that the *army alone* wished it, when it is not more than ten months ago, that we were assured that the army held him in the utmost contempt! Can this nation still believe all these contradictory assertions? It is notorious, that the English nation were, for years, made to believe, that the French army was composed, not of Volunteers; not of men engaged in war for the love of glory; but of men, *dragged to the ranks in chains*. How many volumes have we read on the horrors of the *Conscription*! Did not this whole nation believe, that the army of Napoleon were a set of poor souls, who had been led captive into the service; who had been coupled together on their way like convicts going to our Hulks? Was not this our belief? Had not the English press succeeded in making us believe, that this was the description of men serving in the French armies; and, that these unfortunate beings sighed for the moment, when they should be restored to their homes, where their miserable parents were cursing the cruelty of their Chief? And yet, Oh! strange to record, you now tell us, that this same Chief comes from exile and thrusts out a mild and benevolent sovereign, solely by the attachment borne towards him, by this same army! What, then; these people *loved* chains and thumb-screws. They not only followed all over Europe; they not only ventured their lives in the service of the man, who had dragged them from their homes in chains and put them to the *torture*; but, having been released, having been *delivered* from his power, and taken into the service of a *paternal*, sovereign, they bring back into their country, and place in command over themselves, him who had treated them with all sorts of cruelties. Really, my Lord, though I have often read of people who have been whipped, thumb-screwed, chained, and otherwise *tortured* by their tyrants, I never did before, either read, hear, or dream of people so treated, who were *attached* to the said tyrants, who wished to keep such tyrants in authority, or, who would not, if they had the power, tear such tyrants to pieces.

In order to make out the case of dan-

ger sufficient to justify even *preparation*, it was, however, necessary for you to insist upon this wonderful attachment of the army to Napoleon; an attachment not to be weakened by his reverses in war nor by their own personal sufferings under his command, nor by his abdication, nor by his exile; an attachment such as few men in the whole world have ever had the happiness to experience. It was necessary for you to insist upon this almost miraculous attachment in order to make out your case of *danger* to the repose of Europe. But, it appears to me, that you, in your anxiety to establish this point, overlooked the danger of another sort: namely, the danger to be apprehended from this very attachment, *in case we attack Napoleon*. We all know, that even a small army, firmly attached to their chief, is a formidable object. What, then, must a large army be, and together and urged on by such a feeling? That it must be large, and very large indeed, is, according to you, certain; for, unless it were such, it could not have kept in awe *thirty millions of people*, several hundred of thousands of whom were armed national guards, and not a few of whom had devoted life and fortune to the defence of the King. Yet, strange to say, we are told, that this army is very weak as to numbers and discipline; that it has neither cannon nor stores; and that it wants what is called the *material*. Well, then, my Lord, take the thing this way: allow the army to be weak and insufficient; and, then, why need we be alarmed? If Napoleon has the army and the army *alone*, is for him, and, if that army be weak, how can we wish to see France in a better state for our interests?

Your Lordship appears to assign as a fact *admitted*, that France is now under the absolute sway of "a military chief" and his army," which you are pleased to call the *System of France*. But I deny this fact, upon the truth of which all your subsequent reasoning depends. Napoleon has declared, that he rules only by virtue of the people's choice; he explicitly disavows all notion of military authority; he says he is to govern for, and by the will of the people. He has called into power men known to be decidedly hostile to the very system you describe; these men have declared to him, that he is to hold his power upon these conditions. He has made overtures proving the

sincerity of his declarations. In short, it is manifest, that to hold his place in the Republic, he must seek peace, and pursue it, *unless he be first attacked.*

I think that it is clear that the system of France is a system of peace, and of a disinclination to foreign conquest. A Frenchman, who reflects, must perceive, that the extension of the boundaries of France can be no benefit to her; that, if the *French empire* were again extended to Rome, Hamburgh, and Cadiz, *France* would become little in proportion. Paris could take no pleasure in seeing Rome and Amsterdam and Madrid divide her greatness with her. And, such men as *Carnot* and *Roederer* would not fail to perceive, that the *liberties* of France could never exist, while her Chief was also the Chief of so many other nations. In some part or other of an empire so stretched out, there must always be cause for the presence and operation of armies. The Chief must have enormous powers. Despotism is alone capable of keeping internal peace and order amongst the people of an empire like that of Napoleon; and, therefore, to secure those liberties, and all those inestimable advantages, which have been the consequence of the French revolution, France must refrain from extending her boundaries to any considerable distance. And, my lord, does not all the intelligence we receive from France clearly shew, that this is the principle, upon which the French government is now acting? We may talk of the *army* as long as we please, but is it the army that have called for the declarations against foreign conquest? Has not their Chief told them, that they must *forget* their former conquests? Has he not told them, that he shall confine himself to the old French frontier? And, if he had thought, that he had been received back merely as the means of leading France to foreign conquest, would he have made such declarations? To answer this question in the affirmative, would be to set human nature as well as common sense at defiance.

Your Lordship is made to describe France as being "*merely a warlike nation.*" But, I will transcribe the whole passage, embracing as it does several points which call for remark. It is reported in these words: "However sanguine he might have been in his hopes that the ultimate issue of the late events would lead the world back to its

"ancient state of sound policy and social feeling, he certainly never had participated in that precipitate judgment that there would be no other transition than from a state of war with France to a state of peace. The danger which threatened Europe, from the military character of France, was more deeply rooted in the state of things which made France *merely a warlike nation*; which *sunk all the other classes of society there in subordination with respect to the army*: and it was obvious that if France should suddenly endeavour to break from that *morbid and unnatural condition in which she was*, a re-action of her armies was to be expected, which would perhaps place that country politically at the feet of her soldiery. And had not such been *actually the case*? Who would say that the return of Bonaparte to the capital of France had taken place *with the wishes of the French people*? (hear, hear!) Who, on the contrary, would hesitate to say that it was *in violation of the recorded feelings of the nation, unequivocally in favour of the ancient dynasty*? It was one of those revolutions produced by *an army* which could only hope, in such a revolution, to find its usual rewards in the *blood and plunder of other nations*. That army had, however, disgraced itself by violating all those oaths to its lawful Sovereign which would have had weight upon honourable minds. Whatever might be the ultimate decision, of this Government and its Allies, it appeared to him that the only calculation which Europe had to make was, *whether it would be more for her interests to meet the power that now threatened her, at its outset, before it was established in the full vigour of its resources, or to remain united in a state of military organization as a necessary precaution against danger.*—He confessed he was not then in a state to communicate to the House all that would be necessary to enable it to judge upon the whole of that question, and therefore he thought he acted more *in the spirit of the constitution*, and in what became him as a Minister of the Crown, in leaving that topic to stand upon its own ground as it might appear hereafter from the course of events. The Noble Lord

"then adverted to what ought to be the line of policy which this country should adopt with respect to the continent, and deprecating the idea of hurrying, or goading the continent into a war, maintained that we should wait to watch the spirit and feelings which might manifest themselves throughout Europe in this great crisis. At the same time, if the case turned merely upon difficulties, he trusted that as we had saved the world in concurrence with the continental powers, with the same concurrence we should be ready to preserve it. (hear, hear!) It was a proud reflection for this country, that at the end of so long a war we had at the present moment, accomplished every thing which was desirable for securing the balance of Europe and the independence of States; and had established more in fact, than had been done at any former period."

Really, your lordship appears to me to have profited very little of the opportunity of judging of the state of France and of what, in such an event as the present, was likely to be the predominant feeling in that country; or it appears to me impossible, that you should not have seen in France all the elements of lasting peace and of repugnance to mere military sway. If, indeed, you had seen France before the revolution, you would have found her essentially subordinate to the army; for then, the noblesse, who owned the land, and who exercised all sorts of powers under the feudal system, were military men in virtue of their very titles. They were all soldiers, and all the people were their vassals. The noblesse were born to fight as officers and the people were born to fight under them, without even the possibility of promotion. This, perhaps, was that "social system," after which your lordship appears so profoundly to sigh. But, this system of military chiefs and their vassals is no more. No man in France is now born to command another man. Their feudal rights are annihilated. The land of France is distributed in small parcels amongst the great mass of the population; and those who have land to till are never prone to wander from it. Instead of a miserable peasantry, toiling along under all sorts of burdens, hemmed in by restrictions on every side, subjected to petit despots in almost every square mile, daring hardly to look at the

hares, partridges, pheasants, deers and wild boars, which laid waste their fields and devoured their crops: instead of that wretched, cowed-down race, who, for ages, were the butt of English scorn and ridicule, you would, if you had turned your eyes that way, have beheld in France the country spread over with proprietors of small parcels of land, well-dressed, well-fed, bold in their manners, sensible in their remarks, understanding their rights and their duties, fearing no nation, but anxious for peace with all. This, perhaps, your lordship would have regarded as "a MORBID and unnatural condition". At any rate, such IS the condition of France, let the fact excite mortification and envy where it may.

You are pleased to describe the return of the Emperor Napoleon to the capital of France as being "in violation of the recorded feelings of the nation unequivocally expressed in favour of the ancient dynasty." When, my lord? When 500,000 Russians and Germans were quartered on the French soil? when the Prussians and Russians garrisoned Paris, and its environs? when an English army, at the same time, was stationed in Bourdeaux and on the banks of the Garonne? Was it then that the people of France hailed so unequivocally the return of the old dynasty? But suppose they did? did this shew, that France was a mere military nation; or, that it was inclined to peace, and the arts of peace? The truth is, that the French nation sighed for peace; and if the Bourbons had kept their promise; or, rather, if they could have kept their promise, the nation would have remained satisfied; or at least quiet. But, when the people saw, that continual inroads were made upon their liberties and their property; when they could hardly hope to escape being driven back to the slavery of 1789, then they opened the way for Napoleon, who, say what we will, was hailed as a real deliverer of his country.

You say, that "the only calculation which Europe has to make is, whether it be more for her interest to meet the power, which now threatens her, at its outset, before it be established in the full vigour of its resources, or to remain united in a state of military organization, as a necessary precaution against danger." That is to say, whether we are to march at once to the attack of

France, or lie upon our arms to be ready to fight her at any moment. The latter, by all means, my lord, if we have *only this choice*; but, I do not think this superabundant precaution at all advisable. I do not like the idea of an *income tax* and *loans* in time of peace; and neither will they be necessary, if we make a cordial peace with the Emperor of France, and enter into those relations of *commerce*, which will be mutually advantageous; and which, I dare say, we may enter into if we choose. However, if this be our only alternative. If we must have war: or peace as expensive as war; if this be the state to which we have come at last, I really cannot see much ground for the boast contained in the close of your speech: namely that we have *saved the world*; that we can *preserve the world*: and that it is a *proof* reflection, that we have *accomplished every thing that is to be desired for securing the balance of Europe and the independence of states*. If we have done all this, what a folly is it to be afraid of France? Why need we care who sits on the throne of that country? Why need we keep on foot a war establishment, or go, at once, to war? The truth is, if we must either now go to war, or live in a state of armed truce, we have accomplished nothing, except adding 31 millions sterling a year to the taxes necessary to be raised for the payment of the interest of the debt. We went to war against the Republic of France, in 1793, to keep their disorganizing principles from spreading, and now we see Messrs. Carnot, Roederer, Gregoire, Francois, Cambaceres, Boissy D'Anglas, &c. again at work upon the *Rights of Man*. Two-and-twenty years of war and blood and the expenditure of 699,600,000 of borrowed pounds and as many more millions in taxes have only brought us as to the point at issue, to the very spot whence we started. Yonder are the Bourbons again on the frontiers of France, collecting their emigrants about them; and yonder are the German powers, preparing, if they get our money, to invade that same France; and in the same quarter. To boast therefore; that we have "*accomplished*" our object, appears to me; my lord, to be perfectly ridiculous; and, if your countryman BURKE, were still alive, he would rave like a Bedlamite at the thought of leaving us a penny in

our pockets, or a shirt to our backs, while the "regicides" of France were suffered to put "forth blured sheets of paper" about the *Rights of Man*. If we have now peace with France; if we are enabled to reduce our military and naval establishments to 6,000,000 of pounds a year; and if we obtain a most favourable commercial treaty with France, we shall have *accomplished nothing* by the war; our twelve hundred millions of money and our hundreds of thousands of lives will have brought us nothing in return. But, if we are to lie upon our arms, our loss is incalculable.

There is one thing, which I acknowledge the war has done; and that is,—*prevented hitherto a parliamentary reform*; saved for 25 years the Borough System, which is, perhaps, a component part of the "Social System." And, I will frankly own to your Lordship, that, though I can discover no danger to any thing else in a peace with France, at this time, I do discover in a solid peace with that country great danger to the Borough Mangers and their trade. We shall see in France a system, and, I dare say, an admirable system of representative government. It may not be so-and practicable, in that country, to extend the right of voting so widely as it is extended in America; but we shall, after all the experience of the last 25 years, see something done which shall give the people a solid security for their liberties and their property. And we do see such a government fairly in action for some years; if we have an intercourse with France; if the press in that country be free for all opinions, religious as well as political, falsehood, hypocrisy, and corruption must begin to look sharply about them.

In an article which will be subjoined to this letter, your Lordship will see a true picture of the present state of France, even before she began scarcely to enjoy repose. You will there see the excellent, the wonderful effects of the republican revolution, its laws, its establishments. The authority is unquestionable; the veracity, or the judgment of the author, no man in England will doubt. Mr. BIRKBECK is known to be one of the greatest and best farmers in all England; one of the men the very best qualified to make an estimate of the state of society; and his work shews him to be a man of great talent as a writer. We are therefore

warranted in placing perfect reliance on what he says. And is it possible to contemplate the picture he draws, without feelings of real satisfaction? The man who can look upon this picture in comparison with that drawn by Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG of the same people, before the revolution, and not feel delighted at the change which has taken place, must carry about him the feelings of a demon. But, at any rate, we ought to conclude from such comparison, that it is impossible that success should attend any effort, no matter by how many nations made, to compel the French people to return to their former wretched state.

I am aware of all the danger to us, or, I should say, to the Borough Monger and Intolerant system from this cause. The religious persecutions; the tyranny; the execrable cruelties practised in France under the Bourbons, at the instigation of the Priests, brought the Cotton Manufactory and a great deal of science, industry, and virtue from France to England. And, who can tell what our Borough System, our Test Acts, and Libel Laws may carry from England to France? America has been the receiver of hundreds of thousands of the most enterprising, most ingenious, and most useful of our people. The state of her manufactures; the wonderful progress they have made: the astonishing progress of her commercial and military marine: these are, in no small degree, owing to the emigrations from these islands. Oh! my Lord, how powerful are the allurements of Liberty! And liberty really has no other meaning than this: *that men shall be governed by laws made by themselves, or by persons whom they have chosen*. This is the fact in America. Only think what must be the feelings of a man, passing, at once, from under our libel laws to a country where he may say, or write, *just what he pleases* about religion, and about all transactions and all men, so that he confine himself to the truth! Only think how a man must leap and bound about, when he finds himself at liberty to promulgate *any opinions* that may come into his head! Only think of the pleasure which talent, which integrity, which virtue in all her shapes, must experience at seeing TRUTH have fair play!

America, however, is at a distance. France is nearer to the South of England than Yorkshire is. The communication between England and France is easier

than between Hampshire and Norfolk. A true account of the country must soon be obtained. When one family has found France a desirable change, another will follow: and so on. The moderately rich will go for the sake of living in affluence: those who can but rub along in England, will seek ease and plenty: the miserable will seek bread: and the artizan and manufacturer will seek advancement in life. Who will not endeavour to avoid paying his share of the 40 millions sterling a year, which is called for on account of the National Debt? And who will not remove a few score of miles to enjoy political and religious liberty? *The language!* What is the language? The French Protestants soon got over that inconvenience. And, besides, if a really free government be established in France, the absence of a State Church, the absence of Poor Laws, the absence of Libel Laws as to religious opinions, the absence, comparatively, of taxes of every sort, the absence of birth without merit, and the absence of a great many other things that I could name, would draw whole colonies to that country, leaving out of view the inducements of climate and of the delicious produce of the soil. Even the Lords and Gentlemen who have lately petitioned for a *Conn Bill*, have, almost in so many words, told the Houses of Parliament, that France is a country to go to in search of ease and comfort. They have reminded the Houses of the trifling taxes in France, and they have, with great emphasis stated, that the French pay *no tythes*. Even this description of persons have become recruiters for emigration to France. If, then, we have peace with France, and the French government be such as the friends of freedom will admire, what must be the consequences with regard to our population, our arts and manufactures, our agriculture, our commerce, our means of paying the interest of our national debt?

What, then, must we have war, in order to prevent emigration to France? Horrid as the idea is, I know that it is entertained by many, because I have heard many maintain the affirmative of the question. Yes: *war* with France, lest the people of England should be tempted to migrate to that country! The idea is, however, as foolish as it is detestable: for war would only render England worse to live in: and, therefore, unless, by war, we could totally destroy both France and America,

it would, in the end, only augment the evil intended to be prevented.

Not: it is not *by war* that we shall prevent a migration of our people. The way to keep at home our artizans and manufacturers and our moderately rich men, is, to take care, that they shall be unable to find any where else, more happiness: that is to say, greater abundance, greater ease, and more real freedom. If France becomes nearly what America is, in point of freedom. If the only difference should consist in the title of the Chief Magistrate. If the way to riches and honours be alike open to all men, of whatever religion. If the press become really free, as it is in America. If every man paying a tax partake in choosing the makers of the laws. Really, my Lord; if this should be the case, it appears to me, that *Reform* in this country will, at last, become absolutely necessary; and, therefore, would it not be as well to *begin now*? Messrs. Receders, Cernot, Gregoire, &c. are at work in France. They have had great experience. They have had their eyes fixed upon us and upon America. They know all about our situation. They have before them the history of our Borough System, and of the efforts which have been made to reform it. They have heard, I dare say, of the famous affair of Mr. QUINTIN DICK. They have read SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S Speeches, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S Addresses, and the Petitions to the Honourable House. These will serve them as a guide. They will know what to choose and what to shun. Therefore, my Lord, let us try to out-do them. Let us begin first. Let us leave them no room to surpass us. In short, for that is the *all-in-all*, let us have a *thorough reform of the Commons House of Parliament*, and then we shall need no war to prevent the contagion of French principles nor to prevent Englishmen from migrating to France.

And what are the objections to this *Reform*? What are the objections to giving payers of taxes a right to vote for those who make our laws? It has been impudently asserted, that such a reform would produce *anarchy and confusion*; that it would introduce *lawless and unprincipled men into the Legislature*, and into the offices of State. But has this been the effect of free election in America? We see there the Legislature and the officers of State elected by the most repre-

table, most able, and even the most opulent Citizens. The people of England are of the same excellent character as those of America. In short, the two nations are of one and the same family. The same habits, the same manners, the same turn of mind, the same attachment to freedom, the same love of country. And, it is notorious, that, in the few instances where elections are *popular* in England, the people have almost uniformly chosen men distinguished for their talents and joining talents to fortune. Where, then, is the *danger*? Who is it that need be *afraid* to suffer the people of England to choose their representatives, in the same manner as the people of America choose theirs, especially as no-one wishes to change any thing as to the powers, privileges, and prerogatives of the Peers or the King?

The old assertion, that the example of America was nothing, seeing the smallness of her population, the poverty of her people, and seeing that her constitution had not yet been brought in contact with the touchstone of war. This old assertion is now contradicted. She is nearly, if not quite, as populous as this island; her people are rich; her cities luxurious; her commerce immense; and she has just come forth with honour out of the most arduous war in which any nation was ever engaged, and that, too, not only without any internal convulsion, but without seeing her mild Government resorting to any one measure of safety beyond the usual course of law. And, *why* did it not? Because it was elected by the people; because it had the people's confidence; because, even if its measures had displeased the people, the remedy was always at hand in an approaching election. Such a Government stands in no need of soldiers in time of peace. It wants no protection against the people, because the people, can at a few months from any given day, change their representatives. Thus is public economy natural to such a state of things. Public economy prevents heavy taxation. This is another, and one of the greatest securities for internal peace as well as happiness. Whether this be the "*Social System*" I do not know; but, certain I am, that it is the *happy system*; the system of comfort, of morality, of willing submission to the laws, of attachment to country, of loyalty, and of peace.

To be sure, France has not yet furnished us with so tempting an example; but, if she should not do it, what will *then* be said against admitting all Englishmen paying direct taxes to participate in choosing their representatives, leaving the privileges and prerogatives of the Peers and the Crown wholly untouched? I am at a loss to guess; but I am at no loss to foresee what would be the consequence of the refusal. This is the race; this is the rivalry, which I wish to see between England and France. Not a rivalry in war; not a rivalry in commercial restrictions; but a rivalry in the pursuit of freedom: a rivalry in which I am not at all afraid that we should surpass her. Our natural character; our persevering attachments to country; our unwearied loyalty; that modesty which indisposes individuals to aim at predominance; that moderation which limits our views of exaltation; that plain good sense, that justice, that mercy, which, if left to ourselves, guide us in all our decisions, that almost unbounded confidence between man and man, which gives to words the value of gold; our happy local situation; and a hundred other traits and circumstances: all seem to personify themselves and to exclaim? Why is not England the freest and happiest country in the world? What need has she of armies in time of peace? Why should she know of any force beyond the Sheriff's Wand and the Constable's Staff? Why should her Government be uneasy at the propagation of any opinions or principles, political or religious?

How happy should I be, my Lord, if I could hope, that you and your colleagues would take these questions into your *serious consideration*; if, having now seen that foreign war and domestic coercion, have so completely failed, at the end of so many years, to produce that *safety*, which has been the professed object of your predecessors, in power, as well as of yourselves; if, after these fruitless endeavours, I could hope, that you would make merely a *trial of Parliamentary reform*; of that great measure, which would renovate the national spirit, make us bear our inevitable burdens with cheerfulness, and strengthen our love to our country! But, if I am forbidden to entertain this hope, I will still flatter myself, that what I have said

may, in some small degree, assist in making you hesitate before you again plunge us into another long and sanguinary war. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE.

It is a truth, confirmed by universal history, that the happiness or misery of a people depends almost entirely upon the principles of their government, and the conduct of their rulers. Wherefore is it that in Europe there is more comforts enjoyed, and greater progress made in the arts and sciences, than in Asia? It is because the Asiatic governments are more despotic and tyrannical than the European. It is from a similar cause that the improvement of society in Spain, and in Portugal, is, at the present moment, a century, at least, behind our own country. It is following this criterion only, by adopting it as a rule to form the judgment, that we shall be able, at all times, to arrive at correct ideas respecting the condition of any people. Whenever we abandon this guide, we give ourselves up to error, and to all its consequent evils; we become, by habit, the creatures of prejudice; and we seldom discover our mistake till dear bought experience has taught us the folly of our departure from truth. In nothing is the mistakes, which have arisen in consequence of this departure from rectitude, more obvious and extravagant, than in the opinions now almost generally prevailing as to the present state of society in France. Fully aware that the improvement which has taken place there, since the revolution, in the condition of the people, is the best proof that can be given of the superior excellence of the government, almost all our political writers, particularly our news-paper press, have unceasingly represented the people of France to be completely demoralized, her fields uncultivated, her manufactures annihilated, and the whole aspect of the country reduced to a state of dreary waste and desolation. It was by base attempts like these, that a too successful clamour against the republicans was first excited; that the nations of Europe were infuriated to embark in a bloody contest, and that they continued, for upwards of twenty years, to sacrifice their lives for the establishment of that "Social System," and

that "holy religion," which, it is said, had been overthrown and profaned by the jacobins of France. The repose which the treaty of Paris had given to the continent, has served in a great measure to dissipate the delusion. Liberal minded and sensible men, who could not understand how a country demoralized and debased as France was represented to be, should be able to maintain its existence against the combined attacks of Europe, were desirous to satisfy themselves as to the cause of this unaccountable phenomenon. They visited France; they observed the customs and manners of the people; they investigated the progress of the arts, of manufactures, of agriculture, of Education; they particularly informed themselves as to the national character of the people, and the general aspect of the country; and the result of these inquiries, and observations has been, that the public are now in possession of a *real picture* of France, drawn from actual survey, by persons of undoubted credit, and who were under no temptation whatever to give a false colouring to the subject. Of the many works which have issued from the press on the present state of France, I have seen none so well calculated to give correct ideas respecting it, as that published by *Mr. Birbeck*. It is entitled "Notes of a Journey through France from Dieppe through Paris and Lyons to the Pyrennees, and back through Toulouse, in July, August and September, 1814; describing the habits of the people, and the agriculture of the country."—It is my intention, as already stated, to give a summary or analysis of this valuable production. It will form a striking contrast to the view of society and manners in France, before the revolution, as given by *Mr. Arthur Young*, and which has already appeared in the Register. The reader will observe that *Mr. Birbeck* is not an admirer of Napoleon. On the contrary, he freely censures what he considers reprehensible in his conduct, and more than once stigmatizes him with the epithet of "*tyrant*."—Yet it was under the Government of this "*tyrant*" that France made such prodigious progress, in the arts and sciences, and has acquired so high a character for moral conduct, and, what may be truly called the glory of a nation, for the strict inte-

grity of her people.—After some preliminary remarks on the appearance of the houses, &c. at Dieppe, where *Mr. Birbeck* and his friends landed, he proceeds as follows.

Walking near the barracks, I was struck with the respectable appearance of the soldiers; several were seated under the trees, reading.—In the evening the streets, the boulevards, the bourse, every convenient place was filled with groups of people, of all descriptions, engaged in conversation. No rudeness in the men, no levity in the females; politeness and cheerful, sincere, good humour prevailing on all sides. How different, thought I, from an evening scene in a British sea-port! Yet Dieppe is said to be one of the coarsest places in France. There is more appearance of enjoyment, and less of positive suffering than I ever beheld before, or had any conception of; but it is not the sort of enjoyment which suits my habits; I question if I could be happy in their way. What a pains-taking unfortunate race are we! So busy about living, that we really have not time to live! and our recreations have so much of vice in them, that serious folks have imagined it impossible to be both merry and wise. The people here, though infinitely behind us in the accommodations of life, seem to be as much our superiors in the art of living. I am informed that all the children of the labouring class learn to read; and are generally taught by their parents. The relation between a good education and good morals might be studied here, to advantage, by the opposers of our improved modes of teaching the children of the poor.

On the subject of Education, our author afterwards says that at Deville—

At a very poor and remote village, where we stopped on our morning's ride, the landlady kept a child's school, and her daughter was weaving cotton check; her sister kept a little shop, and was reading a translation of Young's Night Thoughts. This was more than we should have expected, in a village Ale-house, in England.

The habits of the people more towards the South, he thus describes:

Having quitted the Pyrennees, and entered on a district, where, instead of small fields, numerous villages, and a thick population, are large towns, large divisions of land, and fewer people; I have to remark, on taking leave of my mountain friends, that their poverty is more in appearance than reality. They have frugal habits; and consider as luxuries, some things which may perhaps be among the necessities of life in the estimation of their lowland neighbours. They are not as

alms-taking indigent peasantry; but laborious and independent; living upon little, and heedless how; but nothing of the negligence which is the constant companion of hopeless poverty, is discoverable in their fields; on the contrary, these are cultivated with garden-like exactness. Their lands and their cattle shew that they are far removed from beggary and want. In the richer tracts, where their little estates are productive with moderate toil, the inhabitants are living in great plenty and comfort. Those beautiful and fertile vallies which converge at Tarascon, seem to unite lowland abundance with mountain simplicity.

On the labouring class, and farm Servants, *Mr. Birbeck* has furnished the following interesting facts, which I have extracted from his work without any regard to the order in which they are there placed.

On my first landing, I was struck with the respectable appearance of the labouring class; I see the same marks of comfort and plenty, every where as I proceed. I ask for the wretched peasantry, of whom I have heard and read so much; but I am always referred to the revolution; it seems they vanished, then.—Wages about Lunch; 20d. a day the men; 10d. to 15d. the women. Asked some men who were digging in a vineyard, how many shirts they had;—fifteen to twenty, “*suivant la personne*,” was the reply. I have met with this unequivocal proof of riches in every part of the country. The labouring class, formerly the poor, are now rich, in consequence of the national domains having been sold in small allotments, at very low rates, and with the indulgence of five years for completing the payment. Thus there are few labourers or domestic servants who are not proprietors of land.

Lying between the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean, Roussillon enjoys mountain gales and sea breezes, with the fertility of a southern vale, and, what adds much to the delights of this paradise, a happy peasantry. *M. ———* confirmed my general observations on this head. He also informed me that it was usual for a youth of sixteen, to hire himself, as a domestic servant in agriculture; and, when he arrives at twenty-one or twenty-two, to have laid up 400 or 400 francs, 18l. or 20l. sterling. With 400 francs, he buys a cottage and marries; his wife has probably a little portion. He has an opportunity also of buying 1500 square toises (nearly an acre and half English) of uncultivated mountain land, rocky and poor, but fit for vines: for this he pays fifteen or twenty francs, and becomes a proprietor; having a constant resource of profitable industry, in winter, when work may be scarce. Wages, in

the busy season (which is of pretty long duration, including harvest and threshing, then the vintage, and afterwards the olives) 40 sous and board, women 25 sous, without board. The allowance of board is 3lb of bread, 1lb of meat, besides vegetable dishes, such as haricos, &c and three bottles of wine, per day: in harvest and threshing, six bottles of wine. The pound French, is about equal to 18 ounces, English.

The Shepherd is a wealthy man. His wife shewed us her ample stores of home-spun linen. She sows the hemp, prepares and spins it herself. The labouring class here [at Issy near Paris] is certainly much higher, on the social scale, than with us. Every opportunity of collecting information on this subject confirms my first impression, that there are very few really poor people in France. In England a poor man and a labourer are synonymous terms; we speak familiarly of the poor, meaning the labouring class: not so here. I have now learnt enough to explain this difference: and having received the same information from every quarter, there is no room to doubt its correctness.

The general character of the French, and the beneficial effects which the revolution has produced, particularly on the habits of the people, are thus spoken of:

The approach to Ronen is noble: every object denotes prosperity and comfort. Since I entered the country I have been looking, in all directions, for the ruins of France: for the horrible effects of the revolution, of which so much is said on one side of the water: but instead of a ruined country, I see fields highly cultivated, and towns full of inhabitants. No houses tumbling down, or empty, no ragged, wretched-looking, people. I have enquired, and every body assures me, that agriculture has been improving rapidly for the last twenty-five years; that the riches and comforts of the cultivators of the soil have been doubled during that period; and that vast improvement has taken place in the condition and character of the common people. In the early part of the revolution, more was done in the promoting the instruction of the lower order than the sinister policy of the late Emperor was able to destroy; and, though much remains to be desired on this point, enough has been effected to shew that a well-educated commonalty would not be wanting in industry or subordination. The National Domains, consisting of the confiscated estates of the church and the emigrant nobility, were exposed to sale during the pecuniary distresses of the revolutionary government in small portions, for the accommodation of the lowest order of purchasers, and five years allowed for completing the payment. This indulgence, joined to the depreciation of assignments, enabled the poorest description of peasants to

become proprietors; and such they are almost universally; possessing from one to ten acres. And as the education of the poor was sedulously promoted during the early years of the revolution, their great advance, in character as well as condition, is no mystery. I prefer the country character of France to that of the city. In the former, the good fruits of the Revolution are visible at every step: previous to that era, in the country, the most numerous class, the bulk of the population, all but the nobles and the priests, were wretchedly poor, servile and thievish. This class has assumed a new character, improved in proportion to the improvement of its condition. Servility has vanished with their poverty; their thievishness, an effect of the same cause, has also in great measure disappeared.

As a proof of the honest disposition of the lower orders, *Mr. Birbeck* gives the following anecdote of a postillion:

On our arrival at our hotel, the postillion demanded double for the last post, as a *Poste Royale*; armed a *l'Anglois* at all points against imposition, I objected; he proposed going to the *Bureau des Postes*, to prove his right; I, curious to be introduced to a French Authority, willingly consented, and away we went to the *Bureau des Postes*: there he established his claim. On returning to the hotel to his voiture and horses, an article of our baggage was missing; the postillion declared he had not seen it, and as we could not ascertain at what place it had been left, it was given up as lost; it was a *sac de nuit*, containing sundries of some value. In three days the same postillion left our *sac* at the hotel unopened, not an article missing: he had traced it back until he found it; and considering the mode of our settlement, it was more than we expected. I give it as a sample of French honesty and regard for character. As another instance of the same kind; a postillion galloped after us three miles, with a small article which had been overlooked in shifting the luggage.

In several points I found the French character different from what I had conceived it, from the common report. There is a sort of independence, an uprightness of manner, denoting equality and the consciousness of it, which I was not prepared for. This is sometimes, in the lower class, accompanied by something like American roughness, and is not altogether agreeable to our habits. In general however they are extremely attentive to good manners in their intercourse with each other, and with their superiors; but you may look in vain for that deference, bordering on servility, which we are accustomed to from our dependants; who are, notwithstanding, free born Englishmen.

—I have had constant occasion to remark the excellent condition of the labouring class; their decent respectable appearance. This was more than I had expected.

The decorum of manners in both sexes which prevails universally, surprised and delighted me beyond expression. Here are none of those exhibitions of profligacy, which disgust you at every step, even in our country villages. No ragged wretches staggering home from a filthy alchouse. One drunken man, and but one, I saw in all my journey. Now, this is not to be attributed to abject poverty, absolutely depriving them of the means of intoxication, as might have been the case before the revolution: on the contrary, wine and brandy are cheap, and the earnings of the labourer are at least one third more in proportion than in England. Such is the habitual temperance of the description of people who with us are most addicted to drinking, that the inns, frequented by postillions and waggoners, seldom have any liquor stronger than their ordinary wine. If you call for brandy, they are obliged to send for it to the *Café*. The manager of an iron forge was describing to me the severe labour which the workmen performed before their immense fires: I enquired about their drinking, and he assured me that they never drank even their own weak wine without water. Intimately connected with the temperance of the men is the modesty of the women, and equally exemplary.

A habit of economy and frugality, accompanied by a perfect indifference to stile and shew, is another characteristic of the French nation, extending through all ranks; and entirely inconsistent with the fashionable frivolity which has been attributed to them. I am a countryman, and it is France as a country that I came to visit and am describing, not Paris in particular. The exceptions to my statement will be found in the latter, where no doubt there are too many examples of every enormity. Yet Paris itself will bear me out when compared with London.

I had heard much of French beggars, and there are too many to be seen hovering around the post-houses, and on the hills of the great roads, especially north of Paris: they are mostly very old or blind people who follow begging as a profession, without exhibiting marks of extreme poverty, being often neatly, and even well, clad. Beggars seem to be an essential part of the Catholic system, affording occasion for the meritorious work of giving alms: but as the amount required to constitute a title to reward has not been exactly stated, very small coins are chiefly in request for that purpose, and people generally carry a store of them. One of my fellow travellers from Clermont, who was on his way to Paris, I believe, to purchase an estate,

was a fine example of French economy, and Catholic charity united. He gave a beggar a sous, and took back two liards in change.

The following very interesting particulars, as to the occupations of the fair sex, are highly deserving of consideration:

In every part of France women employ themselves in offices which are deemed with us unsuitable to the sex. Here there is no sexual distinction of employment: the women undertake any task they are able to perform, without much notion of fitness or unfitness. This applies to all classes. The lady of one of the principal clothiers at Louviers, conducted us over the works; gave us patterns of the best cloths; ordered the machinery to be set in motion for our gratification, and was evidently in the habit of attending to the whole detail of the business. Just so, near Rouen, the wife of the largest farmer in that quarter, conducted me to the barns and stables; shewed me the various implements, and explained their use; took me into the fields, and described the mode of husbandry, which she perfectly understood; expatiated on the excellence of their fallows; pointed out the best sheep in the flock, and gave me a detail of their management in buying their wether lambs and fattening their wethers. This was on a farm of about 400 acres. In every shop and warehouse you see similar activity in the females. At the royal porcelain manufactory at Sevres, a woman was called to receive payment for the articles we purchased. In the Halle de Bled, at Paris, women, in their little counting-houses, are performing the office of factors, in the sale of grain and flour. In every department they occupy an important station, from one extremity of the country to the other.

In many cases, where women are employed in the more laborious occupations, the real cause is directly opposite to the apparent. You see them in the south, threshing, with the men, under a burning sun;—it is a family party threshing out the crop of their own freehold: a woman is holding a plough;—the plough, the horses, the land is her's; or, (as we have it) her husband's; who is probably sowing the wheat which she is turning in. You are shocked on seeing a fine young woman loading a dung cart; it belongs to her father, who is manuring his own field, for their common support. In these instances the toil of the woman denotes wealth rather than want; though the latter is the motive to which a superficial observer would refer it. Who can estimate the importance, in a moral and political view, of this state of things? Where the women, in the complete exercise of their mental and bodily faculties, are performing their full share of the duties of life. It is the natural, healthy condition of Society. Its influence on the

female character in France is a proof of it. There is that freedom of action, and reliance on their own powers, in the French women, generally, which occasionally, we observe with admiration in women of superior talents in England.

The contrast drawn by our author between the ancient nobility and the present occupiers of land in France, possesses no small degree of interest:

The ancient nobility, before the revolution, were not very refined in their mode of living at their chateaux. These houses, generally in a ruinous state and badly furnished, were occasionally visited by their owners, accompanied probably by a party of guests, and a numerous tribe of domestics. These visits were the result of caprice sometimes; often of necessity: to recover fresh vigor for the expenses of Paris: but rarely for the true enjoyment of the country. Their appearance was not welcomed by their tenants, from whom certain extra services were then required. Provisions of all kinds, grain, fish, fowl, all were in requisition. The dependants, almost plundering, and insolent of course. The gentry, spending their time at cards or billiards; or promenading in their strait lined gardens, in stiff Parisian dresses, were only known on their estates to be hated and despised. A better spirit prevails at present. Proprietors have acquired a touch of the country gentleman, and are cultivating their estates; whilst the tenants are relieved from degrading corvees and other odious oppressions. Still, much is wanting to render a country residence inviting to those who cannot be satisfied in the society of their own domestic circle; or who may not be blessed with a numerous and happy family. When capital, in the hands of well educated men, begins to be directed to rural affairs, a foundation is laid for a better state of society. A broad foundation of this sort has been already laid in France. Thanks to the Revolution!—

We have heard much respecting the Police, and the number of crimes in Tradesmen. Many have gone so far as to attribute the increase of crimes with us to a defect in our laws of police.—But whatever may be in this, it is clear from *Mr. Birbeck's* statement, that crimes are by no means so prevailing there as in this country.

Whilst waiting for my passport of departure, at the Bureau of the Prefecture, many persons were receiving passports of removal from one section of Paris to another. A strictness of police of which I before had no conception. I imagine a register is kept of the inhabitants of every house; and from the arrangement of the numerous clerks in this long

and commodious apartment, called the Bureau des Passports, I have no doubt but this important object is attained without difficulty or confusion. I presume passports are procured without much trouble or any expence to the parties: they are therefore not likely to be neglected by any but the evil disposed; and as general security is the aim, and in a great degree the result, of these seemingly severe regulations, they may be submitted to with cheerfulness. A police of this kind must prevent the existence of such hordes of banditti as infest our metropolis. Here can be no dark and insupportable recesses where villains by profession may collect in a mass, and conspire against the public. This is the fair side. How much these regulations favour political tyranny, I am not qualified to say; but here I suspect mischief. However, the clerks in this office appear to be a civil, respectable set, and much better employed in preventing crimes, and are probably better men, than the swarm of police officers, with us, who live by them; who, by overlooking small offences, nurse up the criminals to that eminence in guilt, which entitles the thief-taker to a reward. Security of person and property, two great ends of Society, are attained in a higher degree under the French than under the English system.

Prevention of crimes is the very spirit of the former, which pervades every place, and meets you at every turn. In the country, the Gardes champêtres, a revolutionary institution, are the great means, always in activity, of crushing them in the egg. One or more of these officers is appointed in every commune, whose duty it is to prevent all petty depredations, and even trespasses out of the public paths. In every case they may arrest the offender, and carry him before the mayor of the commune, who levies a penalty according to law. These men are always on the alert; armed, mostly with a pike, sometimes with a gun; and are authorized to use force in case of resistance. In towns, the preventive police is performed by the military, and most effectually. Being under the direction of the civil power, if such a force must be maintained, perhaps this is the best mode of employing it. The regularity and strictness of military discipline, form the French soldiers into excellent civil guards, and the end is so beneficial that the means may well be tolerated. The Gardes champêtres are so watchful and alert, that they seem to possess a sort of ubiquity which is very effectual in preventing petty depredations. Walking up a hill from Gorbail, I strayed into a vineyard by the road side. The grapes were miserable; small as currants, and unripe. To plunder was the last thing I should have thought of; however I picked a little bunch. As I came out of the vineyard, a stout young fellow,

with a pike in his hand, met me, and civilly enquired if the grapes were good. "Les raisins sont ils bons?" "Non," replied I. "Comme ça;" and shewed him the bunch I had gathered. You must go with me "à la Ville," says he, "devant le Maire." I remonstrated—he threatened: at length he consented to let me off for a frank. This I should not have complied with, if my company had not been forward, and waiting for me; but would have paid the legal penalty before the mayor. In the south, where vineyards are universal, the same degree of strictness would not have appeared in this particular, but the watchful spirit is perceived every where.

With a Government really Representative, such a police would not be an engine of oppression: and to estimate its value in comparison with a vindictive police, such as that of England, we must consider the wretchedness of the agent of a criminal act, as well as the suffering of its object. Its watchful character renders pilfering unprofitable and dangerous, therefore it is not followed as a profession: a man rises to an accomplished villain by degrees, therefore the prevention of small offences hinders the commission of atrocious crimes.

(To be continued.)

MARSHAL MARMONT.

SIR,—At the time the influence of the allies caused the defection of the Duke of Ragusa from Napoleon, the Duke was stationed at the head of *forty thousand* of the finest troops in the French service, to act as a screen on Paris, on the approach of the allies to that capital. This command formed an important post in the plan of a master-piece of Generalship, by the execution of which, had Marmont only remained faithful, the allies would have fallen in the hands of Napoleon. When the Duke of Ragusa consented to betray Napoleon, he detached *twenty thousand* of these troops from his army; sending them quite out of the way; the affectionate devotion to the cause of their country, and the enthusiastic attachment to Napoleon of the whole of this veteran army, rendering even the remaining *twenty thousand men* a formidable corps. To these the Duke of Ragusa contrived to have *THIRTY* pound shot served out, although their largest guns carried only *TWENTY* pounders; and so minutely did he enter into the details of treachery, that he caused SAND to be mixed with the powder

which was to be used by these brave fellows!!!—The attempt made by the Duke of Ragusa to vindicate his conduct towards Napoleon, obliges me, in common justice, to refute all his laboured defence, by this plain statement of FACTS: for confirmation of the *truth of which*, I appeal to the survivors of all those brave soldiers, whom he THUS left to be SLAUGHTERED!! I am, &c.

MIRATOR.

Clifton, April 13, 1815.

THE ADDRESS.

MR. COBBETT.—In the Regent's Message to Parliament, we are told, that the events which have recently occurred in France, threaten consequences highly dangerous to the tranquillity and independence of Europe. Let us pause here for a moment, and consider whether or not this broad assertion be true.—Bonaparte, we know, has declared his determination to rest on the Treaty of Paris; he has declared that he will not *invade* other countries, but only *defend* himself against foreign attack. In what then consists the danger to the tranquillity and independence of Europe? Why should not all Europe *continue* in the present state of peace? France has, by a calm Revolution, changed her Ruler; Louis left the throne, and Napoleon took it; and it is clear that Napoleon is the choice and approbation of the French People. Who dare dispute the *right* of the People to the choice of their Rulers? In what respect then does this simple, but wonderful change endanger the tranquillity of Europe? We are told that there is to be an augmentation of his Majesty's land, and sea forces. For what purpose is this augmentation? Will not this augmentation of land and sea forces lead to an augmentation of land and sea *taxes*? Is not the whole world now in a state of Peace, and ought not every thing to return to a peace establishment? Must we be for *ever* in the expensive attitude of war, because the tranquillity of Europe *may*, some time or other, be disturbed? Who is to disturb it? At one time, the Emperor of Russia; at another time the King of Prussia; at another, Napoleon Bonaparte, or Louis the 18th, 19th, or 20th; may be said to endanger it. And so we are to be perpetually burdened with increasing taxes, because the tranquillity and inde-

pendence of Europe may be *possibly* disturbed. Ministers, I have no doubt, ardently desire war. But war does not suit them *just at present*. They must *communicate* with the Allies. Some of them may have been offended at Congress. They want also large *subsidies*. The property tax, or something like it, will be the next ministerial measure. And soon after war will be declared against France. I hope I am mistaken, but a short time will determine.

Yours, &c. &c. G. G. F.

London, April 12th, 1815.

LORD COCHRANE.

His Lordship has addressed a Letter "*To his Constituents*," in which he fully explains his motives for leaving the King's Bench prison, and the objects he had in view in taking his seat in the House of Commons. Justice requires that this publication should be read, before any one ventures to *censure* the conduct of his Lordship. I have no room for more than the following extracts:—

"I have heard much about the duty of submitting to the laws, but not enough to inspire me with reverence for iniquity exercised under legal appearances. It is not by him who resists injustice committed under the forms of law, but by him who makes those forms the instruments and the cloak of injustice, that the laws are violated. I did not, however, quit these walls to escape from personal oppression, but at the hazard of my life to assert that right to liberty which as a member of the community I have never forfeited, and that right which I received from you, to attack in its very den, the corruption which threatens to annihilate the liberties of us all. I did not quit them to fly from the justice of my country, but to expose the wickedness, fraud, and hypocrisy of those who elude that justice by committing their enormities under the colour of its name. I did not quit them from the childish motive of impatience under suffering; I staid long enough here to evince that I could en-

dure restraint as a pain, but not as a penalty. I staid long enough to be certain that my persecutors were conscious of their injustice; and to feel that my submission to their unmerited inflictions was losing the dignity of resignation, and sinking into the ignominious endurance of an insult.

“Gentlemen; if it had not been for the commotion excited by that obnoxious, injurious, and arbitrary measure, the Corn Bill, which began to evince itself on the day of my departure from prison, (which was on the anniversary of my escape from similar oppression at Malta four years before,) I should have lost no time in proceeding to the House of Commons: but conjecturing that the spirit of disturbance might derive some encouragement from my unexpected appearance at that time, and having no inclination to promote tumult, I resolved to defer my appearance at that House, and, if possible, to conceal my departure from the Prison, until the order of the Metropolis should be restored. I had, however, been out but a few days when I received intimation that a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the state of the Prison, had discovered that I was absent. Conceiving that they would communicate the circumstance, and anxious to obviate any false impressions as to my motives and intentions, I immediately addressed the following Letter to the Speaker, which I fully expected he would have read to the House:

London, March, 9, 1815.

“Sir: I respectfully request that you will state to the Honourable the House of Commons, that I should immediately and personally have communicated to them my departure from the custody of Lord Ellenborough, by whom I have

been long most unjustly detained; but I judged it better to endeavour to conceal my absence, and to defer my appearance in the House until the public agitation excited by the Corn Bill, should subside. And I have further to request that you will also communicate to the House that it is my intention on an early day to present myself for the purpose of taking my seat, and moving an Inquiry into the conduct of Lord Ellenborough.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

COCHRANE.”

“Gentlemen: If the Right Honourable the Speaker had thought proper to comply with my request; if he had read my Letter to the House, as he afterwards read that which he received from the Marshal of the King’s Bench, relative to my apprehension; the scandalous reports which appeared in the hiring Journals, attributing my conduct to criminal or contemplative motives, could not have been invented or propagated.

“I did not go to the House of Commons to complain about losses or sufferings; about fine or imprisonment; or of property to the amount of ten times the fine, of which I have been cheated by this malicious Prosecution. I did not go to the House to complain of the mockery of having been heard in my defence, and answered by a reference to that Decision from which that Defence was an Appeal. I did not go there to complain of those who expelled me from my Profession: for if I could have stooped to the Enemies of my Country at home, I might still have been instrumental in humbling its Enemies abroad. I did not go to the House to complain, generally, of the Advisers of the Crown: but I went there to complain of the conduct of him—

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

On the approaching War against France.

The last war against France swelled the annual taxes on account of the National Debt from 9 millions of pounds to 41 millions of pounds; it caused, besides this, 800 millions of pounds to be raised, during the war, in other taxes; it has reduced us to such a state, that, even in peace, loans were become necessary, besides taxes almost as heavy as in time of war. Such, in short, in a pecuniary view, were the effects of that war, that the government found it expedient to resort to a Corn-Bill, in order to raise and keep up the price of the first necessary of life, that the Owners and Tillers of the soil might be able to pay the taxes which that government wanted to pay the interest of the Debt and to maintain the military establishments.

These facts being undeniable, have we not reason to dread the consequences of another war against France? Ought we to run head-long into such a war? I have, in my four last Numbers, strenuously laboured to prevent this calamity; but, I now really begin to fear, that the wishes of the enemies of peace and freedom may finally prevail. The *Income or Property Tax* is again to be brought forward, and, if the news-papers be correct, on the same principle as before. The *Alien Act* is again to be proposed, if we are to rely upon the same sources of information. In short, if the accounts of proceedings in Parliament be true, we shall very soon be thrown back to the state of 1813 as to expence, and to 1793 as to principle of action.

In my late Numbers I have, I think, very clearly shown, that, if we now make war upon France, it will be out of the power of any human being to dispute the fact; that the war, on our part, is a war of aggression, and of aggression, too, of the most odious and intolerable kind; seeing that even its openly professed object must be to *force a government, or a chief, upon France*. It is said: "No; we only

“want to force the French to put down
“*their present chief.*” That is to say,
we, modest people! do not wish, God for-
bid! to interfere in the internal affairs of
France; we do not wish to force a chief
upon her; but, she having a chief whom
we do not like, we will make war upon
her, until she put him away. That is all!
Our modesty will not let us go an inch
further.

In order that you may clearly see what is the light, in which the French government view the matter, I shall subjoin to this address the Official Documents published in France, relative to it. In these you will find the *answer*, which France gives to all her enemies. Here you will find a clear description of the grounds, on which she rests. The first document contains an answer to the *charges* against her and her chief; the second contains the reasons for her preparing for her *defence*. To these documents I have prefixed the memorable Declaration of the Allies, dated at Vienna on the 13th of March. This was the *first* stone hurled at the French nation. A careful perusal, and an occasional reference, to these Documents, will keep fresh in the memory of every man the **REAL CAUSES** of the war, if war should now take place.

The *Borough-faction*, who are now crying out for war through the columns of our vile newspapers, tell us, that we cannot live in safety, while Napoleon is at the head of the government of France. This has, under *all changes*, been their cry for the last 22 years. We could not live at peace with the *National Assembly*. We could have no peace and safety with the *Convention*. We could not have peace and safety with the *Corsuls*. We could have no peace and safety with the *Emperor* before; no, nor can we have it with him now. The *BOURBONS*: these are the people, with whom alone our *Borough-faction* think they can enjoy peace. We must, therefore, *depose* Napoleon: yes, as we *deposed* Mr. MADISON. The peace of Europe and the world; and especially our *own safety*, require, &c.

told, this deposition. But, just so we were told in the case of Mr. Madison. "No peace! No peace! No peace with JAMES MADISON!" was the cry of this faction. Down with him! Send Duke Wellington! Kill! kill! kill! Keep killing; keep bombarding; keep burning; keep on till James Madison be deposed; 'till that "*rebel and traitor*;" 'till that "mischievous ex-ample of the success of democratic re-bellion be destroyed." They said our work was but *half done*, 'till this was accomplished; and, they have become almost mad since their scheme was defeated.

Well, then, Englishmen, can you believe, that these same men; that this same wicked faction, wish to put down Napoleon for the love of *freedom*? Was it for the love of freedom that they wished to depose Mr. Madison? Can you believe, that it is from the fear of our *safety* being put in danger by Napoleon? Was it from the fear of our *safety* being endangered by Mr. Madison that they wished to depose him? Do you think, that they were afraid, that Mr. Madison would *over-run Europe with his armies*? Alas! do you not see what is their *real fear*? Do you not see, that it is *liberty*; that it is *free government*; that it is the *rights of mankind*, which they wish to see *deposed*? Some patriot said: "*where liberty is, there is my country*." If this faction were to speak out honestly, they would say: "*where liberty is, there is our Hell*."

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIES.

The Powers who have signed the Treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them. By thus breaking the convention which has established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended—by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor *truce* with him. The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil

and social relations; and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the Treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that Treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts; that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions. And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate Sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the Sovereigns of Europe animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France, and to the French nation, or to any other Government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it. The present Declaration inserted in the Register of the Congress assembled at Vienna, on the 13th March, 1815, shall be made public. Done and attested by the Plenipotentiaries of the High Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, Vienna, 13th March, 1815.

Austria.—Prince Metternich, Baron Wis-
senberg.

France.—Prince Talleyrand, the Duke of
Dulberg, Latour du Pin, Count Alexis
and Noailles.

Great Britain.—Wellington, Clancarty,
Cathcart, Stewart.

Portugal.—Count Pamella Saldanha Lobos.

Prussia.—Prince Hardenberg, Baron
Humboldt.

Russia.—Count Rasumowsky, Count
Staeckelberg, Count Nesselrode.

Spain.—P. Gomez Labrador.

Sweden.—Lafmnhelm.

ANSWER OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, APRIL 2.

In consequence of the remit which has been made to it, the Committee, composed of Presidents of Sections of the Council of State, has examined the Declaration of the 13th of March, the report of the Minister of General Police, and the documents thereto subjoined. The Declaration is in a form so unusual, conceived in terms so strange, expresses ideas so anti-social, that the Committee was ready to consider it as one of those forgeries by which despicable men seek to mislead the people, and produce a change in public opinion. But the verification of legal minutes drawn up at Metz and of the examinations of couriers, has left no ground for doubt that the transmission of this declaration was made by the Members of the French Legation at Vienna, and it must, therefore, be regarded as adopted and signed by them. It was in this first point of view that the Committee thought it their duty to examine, in the first instance, this production, which is without precedent in the annals of diplomacy, and in which Frenchmen, men invested with a public character the most respectable, begin by a sort of placing without the law, or, to speak more precisely, by an incitement to the assassination of the Emperor Napoleon. We say with the Minister of Police that this Declaration is the work of the French Plenipotentiaries; because those of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, could not have signed a deed which the Sovereigns and the nations to which they belong will hasten to disavow. For in the first place these Plenipotentiaries, most of whom co-operated in the treaty of Paris, know that Napoleon was there recognised as retaining the title of Emperor, and as Sovereign of the isle of Elba: they would have designated him by these titles, nor would have departed, either in substance or form, from the respectful notice which they impose. They would have felt that, according to the law of nations, the Prince least powerful from the extent or population of his States, enjoys, in regard to his political and civil character, the rights belonging to every Sovereign Prince equally with the most powerful Monarch; and Napoleon, recognized under the title of Emperor,

and as a Sovereign Prince by all the Powers, was no more than any one triable by the Congress of Vienna. An oblivion of those principles, which it is impossible to ascribe to Plenipotentiaries who weigh the rights of nations with deliberation and prudence, has in it nothing astonishing when it is displayed by some French ministers, whose consciences reproach them with more than one act of treason, in whom fear has produced rage, and whom remorse deprives of reason. Such persons might have risked the fabrication, the publication of a document like the pretended declaration of the 13th of March, in the hope of stopping the progress of Napoleon, and misleading the French people as to the true principles of foreign powers. But such men are not qualified, like the latter, to judge of the merit of a nation which they have misconceived, betrayed, delivered up to the arms of foreigners. That nation, brave and generous, revolts against every thing bearing the character of baseness and oppression; its affections become enthusiastic when their object is threatened or attacked by a great injustice; and the assassination to which the declaration of the 13th of March incites, will find an aim for its execution neither among the 25 millions of Frenchmen, the majority of whom followed, guarded, protected Napoleon from the Mediterranean to the capital, nor among the 18 millions of Italians, the 6 millions of Belgians and Rhenish, nor the numerous nations of Germany, who, at this solemn crisis, have not pronounced his name but with respectful recollections; nor amidst the indignant English nation, whose honourable sentiments disavow the language which has been audaciously put into the mouths of Sovereigns. The nations of Europe are enlightened; they judge the rights of the Allied Princes, and those of the Bourbons. They know that the convention of Fontainebleau was a treaty among Sovereigns; its violation, the entrance of Napoleon on the French territory, like every infraction of a diplomatic act, like every hostile invasion, could only lead to an ordinary war, the result of which can only be, in respect of persons, that of being conqueror or conquered, free, or a prisoner of war; in respect of possessions, that of being either preserved or lost, increased or diminished; and that every thought, every threat, every attempt against the life of a Prince at war with

another, is a thing unheard of in the history of nations and the cabinets of Europe. In the violence, the rage, the oblivion of principles which characterise the Declaration of the 13th of March, we recognise the envoys of the same Prince, the organs of the same Councils, which, by the Ordinance of the 9th of March, also placed Napoleon without the law, also invited against him the poniards of assassins, and promised a reward to the bringer of his head. What, however, did Napoleon do? He did honour by his confidence to the men of all nations, insulted by the infamous mission to which it was wished to invite them; he shewed himself moderate, generous, the protector even of those who had devoted him to death. When he spoke to General Excelmans, marching towards the column which closely followed Louis Stanislas Xavier; to Count D'Erlon, who had to receive him at Lille; to General Clausel, who went to Bordeaux, where was the Duchess D'Angouleme; to General Grouchy, dispatched to put a period to the civil dissensions excited by the Duke D'Angouleme—everywhere, in short, orders were given by the Emperor that persons should be protected and sheltered from every attack, every danger, every violence, while on the French territory, and when they quitted it. Nations and posterity will judge on which side, at this great conjuncture, has been respect for the rights of the people and of sovereigns, for the laws of war, the principles of civilization, the maxims of laws, civil and religious. They will decide between Napoleon and the House of Bourbon.

If, after having examined the pretended Declaration of the Congress under this first view, it is discussed in its relations to diplomatic conventions, and to the treaty of Fontainebleau of the 11th of April, 1814, ratified by the French government, it will be found that its violation is only imputable to the very persons who reproach Napoleon therewith. The treaty of Fontainebleau has been violated by the Allied Powers, and the House of Bourbon, in what regards the Emperor Napoleon and his family, in what regards the interests and the rights of the French nation.

First—The Empress Maria-Louisa and her son ought to have obtained passports, and an escort to repair to the Emperor; and far from executing this promise, they separated violently the

wife from the husband, the son from the father, and that during distressing circumstances, when the firmest soul has need of looking for consolation and support to the bosom of its family, and domestic affections.

Secondly—The safety of Napoleon, of his imperial family, and of their attendants, was guaranteed (14th article of treaty), by all the Powers; and bands of assassins have been organised in France under the eyes of the French Government, and even by its orders, as will soon be proved by the solemn process against the *Sieur Demoutbreuil*, for the purpose of attacking the Emperor and his brothers and their wives: in default of the success which was expected from this first branch of the plot, a commotion had been planned at Orgon, on the Emperor's road, to attempt an attack on his life by the hands of some brigands: they sent as governor to Corsica an assassin of Georges, the *Sieur Brulart*, raised purposely to the rank of Marshal-de-Camp, known in Brittany, in Anjou, in Normandy, in La Vendee, in all England, by the blood which he had shed, that he might prepare and make sure the crime: and in fact several isolated assassins attempted, in the Isle of Elba, to gain by the murder of Napoleon the guilty and disgraceful salary which was promised to them.

Thirdly—The Duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria-Louisa for herself, her son, and her descendants; and after long refusals to put her in possession, they gave the finish to their injustice by an absolute spoliation, under the delusive pretext of a change without valuation, without proportion, without sovereignty, without consent: and documents existing in the Foreign-office, which have been submitted to us, prove that it was on the solicitations, at the instance, and by the intrigues of the Prince of Benevent, that Maria Louisa and her son have been plundered.

Fourthly—There should have been given to the Prince Eugene, adopted son of the Emperor, who has done honour to France, which gave him birth, and who has conquered the affectionate Italy, which adopted him, a suitable establishment out of France, and he has obtained nothing.

Fifthly—The Emperor had (art. 9. of the treaty) stipulated in favour of the heroes of the army, for the preservation of their endowments on the *Monte Napoleone*: he had reserved on the extraordinary domains, and on the funds of the civil list, means of recompensing his servants, of paying the soldiers who attached themselves

to his destiny: all was carried away and kept back by the Ministers of the Bourbons. An agent for the French Military, M. Bresson, went in vain to Vienna, to claim for them the most sacred of properties—the price of their courage and blood.

Sixthly—The preservation of the goods, moveable and immovable, of the family of the Emperor, is stipulated by the same treaty (art. 6): and they have been plundered of one and of the other; that is to say, by main force in France, by commissioned brigands; in Italy, by the violence of the military chiefs; in the two countries, by sequestrations, and by seizures solemnly decreed.

Seventhly—The Emperor Napoleon was to have received 2,000,000, and his family 2,500,000 francs per annum, according to the arrangement established in the 6th article of the treaty: and the French Government has constantly refused to fulfil this engagement, and Napoleon would soon have been reduced to dismiss his faithful guard for want of means to secure their pay, if he had not found in the grateful recollections of the bankers, and merchants of Genoa and of Italy, the honourable resource of a loan of 12 millions which was offered to him.

Eighthly—In short, it was not without a reason that they wished by all means to separate from Napoleon those companions of his glory, models of devotedness and constancy, the unshaken guarantees of his safety and of his life. The island of Elba was secured to him in full property (art. 3, of the treaty) and the resolution to spoil him of it, which was desired by the Bourbons, and solicited by their agents, had been taken at the Congress.

And if Providence had not in its justice provided for him, Europe would have seen an attack made on the person on the liberty of Napoleon, banished for the future to the mercy of his enemies, far from his family, and separated from his servants, either to Saint Lucia, or St. Helena, which was intended for his prison. And when the Allied Powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes, to the cruel importunities of the house of Bourbon, had condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon had released the French nation from its oaths: when himself and the members of his family saw themselves threatened, attacked in their persons, in their property, in their affections, in the rights stipulated in their favour, as Princes, even in those rights secured by the laws to simple citizens, what

could Napoleon do? Ought he, after having endured so many affronts, supported so many injuries, to have consented to the complete violation of the engagements made with him, and resigning himself personally to the lot which was prepared for him, abandon once more his wife, his son, his family, his faithful servants to their frightful destiny? Such a resolution appears above human strength; and yet Napoleon would have taken it, if peace and the happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself again for the French people, of whom, as he wishes to declare to Europe, he makes it his glory to hold every thing, to whom he wishes to ascribe every thing, to whom alone he wishes to answer for all his actions, and to devote his life. It was for France alone, and to avert from it the misfortune of civil war, that he abdicated the crown in 1814. He restored to the French people the rights which he held of them: he left it free to choose for itself a new monarch, and to establish its liberty and its happiness on institutions which might protect both. He hoped for the nation the preservation of all which he had acquired by 25 years of combats and of glory, the exercise of its sovereignty in the choice of a dynasty, and in the stipulation of the conditions on which it would be called upon to reign. He expected from the new government respect for the glory of the armies; the rights of the brave, the guarantee of all the new interests, of those interests which had arisen and been maintained for a quarter of a century, resulting from all the laws political and civil, observed, revered during this period, because they were identified with the manners, the habits, the wants of the nation. Far from that, all idea of the sovereignty of the people was discarded. The principle on which all legislation, political and civil, since the Revolution, had rested, was equally discarded. France has been treated by the Bourbons like a revolted country, re-conquered by the arms of its ancient masters, and subjected anew to a feudal dominion. Louis Stanislas Xavier did not recognise the treaty, which alone made the Throne of France vacant; and the abdication which alone permitted him to ascend it. He pretended to have reigned 19 years, thus insulting both the governments which had been established in this period, and the

people who had consecrated them by its suffrages, and the army which had defended them, and even the Sovereigns who had recognized them in their numerous treaties. A charter digested by the Senate, all imperfect as it was, was thrown into oblivion. There was imposed on France a pretended constitutional law, as easy to elude as to revoke, and in the form of simple royal decrees, without consulting the nation, without hearing even those bodies, become illegal—phantoms of the national representation. And as the Bourbons passed ordinances without right, and promised without guarantee, they eluded without good faith, and executed without fidelity. The violation of the pretended Charter was restrained only by the timidity of their government; the extent of the abuses of power was only confined by its weakness. The dislocation of the army, the dispersion of its officers, the exile of many of them, the degradation of the soldiers, the suppression of their endowments, their deprivation of pay and half-pay, the reduction of the salaries of legionaries, their being stripped of their honour, the pre-eminence of the decorations of the feudal monarchy, the contempt of citizens, designated anew by the *Third Estate*, the prepared and already commenced spoliation of the purchasers of national property, the actual depreciation of that which they were obliged to sell, the return of feudality in its titles, its privileges, its lucrative rights, the re-establishment of ultramontane principles, the abolition of the liberties of the Gallican church, the annihilation of the Concordat, the restoration of tithes, the intolerance arising from an exclusive religion, the domination of a handful of nobles over a people accustomed to equality,—such was what the Bourbons either did or wished to do for France. It was under such circumstances that the Emperor Napoleon quitted the isle of Elba; such were the motives of the determination which he took, and not the consideration of his personal interests, so weak with him, compared with the interests of the nation to which he has consecrated his existence. We did not bring war into the bosom of France; on the contrary, he extinguished the war which the proprietors of national property, forming four-fifths of French landholders, would have been compelled to make on their spoilers; the war which

the citizens, oppressed, degraded, humiliated by nobles, would have been compelled to declare against their oppressors; the war which Protestants, Jews, men of various religions, would have been compelled to sustain against their persecutors. He came to deliver France, and was received as a deliverer. He arrived almost alone; he traversed 220 leagues without opposition, without combats, and resumed without resistance, amidst the capital and the acclamations of an immense majority of the citizens, the throne deserted by the Bourbons, who, in the army, in their household, among the national guards, were unable to arm an individual to attempt to maintain them there. And yet, rep'aced at the head of the nation, which had already chosen him thrice, which has just designated him a fourth time by the reception it gave him in his rapid and triumphant march and arrival,—of that nation by which and for the interest of which he means to reign, what is the wish of Napoleon? That which the French people wish—the independence of France, internal peace, peace with all nations, the execution of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814. What is there then changed in the state of Europe and in the hope of repose it had promised itself? What voice is raised to demand that succour which, according to the declaration, should be only given when claimed? There has been nothing changed,—should the Allied Powers return, as we are bound to expect they will, to just and moderate sentiments, if they admit that the existence of France in a respectable and independent situation, as far removed from conquering as from being conquered, from dominating as from being enslaved, is necessary to the balance of great kingdoms, and to the security of small states. There has been nothing changed,—if respecting the rights of a great nation which wishes to respect the rights of all others, which, proud and generous, has been lowered, but never debased, it be left to resume a monarch, and to give itself a constitution and laws suited to its manners, its interests, its habits, and its new wants. There is nothing changed,—if not attempting to compel France to resume a dynasty which it no longer wishes, feudal chains which it has broken, and to submit to seignorial and ecclesiastical claims from which it has been liberated, it is not wished to impose upon

it laws, to intermeddle with its internal affairs, to assign it a form of government, to give it masters in conformity to the interests or the passions of its neighbours. There is nothing changed,—if while France is occupied in preparing the new social compact which shall guarantee the liberty of its citizens, the triumph of the liberal ideas which prevail in Europe, and can no longer be stifled, it be not forced to withdraw itself, in order to combat, from those pacific meditations and means of internal prosperity to which the people and their head wish to devote themselves in happy accordance. There has been nothing changed,—if, when the French nation asks only to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition do not compel it, as it did in 1792, to defend its will and its rights, its independence, and the sovereign of its choice.

(Signed) “The Minister of State, President of the Section of the Finances,

“The Count DEFERMON.

“The Minister of State, President of the Section of the Interior,

“The Count REGNAUD de ST. JEAN D'ANGELY.

“The President of the Section of Legislation,

“The Count BOULAY.

“The President of the Section of War,

“The Count ANDREOSSY.

(Certified conform.)

“The Minister Secretary of State,

“The Duke de BASSANO.”

REPORT TO THE EMPEROR.

Sire—If prudence makes it my duty not to present indiscreetly to your Majesty a phantom of chimerical dangers, it is for me an obligation not less sacred, not to suffer that vigilance to be lulled into a deceitful security which is prescribed to me by the care for the preservation of peace, that great interest of France, that primary object of the wishes of your Majesty. To see danger where none exists, is sometimes to provoke it, and to cause it to spring up from another side; to shut our eyes against the indications which may be the forerunners of it, would be an act of inexcusable infatuation. I ought not to dissemble, Sire, that though no positive information confirms, up to this day, on the part of foreign Powers, a resolution formally adopted, which should lead

us to presume upon a speedy war; yet appearances sufficiently authorise a just inquietude—alarming symptoms are manifested on all sides at once. In vain do you oppose the composure of reason to the tumult of the passions. The voice of your Majesty has not yet been able to make itself heard—an incomprehensible system threatens to prevail with the powers, that of preparing for combat without admitting any preliminary explanation with the nation which they seem determined to fight. By whatever pretext they pretend to justify so unheard of a proceeding, the conduct of your Majesty is its best refutation. The facts speak for themselves; they are simple, precise, incontestable; and from the mere statement which I am about to give of these facts, the Councils of all the Sovereigns of Europe, the governments and the nations, may alike pronounce judgment in this important cause.

Some days since, Sire, I found it necessary to call your attention to the preparations of the different foreign governments; but the germs of disturbance which for a moment sprang upon some points of our southern provinces, rendered our situation complicated. Perhaps that very natural feeling which causes us to wish above all things for the repression of every principle of internal dissension, would have prevented me, in spite of myself, from considering in so serious a light the menacing dispositions which are manifested abroad. The rapid dispersion of the enemies of our domestic tranquillity relieves me from all delicacy of that kind. The French nation has a right to hear the truth from its Government; and never could its Government have, as now, so strong a wish, or so powerful an interest, to tell it the whole truth. You resumed your crown, Sire, on the 1st of March. There are events so far beyond the calculations of human reason, that they escape the foresight of Kings and the sagacity of their Ministers. On the first report of your arrival on the shores of Provence, the Monarchs assembled at Vienna still considered your Majesty as no more than the sovereign of the Isle of Elba, when you already reigned again over the French empire. It was only in the palace of the Thuilleries that your Majesty learned the existence of their Declaration. The persons who signed that unaccountable document already understood of themselves

that your Majesty had no occasion to make any reply to it. Meanwhile all the proclamations, all the expressions of your Majesty, loudly attested the sincerity of your wishes for the maintenance of peace. It was my duty to inform the French political agents, employed abroad by the Royal Government, that their functions had expired, and to apprise them that your Majesty intended to accredit new Legations immediately. In your desire to leave no doubt respecting your real sentiments, your Majesty ordered me to enjoin those agents to be the interpreters of them to the different Cabinets. I obeyed that order by writing on the 30th of March to the Ambassadors, Ministers, and other agents, the subjoined letter. Not content with this first step, your Majesty determined, under these extraordinary circumstances to give to the manifestation of your pacific dispositions a character still more authentic and solemn: you thought that you could not stamp more éclat upon the expression of them, than by stating them yourself in a letter to the foreign Sovereigns. You directed me at the same time, to make a similar declaration to their Ministers. These two letters, copies of which I annex, dispatched on the 5th inst. are a monument which must for ever attest the honour and integrity of the intentions of your Imperial Majesty. While the moments of your Majesty were thus occupied, and as it were absorbed by one single thought, what was the conduct of the different Powers? In all ages nations have taken a pleasure in promoting the mutual communications between their governments; and cabinets themselves have made a point of facilitating these communications. In time of peace the object of these relations is to prolong its duration; in war they tend to the restoration of peace; in both circumstances they are a benefit to humanity. It was reserved for the present epoch to behold an association of Monarchs, forbidding simultaneously all connection with a great state, and closing the avenue to its amicable assurances. The couriers dispatched from Paris on the 30th of March, for the different courts, have not been able to reach the places of their destination. One could proceed no farther than Strasburg, and the Austrian General who commands at Kehl refused to allow him a passage even upon condition of his consenting to be ac-

companied by an escort. Another sent off for Italy was obliged to return from Turin without accomplishing the object of his mission. A third, destined for Berlin and the North, was apprehended at Mentz and ill-treated by the Prussian Commandant. His dispatches were seized by the Austrian General who commands in chief in that place. I have already learned, that among the couriers dispatched on the 5th instant, those destined for Germany and Italy were unable to pass the frontiers. I have no account of those who were sent off for the North and for England. When an almost impenetrable barrier is thus set up between the French Ministry and its agents abroad, between the Cabinet of your Majesty and those of other Sovereigns, your Minister, Sire, has no other means than the public acts of Foreign Governments of judging of their intentions.

ENGLAND.—The Constitution of England imposes on the Monarch fixed obligations towards the nation which he governs. As it is not in his power to act without its concurrence, he is obliged to communicate to it, if not his formal, at least his probable resolutions. The message transmitted to Parliament on the 5th inst. by the Prince Regent, is not calculated to excite any very extensive confidence in the friends of peace. I have the honour to submit this piece to your Majesty.—A first remark must painfully affect those who are acquainted with the rights of nations, and are anxious to see them respected by kings. The only motive alleged by the Prince Regent to justify the measures which he announces the intention of adopting is, that events have occurred in France contrary to the engagements contracted by the Allied Powers with one another; and this Sovereign of a free nation seems not even to pay the least attention to the wishes of the great nation among whom these events have taken place. It seems that in 1815, England and her Princes have no recollection of 1688! It seems that the Allied Powers, because they obtained a momentary advantage over the French people, have presumed, in regard to an internal act which most nearly concerns its whole existence, to stipulate for it, and without it, in contempt of the most sacred of its rights! The Prince Regent declares, that he is giving orders for the increase of the British forces both by

land and sea. Thus the French nation, of which he takes so little account, must be upon its guard on all sides: it has to fear a continental aggression, and at the same time must watch the whole extent of its coasts against the possibility of a descent. It is, says the Prince Regent, to render the security of Europe permanent, that he claims the support of the English nation. And how can he have occasion for this support when that security is not threatened? For the rest, the relations between the two countries have not suffered any alteration worthy of notice. On some points, particular facts prove that the English are solicitous to maintain the relations established by the peace. On others, different circumstances would lead to a contrary belief. Letters from Rochefort of the 7th inst. mention some incidents which would be of an unfavourable omen if they were to be confirmed, and if not explained in a satisfactory manner: but our present accounts exhibit no character which would lead us to attach much importance to those incidents. In Austria, in Russia, in Prussia, in all parts of Germany, in Italy, in short every where, is to be seen a general arming.

AUSTRIA.—At Vienna, the recall of the Landwehr, lately disbanded, the opening of a new loan, the daily increasing progression of the discredit of the paper money, all announce the intention or the fear of war. Strong Austrian columns are on their march to reinforce the numerous corps already assembled in Italy. It may be doubted whether they are destined for aggressive operations, or are merely intended to keep in obedience Piedmont, Genoa, and the other parts of the Italian territory, where the clashing of interests may excite apprehensions of discontent.

NAPLES.—Amidst these preparations of Austria on the side of Italy, the King of Naples could not remain motionless. This Prince, whose assistance the Allies had, on a preceding occasion, invoked, whose legitimacy they had acknowledged, and whose existence they had guaranteed, could not be ignorant that their policy, since modified by different circumstances, would have endangered his throne, if, too intelligent to trust to their promises, he had not known how to strengthen himself on better foundations. Prudence has enjoined him to advance a few steps, to watch events more closely, and the neces-

sity of covering his kingdom has obliged him to take up military positions in the Roman States.

PRUSSIA.—The movements of Prussia are not less active. Every where the corps are completing. Officers on half-pay are ordered to join their corps: to accelerate their march, they grant them free posting; and this sacrifice, slight in appearance, but made by a calculating government, is not a small proof of the interest which it attaches to the rapidity of its preparations.

SARDINIA.—The first moment after your Majesty's return, a Commandant of the British troops, in concert with the Governor of the county of Nice, took possession of Monaco. By ancient treaties, renewed by the treaty of Paris, France alone has a right to place a garrison in that fortress. The time of this occupation by the Commandant of the English troops, sufficiently shows that he did this of himself, and without previous instructions from his Government. France must demand satisfaction for this affair from the Courts of London and Turin. She must require the evacuation of Monaco, and its being given up to a French garrison conformably to treaties; but your Majesty will, doubtless, be of opinion, that this affair can only become a subject of explanation, considering that the determination of the Sardinian Governor, and especially that of the English Commandant, have been accidental, and a sudden effect of the alarm occasioned by extraordinary movements.

SPAIN.—News from Spain, and an official letter from M. de Laval of the 28th March, state, that an army is to proceed to the line of the Pyrenees. The strength of that army will necessarily depend upon the internal situation of that monarch, and its ulterior movements upon the determination of the other States. France will remark that these orders were given upon the demand of the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme. Thus, in 1815, as in 1793, it is the French Princes that invite foreigners into our territories.

THE NETHERLANDS.—The assembling of troops of different nations in the new kingdom of the Netherlands, and the numerous debarcations of English troops, are known to your Majesty; a particular fact is added to the doubts which these assemblages may give rise to, relative to the dispositions of the Sovereign of that

country. I am informed that a convoy of 120 men and 12 officers, French prisoners from Russia, has been stopped on the side of Turlemont. In waiting to derive correct information on this point, and to demand, if necessary, redress for such a proceeding, I confine myself now to the statement of it to your Majesty, considering the importance which it receives from its connection with other circumstances which are developed around us.

Upon all parts of Europe at once, they are arming or marching, or ready to march. And against whom are these armaments directed? Sire, it is your Majesty they name, but it is France that is threatened. The least favourable peace that the Powers ever dared to offer you, is that with which your Majesty contents yourself. Why do they not now wish what they stipulated at Chaumont,—what they ratified at Paris? It is not then against the Monarch, it is against the French nation, against the independence of the people, against all that is dear to us, all that we have acquired after twenty-five years of suffering and of glory, against our liberties, our institutions, that hostile passions wish to make war: a part of the Bourbon family, and some men who have long ceased to be French, endeavour again to raise all the nations of Germany and the North, in the hope of returning a second time by force of arms on the soil which disclaims and wishes no longer to receive them. The same appeal has resounded for a moment in some countries of the South, and it is from Spanish troops that some people are redemanding the crown of France: it is a family again become private and solitary which thus implores the assistance of foreigners. Where are the public functionaries, the troops of the line, the national guards, the private inhabitants, who have accompanied it in its flight beyond our frontiers? To mean to re-establish the Bourbons once more, would be to declare war on the whole French population. When your Majesty entered Paris with an escort of a few men; when Bordeaux, Toulouse, Marseilles, and all the South are disentangling themselves in one day from the snares laid for them, it is a military movement that work these miracles; or rather, is it not a national movement, a movement common to all French hearts, which mixes in one feeling the love of country and the love of the Monarch who

will know how to defend it? It will then be to restore, to return upon us, a family which belongs neither to our age nor our manners; which know neither how to appreciate the elevation of our souls, nor to comprehend the extent of our rights; it will be to replace on our necks the triple yoke of absolute monarchy, fanaticism and feudality, that all Europe would appear to give itself up to an immense rising? One would say, that France, confined within its ancient limits, while the limits of other powers have been prodigiously extended,—that France, free, rich only in the great character which its revolutions have left, still holds too much space in the map of the world! Yes, if, contrary to the dearest wish of your Majesty, foreign Powers give the signal of a new war, it is France herself, it is the whole nation whom they mean to attack, though they pretend only to attack its Sovereign, though they affect to separate the nation from the Emperor. The contract of France with your Majesty is closer than any that ever united a nation to its Prince. The people and the monarch can only have the same friends and the same enemies. Is the question one of mere personal provocation between one Sovereign and another? That can be nothing else but an ordinary duel. What did Francis I. in his rage against Charles V.? He sent him a challenge. But to distinguish the chief of a nation from the nation itself, to protest that nothing is meant but against the person of the Prince, and to march against him alone a million of men, is playing too much with the cruelty of nations. The sole, the real object which the foreign powers can propose to themselves on the hypothesis of a new coalition, must be the exhaustion, the degradation of France; and to attain that object, the surest means in their view of it will be to impose upon it a government without force and without energy. This policy on their part, is not, besides, a new policy; the example has been given them by great masters. Thus the Romans proscribed such men as Mithridates and Nicomedes, while they covered with their haughty protection the Attaluses and the Prusiases, who priding themselves in the title of their freed-men, acknowledged that they only held from them their states and their crown. Thus the French nation would be assimilated to those Asiatic

nations, to whom the caprice of Rome gave for Kings, Princes whose submission and dependence were secure! In this view, the efforts which the Allied Powers may now attempt to make, would not have for their precise object to bring us back under a dynasty rejected by public opinion. It would not be the Bourbons in particular whom they would wish to protect; for a long time past, their cause, abandoned by themselves, has been so by all Europe; and that unfortunate family has every where been subjected to a disdain but too cruel. The choice of the monarch whom they should place on the throne of France would be of little importance to the Allies, provided they saw there seated with him weakness and pusillanimity: this would be the most sensible outrage that could be done to the honour of a magnanimous and generous nation. It is that which has already most deeply wounded French hearts, and of which the renewal would be the most insupportable. Although in the latter months of 1813, that famous Declaration was published at Frankfort, by which it was solemnly announced that they wished France to be *great, happy, and free*, what was the result of those pompous assurances? At the same moment they violated the Swiss neutrality. When, in short, on the French soil, in order to cool patriotism and to disorganise the interior, they continued to promise to France an existence and liberal laws, the events soon shewed what confidence was due to such engagements. Enlightened by experience, France has its eyes opened; there is not one of its citizens who does not observe and judge what passes around it: inclosed within its ancient frontier, when it cannot give offence to other governments, every attack against its own sovereign is a tendency to interfere in its internal affairs, and will appear only an attempt to divide its strength by civil war, and to complete its ruin and dismemberment. However, Sire, even to this day, all is menace, and as yet there is no hostility. Your Majesty will not wish that incidents proceeding from the individual dispositions of particular commanders, either little scrupulous observers of the orders of their court, or too ready to anticipate their supposed intentions, should be considered as acts springing from the will of those powers, and as having broke the state of peace. No olli-

cial act has proved the determination of a rupture. We are reduced to vague conjectures, to reports perhaps false. It appears certain that on the 26th of March a new agreement was signed, in which the powers consecrated the former alliance of Chaumont. If the object of it is defensive, it enters into the views of your Majesty yourself, and France has no cause to complain; if it were otherwise, it is the independence of the French nation which would be attacked, and France would know how to repel an aggression so odious. The Prince Regent of England declares that he wishes, before he acts, to come to an understanding with the other powers. All those powers are armed, and they deliberate. France, excluded from these deliberations of which it is the principal object; France alone deliberates, and is not yet armed. In circumstances so important, in the midst of those uncertainties as to the real dispositions of foreign powers, dispositions whose exterior acts are of a nature to authorise just alarms, the sentiments and wishes of your Majesty for the maintenance of peace, and of the treaty of Paris, ought not to prevent legitimate precautions. I therefore think it my duty to call the attention of your Majesty, and the reflections of your Council, to the measures which the preservation of her rights, the safety of her territory, and the defence of the national honour, ought to dictate to France.

(Signed)

CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.

CIRCULAR ADDRESSED TO AMBASSADORS,
MINISTERS, AND OTHER AGENTS OF
FRANCE ABROAD.

Paris, March 30, 1815.

SIR.—The wishes of the French nation never ceased to recall the Sovereign of its choice, the only Prince who can guarantee to it the conservation of its liberty and independence. The Emperor appeared, and the royal government no longer exists. At the sight of the universal movement which carried both the people and the army towards their legitimate Monarch, the family of the Bourbons perceived that there remained no other course for them but to take refuge in a foreign country. They have quitted the French soil, without a single musket having been fired, or a drop of blood shed in their defence. The military household which accompanied them has collected at Bethune, where it declared its submission to the orders of the Emperor. It has given up its horses and arms: more than half of it has entered our ranks; the rest, few in number, are retiring to their homes, happy to find an asylum in the generosity of

his Imperial Majesty. The most profound tranquillity reigns throughout the whole extent of the empire. Every where the same cry is heard; never did a nation present the spectacle of more complete unanimity in the expression of its happiness and joy. This great change has been only the work of a few days. It is the finest triumph of the confidence of a monarch in the love of his people; it is at the same time the most extraordinary act of the will of a nation which knows its rights and its true duties. The functions entrusted to you by the royal government have terminated; and I am about to take, without delay, the orders of his Majesty the Emperor, in order to accredit a new legation. You must immediately, Sir, assume the tri-coloured cockade and cause it to be taken by the Frenchmen who are about you. If, at the moment of quitting the Court where you reside, you have occasion to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs, you will inform him that the Emperor has nothing more at heart than the maintenance of peace: that his Majesty has renounced the plans of greatness which he might have anteriorly formed; and that the system of his Cabinet, as well as the whole of the direction of affairs in France, is upon a totally different principle. I cannot doubt, Sir, that you will consider it as a duty to make known to the Frenchmen about you, the new situation of France, and that in which, according to our laws, they find themselves placed.

(Signed) CAULAINCOURT, Duke of
Vicenza.

LETTER, (THE ORIGINAL IN THE HAND-
WRITING OF NAPOLEON), ADDRESSED TO
ALL THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE.

Sir, my Brother! You will have learned in the course of the last month my return on the shores of France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be known to your Majesty. They are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty, which force had imposed on the French people, was no longer made for it; the Bourbons would not accord with its sentiments or its manners: France has separated itself from them. Its voice called for a deliverer. The expectation which decided me to make the greatest of sacrifices was disappointed. I came, and from the point where I touched the shore the love of my people carried me even to the bosom of my capital. The first duty of my heart is to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The re-establishment of the Imperial Throne was necessary for the happiness of Frenchmen. My dearest thought, is, at the same time, to make it useful to the securing of the repose of Europe. Sufficient glory has adorned by turns the flags of different nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have caused sufficient great reverses to succeed to great successes. A finer field is now open for sovereigns, and I am the first to enter it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great combats, it will be more delightful in future, to know no other rivalry except that of the advantages of peace, no other struggle except the

sacred struggle for the happiness of our people. France is glad to proclaim with frankness this noble end of all its wishes. Jealous of its independence, the invariable principle of its policy will be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations: if such, as I have a happy confidence, shall be the personal sentiments of your Majesty, the general tranquillity is secured for a long time; and justice, seated on the confines of different states, will alone suffice to guard their frontiers. I seize with eagerness, &c. &c."

"Paris, April 4." (Signed) "NAPOLEON."

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

No event, in the history of the world, ever gave rise to so much speculation, or so great a diversity of opinion as the event of Napoleon's abdication of the thrones of France and Italy. Those who had all along been hostile towards him; those who abused him when he was fighting under the banners of republicanism; those who called him all sorts of names when, as First Consul, he led the French armies to victory; those who calumniated him because he defeated the enemies of France even after he assumed the title and dignity of an Emperor; those, in short, who, from first to last, have hated and detested this extraordinary man, and who took every opportunity to shew their rancour and malice against him. All this tribe of vipers, who have always been, and still are, very numerous, were forward in maintaining that Napoleon resigned his crown and consented to retire to Elba, because he had been defeated by the Allies; because his marshals and his army had deserted him; and because he had for ever lost the affections of the people of France, in consequence of his alledged tyranny and oppression.—Nothing appeared so clear to these sagacious politicians, nothing so certain, at the time, as that Napoleon owed his misfortunes to these causes, and that it was impossible he could ever recover his fallen fortunes. Had the statements which these men set forth been *true*, it is unquestionable that their conclusions would have been just; but as these statements were altogether the result of malice, as they were from the beginning, and all through, dictated by a hatred of liberty, and of every man who gave it support, their conclusions have proved as fallacious as the premises upon which they were founded.—It was with a *partial* and *prejudiced* eye they viewed the conduct of Napoleon, in whatever situation he was,

placed.—It was impossible, therefore, they could be correct either as to his motives of action or the consequences likely to result from the step which he took. It is pretty certain also that the abdication of Napoleon was an event which his enemies little expected. They could not conceive how a man that had been so long accustomed to dispose of crowns at pleasure, could so far become the master of himself; could so readily subdue, what they called, his inordinate ambition, could bring his mind so easily to abandon the splendour, the dignity, the glory that is supposed, by its votaries, to accompany royalty. They had no conception, no idea that Napoleon, the haughty, the despotic Napoleon, the slave of every vile and despicable passion, was capable of conquering himself, and of voluntarily relinquishing empire over a nation so powerful and so celebrated as that of France. Therefore these vile detractors of his fame, confounded at the unexpected event, had determined never to give him credit for any one act of his life; those hired calumniators resolved, the moment they had in some measure recovered from their stupor, to give Napoleon no quarter. He was a coward, a paltroon, a contemptible fellow.—A thousand anecdotes were invented, to shew that he had resigned his crown merely to insure his personal safety; that he had preferred a secure retreat to the welfare of his old and faithful adherents; and that, when the means of wiping off the disgrace, which this shameful conduct entailed upon him; when he was urged by his nearest and dearest friends to imitate the example of the ancient Roman heroes, and to close his career by what they ironically denominated, a deed worthy of his great name, he cowardly rejected the proposal, shrunk from the appearance of death, which he had so often braved in a thousand forms, and sought a hiding place, from the scrutiny and contempt of honourable minds, on a barren and inaccessible rock in the Ocean.—Thus it was that the haters of Napoleon explained his motives of action; thus it was that they scrutinized his conduct.—The reader who was accustomed at that period to attend to the remarks which I offered on this subject, will not fail to recollect that I ventured, notwithstanding the almost universally prevailing clamour against Napoleon, to oppose this over-

whelming torrent of malignity, of prejudice, of malice, and of misrepresentation. I denied that Napoleon had ever been defeated in the field. He, no doubt, found it necessary to retreat after the battle of Lelpsic. But this, confessedly, was occasioned by the defection of his Allies, who went over to the Confederates in the heat of the engagement. Even the treason which led to this disaster did not prevent Napoleon carrying off the greater part of his faithful troops, a circumstance which could not have happened had he suffered a defeat. During the six weeks he resisted, with a handful of men, the whole combined forces of Europe, in their attempts to reach Paris, he was on all occasions successful when he could bring his opponents to face him in battle. The astonishing skill, and undaunted bravery which he displayed in that campaign, with so fearful an odds against him, would have been sufficient to immortalize his name as a warrior, had he done nothing else to insure the suffrages of posterity. It was in this light I viewed him at the time. It was in language similar to this that I conveyed my ideas of his astonishing exploits; and when at last he was forced to give up the contest, I hesitated not to attribute this to treason, to foul and premeditated treason, on the part of those in whom he had placed implicit confidence. Still it was in his power, I remarked, to prolong hostilities, even after the Allies got possession of the capital. He had, I stated, a considerable force under his immediate command, which, with the troops occupying the garrisons, and acting in other parts of France, would have formed an army, wholly attached to his person, sufficiently formidable to make head against the invaders. With this force, I observed, it was in his power to render a contest for the government of the country a matter at least of considerable doubt, had he not preferred the tranquillity and the prosperity of France to his own individual rights. The Allied Powers had declared that they would not enter upon terms with Napoleon, or any of his family. This was making it a personal quarrel, which would have led immediately to a civil war in France. To avoid this, I said, Napoleon readily abandoned all his pretensions to the crown, agreed to accept a pension for himself and house, and to become an exile, in order to give the nation an oppor-

tunity of choosing another ruler. I also remarked, that the conditions of the treaty of Fontainebleau was such, as clearly shewed that the Allies still considered him a formidable personage, whom it was desirable to get rid of almost upon any terms; that, instead of having been dictated to, Napoleon had proposed the articles of the treaty, which the Allies considered it prudent to accept, rather than risk a renewal of the contest with a man who had so often made them feel the fatal effects of opposing his measures. In fact, had not Napoleon obtained a victory over himself; had he not preferred the happiness of France to his own immediate interest, a struggle for authority might have commenced, more fatal to the country than all she had endured in the course of the revolution. With these views it might have been easy for me to have predicted the return of Napoleon, had it been safe in the then state of Europe to hint at such an event. But whatever danger there might have been in avowing this opinion, I knew that there was none in being persuaded in my own mind that he would be recalled by the people of France. I never once doubted this, though, I confess, it happened at a period when I least looked for it, and has been attended with consequences more favorable to liberty than my most sanguine expectations had led me to expect. But while the fact of Napoleon's restoration, proves the correctness of my former views as to that particular, it has also brought to light a mass of evidence as to the real causes of his abdication, and the highly favorable terms he obtained from the Allies, which completely lays open the falsehoods of his traducers, and gives to my original speculations on these topics an importance which I scarcely calculated they ever would receive. I had no means of discovering the motives which influenced the Allies, or any part of their deliberations; but, from what has been repeatedly stated by Ministers, in both houses of Parliament,—from official papers laid on the table of the House of Commons—and from the important French documents inserted above, it is perfectly obvious that my remarks at the time of Napoleon's abdication, were as correct as if I had been fully acquainted with the discussions which led to the treaty of Fontainebleau. In fact, it now appears that the Allied Sovereigns neither considered

Napoleon in the light of a defeated or a degraded Monarch, with whom no chances of recovery remained. On the contrary, it is plainly admitted, that the advantageous terms which he obtained, were the consequence of his being then too formidable to temporize with, and too much the idol of the army to think of prescribing any other conditions to him than what, in the circumstances, were honourable and just. The particular acts of treason, which paralyzed the efforts of Napoleon, have also been distinctly admitted by those who formerly denied them. All this, I am aware, has not resulted from a desire to do justice to that great character. He never would, I am satisfied, have been able to draw from his enemies an acknowledgment of the truth, had they not found this acknowledgment necessary to their own justification. But in whatever way the truth has come out, it is now before the public, and ought to have the effect, at least, of undeceiving them, of opening their eyes to the villainous efforts which are every day making, by a base and corrupted press, to involve us in a new war with France. All that these hirelings said as to the causes of Napoleon's abdication; all the lies they invented to make it be believed, that he was deserted by his army, and hated by the people; all and every one of these falsehoods and calumnies have now been exposed and refuted, and that by the publication of documents which cannot be controverted, and which always command the highest assent. But sincerely as I wish these facts to produce a corresponding effect, I am much afraid that the attempts again making to mislead the public mind, will counteract every endeavour of mine to dispose them to peaceable pursuits. How, indeed, can it be otherwise, when the mass of the people are so fickle and inconsistent. They cry for war; nothing will satisfy them but interminable war; yet, with the same breath, they grumble and fret against the taxes, without which it is impossible for any set of men to carry on war. They would have Napoleon destroyed; they would have France degraded and partitioned; but although they know that these things cannot even be attempted without money, that new and large loans must be resorted to, that the assessed taxes must be greatly increased to pay the interest of these, and that the *Income Tax*, that tax which

has already been denominated a "highwayman's tax" by the supporters of the "Social System," is to be renewed with all its terrors. Although they have already felt, and must again feel the pernicious effects of these measures, even should the country continue in a state of peace, they still bawl out for war, for the punishment of the "rebels" in France, for the overthrow of those institutions which have exalted France to so lofty a pinnacle, and for the destruction of that man who has endeared himself to the whole nation, by uniformly protecting these institutions. All this the enemies of France, and of liberty, demand at the hands of ministers, and yet they are so unreasonable as to complain because they are called upon to contribute the means by which alone their wishes are to be accomplished. If we are to have war with France, I am satisfied that neither ten nor fifteen per cent. on income will be sufficient to support it for any length of time. According to present appearances, France will not be very speedily reduced. It will take *twenty* per cent. at least to accomplish this, if ever it is accomplished. Let those then, who cry for war, who cant incessantly about the establishment of the "Social System," and the preservation of our "holy religion," look to this.—They are, at this moment, more likely than ever to see the flames of war rekindled in Europe; but while they feel so much gratification in this, let them at least be thankful to those who have been the cause of it. Let those who are active in endeavouring to bring on a war, have all the money they desire. It is by money only that the means of prosecuting the war can be procured. How senseless, how stupid, how inconsistent it is in us to expect war, and not expect that we will be called on to pay for it.

PEACE OR WAR.

Mr. CORBETT.—If ever there was a time when the interests of mankind imperiously called on the advocates of peace to exert their influence, the present is that time. You, Sir, have raised your powerful voice in her defence, in a manner truly honourable to your character, and worthy the approbation of every friend to humanity. Be not weary in well doing.

While hope remains, put forth your manly strength; unite firmness with moderation; convincing argument with eloquence; and continue to demonstrate to the divided world, that Peace is better than War.—No period, in the annals of history, affords to the contemplative mind a collection of events so great in magnitude, so extensive in their interests, or so awful in their consequences, as those which at this moment agitate Europe. It is not the concern of a single nation, or the interest of this generation only, but the prosperity and happiness of nations unborn, of ages yet to come, that are involved in the doubtful determination of a few individuals.—What heart, possessed of a single spark of humanity, does not sicken when he views the sanguinary *Proclamation* issued at *Vienna*? Are our principles and dispositions to be guided by the hostile spirit it breathes?—Are we to draw our rules of morality and justice from thence?—Does the happiness of society and the world depend on doing evil that good may come?—If ever a public declaration merited universal censure, surely this of all others demands it. Are these the specimens of moderation proceeding from the "*Deliverers of Europe*?"—What awful consequences may we not expect, if the same spirit is to pervade our councils, and govern our national divisions?—It appears to me, Sir, that this is the momentous period, when the inhabitants of the country should step forward to implore and petition Parliament, to avert the melancholy calamities a new war would inevitably produce.—I admit that recent circumstances do not give us much encouragement to believe the voice of the people would be effectually regarded; yet the late unsuccessful attempt is not without important advantages, in as much as it has, in my opinion, done more to convince the bulk of mankind of the absolute necessity of Parliamentary Reform than any single event during a long period of time.—A few more such refusals against the public will, might excite a spirit and an energy in the nation which would command attention.—If the public feeling is not moved, on the present occasion, to express its disapprobation at threatened hostilities, the administration of the country will be more excusable by resolving on prosecuting a war. Of what real advantage will it be to this nation that the Bourbon family should again re-

ascend the throne of France? Has the former sway of that House proved so *beneficial* to England? Are we compensated for the immense expenditure of treasure, and the waste of lives it has cost Great Britain, in fruitless attempts to re-establish the Bourbons? Is the interest of a single foreign family to rise paramount to the interest of a whole Empire? What can so far infatuate the minds of the enemies of peace? Is it the genuine love they bear to Louis, or the real hatred they feel to Napoleon? Are these causes sufficient why the blood of England should again flow in torrents? Is the war faction so sure of success as to leave no fearful doubts of accomplishing their wishes? Is Bonaparte a novice in the art of war, or so feeble a politician as to be unable to guide the immense power which 25 millions of people have placed in his hands? Because of his former momentary humiliation, a humiliation ascribed to *one* rash enterprise, are we to calculate on a repetition of such fortuitous events? Experience, the best instructor, will correct his impetuous judgment, and influence him to more caution. His situation at this moment, is far different to that in which he stood after his return from Russia. Not less than 200,000 soldiers, prisoners from various nations, have returned to France. Nearly the whole, it may fairly be presumed, will gladly rejoin their old idolized Captai. He has also possession of all the well fortified places throughout the Empire. The wonderful enterprise, from Elba to Paris, without the slightest opposition, must inspire a military ardour through every rank in the army, and diffuse a martial glory over the whole nation.—If any act can give a just title to a crown, it must be the voice of the people. This voice has been plainly manifested throughout all France.—Never was there a more unequivocal proof exhibited to the world. The unanimity of the French people, is the best pledge of Buonaparte's strength, and ultimate success. The same principle that gave to the House of Brunswick the throne of England, justifies Napoleon's claim to the throne of France. The Sovereign will of the people is the only fountain of legitimate authority. If this right

is disputed, or an opposite principle recognised, the nation admit it is already enslaved, and has nothing to expect but oppression, taxation, and cruelty. Let the question be dispassionately asked:— Shall we gain by recommencing hostilities against France? Shall we look back to the last twenty-five years, and, by this retrospect, fortify our minds and stimulate our desires to a fresh combat? Will the millions of money expended, the incalculable number of lives lost, the increased paupers throughout every city, town, village, or hamlet; will these excite with ardour the mind to renewed acts of desolating slaughter? Will the moral sense be improved, and the best feelings of humanity advanced? Will our character as a nation professing christianity exemplify the charities of that religion we boast? Judging from past conduct, we seem to imagine war a *necessary good*, rather than the greatest evil that can afflict a nation. Are we desirous for the revision of the Income Tax, the loss of commerce, and the depression of public spirit? Such consequences are inseparable with a state of warfare.—If the contest *once begins*, who can say where it will end? We may flatter ourselves it will be of short duration.—This delusive hope existed in the commencement of the former war; yet it continued for a quarter of a century. England now in equal condition to supply the Allies with money. The wealth of England must flow, otherwise the combat will be of short continuance. But *why* should England provide for the expences of other nations? Has she a deeper interest at stake than they have? Or does she entertain a greater hate to the power of France? Is not our former useless prodigality, by which our national debt is so enormously increased, sufficient to check further subsidies? Are our public expences *never* to be economized? Or must we run the desperate hazard of universal ruin, which, in my humble opinion, may be awfully demonstrated in the prosecution of another war with France?

I am, &c.

MERCATOR.

Birmingham, 12th April.

TO THE
MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND,

*On the projected War against France,
and on the subject of Parliamentary
Reform.*

GENTLEMEN,

Amongst all the classes of the community there is not one, I believe, with the exception, perhaps, of the Borough-faction and their dependants, who are so eager for war against France, and who are so hostile to Parliamentary Reform, as the Merchants, by which word I mean, rich men in Trade of all kinds. To argue with the Borough-faction would be useless; but, though, I must confess, I have little hope of succeeding, I cannot refrain from making one effort, upon this particular occasion, to convince you that you are *deceived*, and that, in spite of all your understanding, you long have been, and still are, used as the tools of a crafty and corrupt faction in the supporting of a system *injurious* and *degrading* to your country at large, and to no part of the people more than to yourselves.

As to the projected war with France, on what ground can it be justified? What *cause* is there for such war? France has not injured us. Our Regent explicitly, in an official way, I mean in his declaration subjoined to the Treaty of Vienna of the 26th March, disavows all intention, as he might have disavowed all *right*, to interfere in the domestic affairs of France. What, then, can be the cause of war? France has not injured us. France disavows all designs of foreign conquest. France declares her readiness, and, indeed, her resolution to abide by the treaty of Paris; yes, even that treaty which we and our allies, backed by enormous armies, wrung from the Bourbons. The Emperor Napoleon, since his return to power, has neglected nothing to convince the world of his anxious desire to remain at peace. He has made overtures, in a regular way, to renew and preserve with us all the relationships of peace. What,

then, I again ask, are the pretences for war?

The opinion you have been induced to entertain is this: that Napoleon will always seek occasions for using the forces of France against foreign nations; that he will still be a conqueror; that he will again force us to go to war. Admit this to be true. I let you beg the question; and, even then, what is your meaning? Why, that you will force him into war *now*, lest he should force us into war *hereafter*! But, what is all this talk about his ambitious projects; about his conquests; about his restless disposition? Suppose all you say to be true. Suppose him again to extend his sway from Cadiz to Hamburgh, from the Scheldt to the Po, why should *you* be alarmed? His power would not affect us. It would not endanger our safety. These Islands would benefit, if any thing, from such a change in the political power of Europe.

But, the truth is, that every reasonable man must be convinced, that the changes, which have taken place in France, necessarily tend to the preservation of peace. Nay, it is acknowledged, or, rather, ostentatiously asserted, by the advocates for war, that Napoleon has not the means of contending against the Allies; that the people of France are opposed to his collecting a large army. Now, either this is true, or, it is false. If *true*, where is the danger to be apprehended from his restless disposition? If *false*, where is the hope of that speedy success against him which is so confidently talked of?

It is as a *disturber of the peace of Europe* that the Borough-faction exclaim against him. I state as a fact, that, in every war with every nation, with whom the French have been at war, since the year 1791, the aggression has been on the *part of the enemies of France*. I pledge myself to maintain this proposition against any one, at any time. But, at present, to speak of Napoleon's conduct; he has never let pass an occasion of restoring peace to Europe, from the date of his memorable Letter to our King in 1799 to the

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present hour. A conqueror, indeed, he has been, and he has endeavoured to place his family on half the thrones of Europe; but, still, his conquests were the fruits of his victories, and have invariably been followed by demonstrations of a desire to restore peace. The Allies have declared him "*out of the pale of civil relations.*" It was not thus that he acted, when in possession of the capitals of Austria and Prussia, and when the Sovereigns of those countries owed their crowns to his clemency. He did, indeed, extend widely his dominions, but the extent was far within the compass of his power. In this last scene of the grand drama how does he appear? The Allies put him, as far as they are able, out of the pale of the law; the Bourbons set a price upon his head. He suffers the Bourbons to depart unmolested; those of them whom he takes in arms against him he pardons; and, in answer to the outrageous declaration of the Allies, levelled against his fame and his life, he writes to each of the allied Sovereigns, tendering him the olive branch, and inviting him to a rivalry in the arts of peace, and in the science of making the people happy and free.

You call him an *Usurper* and Louis the *legitimate* sovereign. Words have great power, and these words have had great power; but the assertions are *not true*. An *Usurper* is one who seizes on authority *unlawfully*: a *legitimate* sovereign is one who holds his authority by *law*. Now, Napoleon was *by law* made Emperor of France, an office which never was by law taken from him. Louis has no legal, or legitimate, title to the throne of France. He is descended, in a right line, if you please, from *Hugh Capet*, who made himself king of France by force, who put the real heir to the throne to death, and who never was *legally* made king of France, any more than William the Norman was made king of England. The Bourbons, whose real name is Capet, held the throne *by descent* merely, and their descent was from an *Usurper*. At no time was any *law* passed to make any of their ancestors kings of France; no law was now made in behalf of the authority of Louis, who took to the crown as descending to him from Hugh Capet, and not as legally placed on his head by the people of France. What, then, becomes of all this talk about *legitimate* sovereigns? The throne of England

and of the United Kingdom is not held by descent. The family now upon the throne can put forward no such claim. They are not the descendants of the elder branch of the Stuarts; but, and it is singular enough, Louis le Desiré is! Our king holds his crown in virtue of an *act of Parliament*, and solely in such virtue; and a very good holding it is, because it is really *legitimate*. Ours, therefore, is a legitimate sovereign; but, the Capets were never the legitimate sovereigns of France. A title may be, and thousands of titles are, at once hereditary and legitimate, as in the case of private estates; but, then, there is *law* in support of the hereditary claim; and this is precisely the case with the claim of our kings: but, in the case of the Capets, there is *no law*, there never was a law, in support of their hereditary claim.

Then, as to the sort of government, which existed in France under the Bourbons, you have forgotten what it was, or, I am very sure, that you must hold the recollection of it in abhorrence. It is strange, that, in the long line of their ancestors, they dare never appeal to the memory of but *two*: *Saint Louis* and *Henry the Fourth*. The former, a tool in the hands of the priests, exhausted the treasure and blood of his people in mad crusades against the Turks. The latter began his reign by abjuring the Protestant religion, in the support of which he had led hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen to slaughter. He called together the States of his kingdom, and, laying his hand upon his sword, told them to remember *that* in their deliberations. Not content with the terrible laws already in force to provide for the enjoyment of his favourite sport, he decreed, that every man, found lurking *near* the preserves of game, should be stripped and flogged round a bush 'till the blood ran down his back. This was in no remote times. This was in no barbarous age. It was at the time, when Elizabeth reigned with so much glory in England, when England relied for its defence on the arms of its people, when the sovereign prided herself in being guarded only by the citizens, when England extended her arm to the Continent, not to support ancient despots, not to extinguish the bursting flame of political and religious liberty, but to establish both these in aiding the Dutch against their cruel oppressors.

The House of Bourbon, beginning with

Henry the Fourth, has furnished France with five kings. Of the first we have spoken. The second, Louis XIII. was an oppressor and persecutor of his people from the beginning to the end of his reign. The third, Louis XIV. besides his wars of aggression and of conquest; besides his attempts to create civil war in England and to dethrone the Protestant family settled here by law; besides his thousands of acts of oppression on his people in general, signalized his reign by the most atrocious religious persecution. He caused thousands of his subjects to suffer the cruellest tortures on account of their religion, and finally he drove forth hundreds of thousands into foreign lands, whither they carried their arts, sciences, industry and virtue. The fourth, Louis XV. endeavoured to excite civil war in this country and to dethrone our lawful sovereign. He delegated his tyranny to his mistresses, who sold *Letters de Cachet* to the highest bidders, and who filled the prisons, in all parts of France, with the victims of state suspicion, or of private envy, jealousy, or revenge. The fifth, Louis XVI. who has been so much eulogized, abolished no cruel law, diminished no profligate expence, removed no odious badge, took off no oppressive burden, and, even after the meeting of the States General, objected for a long while, to the abolition of *Letters de Cachet*. But, as to what the government of the Bourbons was, even under Louis XVI. rely not upon my word; take the Account of Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG, Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, who spent three successive summers in France in collecting his facts, who wrote down his observations upon the spot, who visited every part of France, who had free access to the best sources of information, and who was, perhaps, for the nature of his pursuits, from his stock of general knowledge, and from the extent of his talents, as well qualified for the task as any man living. Take the account of Mr. YOUNG; gather (any one of you) your family around you; read to them this account of the degradation and sufferings of the people under the insults and cruelties of the Bourbon government; and, then, when your daughters have listened with streaming eyes and your sons with boiling indignation, then tell them, if you can, that you will cheerfully spend a part of their fortunes in another attempt to re-establish the Bourbons.

No: you cannot tell them this. For *what*, then, are you prepared to spend your money? For *what*, then, would you have war? You are afraid of Napoleon. Afraid that he will do *what* to you? You are not afraid that he will send his armies to England. How, then, is he to hurt you? The truth is, that you are told, that you have cause to fear, and you believe it, without any inquiry into the fact. You see, that his return to power suddenly turns Exchanges against you; that it lowers the value of funded property; that it deranges commercial affairs; that it produces distress and ruin. And why? Not because he has done any thing to produce such effects; but because his presence is an object of terror to those, whom you are willing to aid in the renewal of war. It is you, therefore, and not he, who have been the real cause of those evils on account of which you bear him such implacable resentment.

To a similar cause; that is, to delusion, to credulity, to unfounded fears, to prejudice deeply implanted by the never-ceasing falsehoods of a press; free only as the organ of a crafty and corrupt faction, and which has long closed up the eyes and ears of reason, of candour, and of justice. To this cause is also to be ascribed your hostility to those, who are labouring to obtain a Reform in the Common's House of Parliament, and amongst whom, if you saw your real interests, you would be the most zealous and persevering. This is a subject, which will now force itself upon public attention. It must be discussed; in a few years it must be brought to issue; and, if it come upon you unawares and is imperfectly understood, the fault shall not be mine.

It has long been a fashion amongst you, which you have had the complaisance to adopt at the instigation of a corrupt press, to call every friend of reform, every friend of freedom, a *Jacobin*, and to accuse him of *French principles*. For my part, though I wish the French people great prosperity and happiness, and wish to see them receive all the praise due to their matchless deeds in arms and to their progress in the sciences and arts, I am Englishman enough to deny them any share in the honour of having a claim to the Principles, to which I allude, and which you so incessantly censure. What are these principles?—That governments were made

for the people, and not the people for governments.—That sovereigns reign legally only by virtue of the people's choice.—That birth without merit ought not to command merit without birth.—That all men ought to be equal in the eye of the law.—That no man ought to be taxed or punished by any law to which he has not given his assent by himself or by his representative.—That taxation and representation ought to go hand in hand.—That every man ought to be judged by his peers, or equals.—That the press ought to be free.

Now, I should be glad to know, how these came to be *French* principles. It is sometimes said, that the French learnt them, or, as the expression is, "*imbibed*" them in *America*. The Americans, to be sure, have most wisely and virtuously acted upon these principles; but, the principles are the *growth of England*. Ten thousand times as much has been written on the subject in England as in all the rest of the world put together. Our books are full of these principles. You can read nothing: law, history, poetry, divinity, romance; nothing, without meeting with these principles. There is not a single political principle which you denominate *French*, which has not been sanctioned by the struggles of ten generations of Englishmen, the names of many of whom you repeat with veneration, because, apparently, you forget the grounds of their fame. To Tooke, Burdett, Cartwright, and a whole host of patriots of England, Scotland and Ireland, imprisoned or banished, during the administration of Pitt, you can give the name of Jacobins, and accuse them of French principles. Yet, not one principle have they ever attempted to maintain that Hampden and Sydney did not seal with their blood.

When that victim of a tyrannical court and a corrupt and bloody Judge, the gallant Sydney, was brought to the place of execution, the cheeks of the crowd were bathed in tears, and sobs and cries were heard in all directions; "Yet," exclaims the indignant historian, "not a hand was raised to save him, or to carry a dagger to the heart of his murderers!" If this historian had lived till our day, he would not only have seen the champions in the cause of freedom suffer without support and without compassion, but would have seen them followed to their dungeons or

in their exile by the derision and the calumnies of men more interested than themselves in the success of their endeavours.

And what are these endeavours? What are their objects? We are accused of endeavouring to create *confusion* in the country. Is the abolishing of scenes of drunkenness and riot; the putting an end to bribery, corruption, the basest venality, and the most barefaced perjury; the prevention of the sale and barter of seats; the insuring of the return to parliament of men in whom the people have confidence; the making of those men wholly independent of the Crown and its ministers; the opening of the House to all men in exact proportion to their merit, their talents, and their natural weight in society: are these likely to *create confusion*? Would the nation be plunged into *confusion* by thirty or forty of you being placed in the House instead of an equal number of those men who *borrow* their qualifications? Do you think, that you are not as capable of deciding upon laws as the present representatives of the Boroughs are? Do you think, can you think, that the places and pensions enjoyed by these men, add to your safety and prosperity? Do you think, that the sinecures of the late Marquis of Buckingham, of Lord Camden, of Lord Arden, of Lord Grenville, of the Roses, and of hundreds of others, are necessary to the protection of your property? Do you think, that the enormous charges of the Civil List, rising in amount every year, are necessary to the security of the funds? Do you think it an honour to you to be obliged to yield part of the fortunes of your own children to support whole families of the penny-less children of the Aristocracy, which latter, after all, look upon your children as their inferiors? Do you think, that if this drain upon the fruit of your industry were stopped, such stoppage would have a tendency to *create confusion*?

The truth is, that you see all these evils as plainly as I do. You wish them removed; but you have a sort of vague dread, that any change in the system would endanger your property. Your support of the system is the consequence of that timidity, which is natural to, and almost inseparable from, wealth. This is, however, a motive of action, which you are ashamed to acknowledge; and, therefore, putting a good face upon the matter, you join in the cry against

Jacobins and Reformers, and openly espouse the cause of those whom in secret you hate.

But, has it never occurred to you, that *confusion* may be produced, and much *more* terrible confusion, from the want of *timely Reform*? Has your timidity never suggested this to you? It is many years since Lord Chatham said, that, "if Reform did not come from *within*, it would come from *without* with a vengeance." Have you never thought, for a moment, on the sort of *confusion*, which such a reform would produce?

From a reform, such as the Constitution warrants us in demanding; from a peaceable and legal reform, leaving Crown, Peers, and Church untouched in their several prerogatives, privileges and possessions, but giving to the people a real and free choice of their own House of Parliament; from such a reform no confusion could *possibly* arise; because the people, knowing that they had freely chosen their representatives, would necessarily have confidence in them, and would cheerfully submit to all their decisions. But, from a reform, produced by the final bursting forth of the angry passions and long-harboured resentments, what is not to be feared? The friends of peace, of order, of the safety of property, are, therefore, those who endeavour to promote a timely reform; and the real enemies of these are those who resist that reform.

It is often said, that the nation has become very great *under the Borough-system*. That wonderful improvements have taken place in agriculture, in all the sciences and arts; that new roads, new canals, new bridges have been made; that manufactures and commerce have flourished; that wealth has increased; that merchants have grown enormously rich. Shallow as this is, it has produced great effect; and no wonder, when we consider, that it has been trumpeted forth by nine-tenths of the press for the last thirty years. The nation has grown rich while the Borough-system has been going on; *therefore*, the Borough-system has been the cause of the nation's growing rich; *therefore*, the Borough-system is a good thing; *therefore*, we ought to support the Borough system, with all its notorious bribery, corruption, and perjury, the proofs of which are produced, in black and white, in such multitudes at every general election.

Now, suppose, that any one of you rich merchants had a *cancer* in the cheek, and, upon your proposing to send for a surgeon to endeavour to take it out, some one were to say: "Don't let any one meddle with it. You have been doing very well with this cancer. You have grown rich as a prince while this cancer has been going on; *therefore*, the cancer has been the cause of your growing rich; *therefore*, the cancer is a good thing; *therefore*, you ought to preserve the cancer." Suppose this were said to you, would you not spurn the ass from your presence? Yet, would this surpass in folly the belief, that rotten Boroughs, Bribery, Corruption, Sinecures and wanton Wars have caused commerce and agriculture to flourish?

If any thing could be wanted to shew the absurdity of such notions as these, you need only look at America. There, in the space of thirty years, a greater increase of population, a greater improvement in arts and sciences, a great increase of agricultural and commercial wealth, have taken place, than in any other country in the space of three centuries. There we have seen a commercial marine, not much less in magnitude than our own, rise up in the same short space of time. There we see a military marine, which is already become formidable even to England, and commanded and managed in a way to excite our envy. There we see rich merchants and manufactures in prodigious numbers. There we see, not great and elegant cities enlarged and improved, but absolutely *created*. There we see new roads, canals and bridges, and millions of acres of wilderness changed into corn-fields. And, yet, there we see a government, purely *representative* from the bottom to the top; there we see every man, paying a tax, having a voice in the choosing those who impose the taxes. There, at the head of as great a number of people as Great Britain contains, we see a President, chosen for four years, with a salary of less than six thousand pounds, not more than a sixth part of Lord Camden's sinecure. And, with this proof before you, are you still to be made to believe, that commercial prosperity is promoted by a Borough-system and by expensive government? Are you still to be made believe, that your property would be endangered by the putting an end to

bribery, corruption, and perjury? If you are, to reason with you is useless. You are destined passively to be carried along by the current of those events, which is daily and hourly becoming stronger and stronger, and which the Borough-faction will not be able to resist.

WM. COBBETT.

CONSEQUENCES OF A WAR WITH FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT.—I never had any doubts about the wishes of the Allied Powers to go to war against France. When we consider the rooted hatred which the corrupt Governments of Europe bear against liberty and the rights of men, how could we imagine for a moment that they would suffer France to remain in a state of peace, to form her own constitution, which will be too favourable to that liberty which they always detest. The wars against the French Republic, the recent war against America, and the approaching war against France, are all founded on the same bad principles and passions. *In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity*, the Allies now again arm themselves and make public declarations of their intentions. This is another coalition of the old *regular* corrupt governments, against the rights of men to choose their own constitution and rulers. The French have unequivocally declared in favour of Napoleon, who now reigns, if any monarch ever did reign, by the will of his people. He has also shown himself anxious to preserve general tranquillity, and is willing to abide by the *least* favourable terms that can be proposed to him, by the Treaty of Paris. What can we do more? And is it possible to think that the French nation, powerful and enlightened as they are, will be *insulted* with impunity? The High Allied parties, however, seems to be solemnly engaged, with the assistance of the Trinity, “never to lay down their arms; until the object of the war shall have been attained”; that is, not until Bonaparte the choice of his people, shall be dethroned, and *incapacitated from doing further mischief*. Why has not experience, severe experience, taught the Allies the lesson of modesty. Do they not know that he has entered their Capitals as a Conqueror? And who will venture to say that he will not act the same tragedy again? What is it, that the

Allied armies are about to undertake? They are going to contend against the greatest military genius in the world, who is to fight for *his own existence*. This is an *important* circumstance. It is *his life* that is to be the object of the war, and for which he is to be *made* to fight; and who does not know the strength of this extraordinary motive! Such is the *first stroke* of the *wisdom* of the Allies, who by this declaration have given to Napoleon, a great accession of *real* power. But Napoleon is not *alone*; he is at the head of 3 or 400,000 veteran troops, *strongly* attached to their General, fighting on their *native land*, for the *right* to choose their own government and chief. They burn for revenge, they feel how much they have been insulted, and remember how often they have triumphed over the same kind of coalitions. Add to all this, upwards of 2,000,000 of National Guards, contending for the same cause, on the same soil, and under the impulse of the same animating and powerful motives. Is not France *alone*, *thus circumstanced*, able to resist the world? But if we further add the King of Naples with his 100,000 Neapolitans and some other states, which have been offended by the Congress at Vienna, it appears next to impossible that the Allied Powers should succeed. The French are not ignorant Barbarians, but an enlightened people, who know the difference between liberty and slavery, between choosing their own government, and having one *imposed* upon them by foreign armies. Let us not forget who are the *aggressors* and *invaders* on this occasion. If it should be the Allies, (which I hope will not be the case,) and if these should *happen* to meet with defeat, let us not *afterwards* be told of the tyranny and cruelty of Bonaparte when he invades their territories and capitals *in return*. Though decidedly the approbation of the French People, yet Napoleon is held up as in outlaw. After the Declaration of the High Contracting Parties, what if the Emperor of France succeed, and demolish the *continental* governments of Europe? But whether we prosper in a military point of view, or not, it is certain that our *debt* and *taxes* must be greatly increased. Are the people of England desirous of entering into a contest so unjust in its object, and so ruinous in its consequences? If there ever was a time, when the people

should meet constitutionally together, and endeavour to do some good, it is the present period. It is so selfish and so stupid to complain of taxation, *after* we have quietly acquiesced in an unjust and unnecessary war which is the *cause* of the taxes. Now is the time to petition, if we ever wish to serve the cause of humanity and liberty.

G. G. F.

Sandon, April 25, 1815.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT—We have heard of the tyrannizing, oppressive Napoleon, from whom mothers were ready to tear his eyes for dragging their sons to battle; whom every man abhorred; whose rash actions made even the soldiers wish for another leader; whom, in fact, every person, man, woman, and child, hated and detested; and the pulling down of whom we prided ourselves on, because Frenchmen wished it, and because we wished them to be able to make free choice of a Ruler.—While influenced by armies, in the heart of their country, they fixed on *Louis the Desired*. “Happy, happy Frenchmen! the day he came to sit on your throne. Happy, happy Frenchmen! the day the Tyrant was hurled from his throne, which gave you a free choice.” Such was the language of almost every one; not only in this but in other countries.—Napoleon goes to Elba; the foreign armies are withdrawn from France, and the Emperors, Kings, and Ambassadors are found quarrelling about the division of conquered countries at Vienna. Napoleon once more appears in that land which, it is said, he ruled with a rod of iron; not, however, with six hundred thousand men, but with hardly six hundred. He marches towards the Capital without opposition; arriving within twenty miles of it, he hears that a hundred thousand are sent to oppose him; he counts his army, which is increased to sixty thousand; he leads them, not to battle, but in an open carriage he approaches the supposed enemy; at the sight of whom the cry of *Vive l'Empereur* resounded from rank to rank; the people of Paris flocked to him, and this *Detested* being, this *Tyrant*, this *Demon*, as he is called, was hailed with joy by upwards of 200 thousand Frenchmen, who followed him to the Capital.—Yet the language of

corruption is, that we must go to War to attempt to pull him down. I say *attempt*, for he is now firmer on his throne than ever he was before. The French people have tried one whom the Allies presented to them; but, after the elapse of ten months, they have shewn to the World that they like the *Detested Napoleon* better than *Louis the Desired*, whom they have bid to fly. I say *firmer*, because Napoleon has agreed to accept such a Constitution as will unite all parties, particularly if another invasion of France is attempted, for that will cement those parties which have now united so strongly that Death alone will be able to separate them. But why should we go to War? Has Napoleon threatened to invade our country, or to infringe on our liberties, or even on those of our Allies? No; his language is *Peace with all*. Why then should we go to War? Peruse the Hireling prints, the Ministerial speeches, and still inquire, *Why must we go to war?* The reason may be, that Napoleon is not of *Royal blood*, and those that have not that *blessed* blood are not considered capable of holding the reins of any Government; and why? because the Sovereigns of Europe are supposed to be possessed of Wisdom, of Magnanimity, of Generosity, of Humanity, and of Virtue so great that no one that has not *Royal blood* flowing in their veins can possess it. But wherefore go to war with France because she will not have Royalty and all its virtues? If the French people do not wish to have one of the Royal Brood; if they do not wish to have a wise man at the head of their Government, let them have a *fool*; if they wish not to have a generous, paternal, humane, Magnanimous, and Virtuous Sovereign, let them have, if they will, a cruel, mean-spirited, wicked wretch; if they are fond of tyranny, let them have a tyrant: and as long as ever such a character as that keeps peace with us, what shall we gain by going to war with him? But, Sir, Napoleon's character will ever rank high in the annals of History; he will ever be considered as a *Great Man*. It is *jealousy* which is the real cause of the War with which we are threatened. Are not the advocates of war angry that the French people should *dare* to dispute their right of choosing a Ruler for them? Are they not a little angry that Napoleon should have surpassed them in Magnanimity and Generosity? for can we forget, that the

moment it was known Bonaparte had set his foot on the sands of Frejus, the Bourbons proclaimed him throughout the country a Rebel, a Traitor, whose Head was forfeited. We know, however, that he reascended the throne in spite of all these proclamations, and that when one of his Generals took a Noble Duke prisoner and informed him of it, he said "Guard him to the coast, set him off, but take care that he is well treated." Was this done as a reward for the *kind* treatment part of his family are now receiving in being marched as prisoners to Hungary?—Are not the enemies of Napoleon also jealous at his having surpassed them in tolerance of Religion, and in the Freedom of the Press? When we look at Bigoted Spain, with our *Beloved Ferdinand* at her head, and consider the rapid strides that Louis was making to re-establish popery with all its appendages, who can say that the conduct of Napoleon did not put them to shame when he said, *Let Religion be free; let the Press be free.* Are not his enemies likewise jealous that he has surpassed them in humanity? What was the answer of Spain when requested to Abolish the Slave Trade? What was the answer in general of the Allies? Why some wanted ten, some two, and even the humane Louis himself could not Abolish it under five years; yet Napoleon, with one breath, exclaims, *Slavery shall be no more encouraged by France; she shall have nought to do with slavery.* Jealousy is, I own, a poor excuse for deluging the Continent with blood, and most likely it will be disowned as the reason. If it is, we must recollect that we said, We fought before for the *Independence of Nations, for the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.* What then, must we go to war to pull down those principles which we have spilt so much blood to set up? What, must we dictate to the French Nation what Ruler we please? What, must we force on them a King which they declare they cannot love and will not obey? No; while Napoleon Bonaparte, the present Emperor of France, acts wisely, prudently, and justly, he will reign even if all the Powers of Europe league against him. But putting justice and equity out of the question, it will be in vain we squander our money, in vain we shed our blood, in endeavouring to put on the throne *Louis the Desired.*

I remain, Sir, A FRIEND
TO PEACE, JUSTICE, AND EQUITY.



PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE.

(Continued from Page 476.)

One of the principal objects which the Revolution in France had effected, was the overthrow of the reign of superstition, and the subversion of the paralyzing influence of priestcraft; an influence which has proved more fatal to the progress of useful knowledge and of liberty, than all other causes combined. After the dear-bought experience which the Bourbon family had had; after the fatal error into which they had been led; after the depth of misery into which they had been plunged by the implicit confidence they reposed in the clergy, and the thoughtless manner in which they gave themselves up to their controul, *one* would have thought, on their restoration to the throne of France, whatever may have been their own private sentiments as to religion, that they would have been careful to avoid every thing tending to disquiet the inhabitants, or to excite in their minds apprehensions of a restoration of that spiritual tyranny under which the sovereign as well as the people had, for so many ages, groaned. But a strange infatuation seems to have seized the Bourbons. Every where their return to power was attended with the return of bands of monks, friars, and other religious fraternities, all armed with determined resolution to re-assume their former usurped authority over the human mind. Although the measures which had been taken in France to rid that delightful country of these infamous pests, rendered it a dangerous experiment to restore them at once, as the *beloved Ferdinand* had done in Spain, to the plenitude of their power, it will be seen by what *Mr. Birkbeck** says on the subject of religion; that the steps authorized by the new government were calculated to lead to this, and to create a general alarm throughout the country. On his arrival at Dieppe, an object of superstition was among the first that presented itself:—

Near the landing-place the most prominent object is a newly erected gandy crucifix; the figure large as life, and painted flesh colour; a naked body, writhing in torture: the Virgin Mary beneath in gay attire, and a crown surmounting all. Such exhibitions must excite horror and disgust; any thing but reverence.

* This gentleman's name was printed *Birbeck* by mistake in a former Number of the Register.

A dirty fellow with a good voice, and a fiddle with three strings, alternately chaunting and preaching to the crowd in one of the market places at Rouen, attracted my attention. The *Morale* was the collection of three sous each from his hearers, for a sacred charm: being much amused and somewhat edified, I purchased a packet. It contained two papers of prayers and saintly histories; a small crucifix, and a very small bit of the real cross. When I displayed my treasure at the hotel, our landlady's son, a boy of about thirteen, who spoke a little broken English, cries out, on seeing the crucifix, "Dat is God—dat is God."

We found the town (Avignon) in a grand bustle about a Saint's procession. What Saint we could not make out very easily, as we received a different report from every person we asked. The streets were crowded with women and military. All their church-doings are under military protection. The church, where they were sitting out the Saint for exhibition, had two files of soldiers from the door to the altar: bayonets fixed. For this there seems no occasion, as the women are sufficiently devout, and the men entirely indifferent. To judge from appearances merely, the political character of the French nation is at present rather low. First prevails the military spirit which seems to be the only spirit shining among the men, next come the priests, followed by the women. What will France become under the agency of an overwhelming military establishment, and a King devoted to the church? The papal palace at Avignon is used as barracks.

In speaking of parties, I had forgotten the brood of priests which is hatching in all quarters—These are objects of derision and disgust wherever they appear. Their contracted shoulders, inclined heads, and hands dangling from their weak wrists, together with their immense hats and long camblet gowns, give them a sneaking demeanour, which contrasts most unfavourably with the erect gait and manly air of all other descriptions of people. It is a miserable thing that a class of men, born like their fellows, "*Vultu erecto conspiciere cœlum*," should be so debased by bigotry and hypocrisy. Religion, that most sublime relation, which connects man with his Maker, must enoble the character; yet, strange to tell, these cringing attitudes have been a successful mean of operating on the imaginations of the ignorant a belief of their sanctity. I am happy in the conviction that no pretensions of this, or any other sort, will reconcile the people of France to the restoration of tithes or ecclesiastical domination.

One of the chief means of detraction

resorted to by the enemies of Napoleon, was that of representing the soil of France to be in a state of complete desolation, occasioned by the operation of the Conscription Laws, which, it was said, had so much drained the population, that there were none left to cultivate the ground but old men, women, and children. In fact, according to the representations of these vile calumniators, it was impossible that France could recover from the terrible effects of this "scourge of human nature" in less than half a century. Cities, towns, and villages; vineyards, corn fields, and gardens; all were laid waste by this "unprincipled marauder!" yet, strange to relate, no sooner has the road to France been thrown open, than it is discovered that her people possess one of the finest countries in the world, that the land is in a progressive state of cultivation, that the vineyards, the orchards, the gardens, the corn fields, everywhere present the most luxuriant aspect; and that nothing is wanted to draw thither a vast number of settlers, from almost every other nation, but a state of settled peace and security.

On leaving Dieppe for Rouen (says *Mr. Birkebeck*), we enter on a vast expanse of country, covered with luxuriant crops. Not a speck of waste to be discovered. The road itself is a magnificent object; wide, well formed, and in excellent order; running in a right line for leagues before us, and planted on each side with apple and pear trees. As we pass along we perceive, to right and left, in all directions, the cross roads marked by similar rows of luxuriant fruit trees, as far as the eye can reach. No hedges, and few villages or habitations in sight. The soil, a deep hazel mould upon chalk, with little variation for many miles.

Aug. 12.—Took boat for Vienne—altogether delightful! Sweet air—exhilarating mountain scenery: the clear, and rapid, and majestic Rhone; rocks, woods, vineyards; chateaux on commanding eminences; cottages, embosomed in trees, retiring from the view; the busy traffic of the river, and prosperous villages on its banks.

Embarked for Valence, on board a large trading barge, which had taken a cargo of wine to Lyons, and was returning, nearly empty, to Avignon. The crew were five fine young men, much superior in dress, manners, and conversation, to the bargemen of our own country.—A glorious view of the High Alps, all the afternoon. The mountains bordering the Rhone are covered with vines on every part where the decomposing

granite furnishes a little culturable soil: especially as we approach Tournon, from whence comes the famous Hermitage wine. I had no conception of a country so entirely cultivated as we have found France from Dieppe to this place.

From Nismes to Montpellier is the finest and best-cultivated district we have seen. Every thing bears the marks of prosperity. Fertile fields, well-built villages, a thick and happy population.—The well-cultivated vineyard, planted with rows of olives, is the chief appropriation of this fine country; indeed, it is so nearly universal that you wonder how fodder is obtained for the few horses required in its culture. We see, here and there, a little patch of lucerne.—From Dieppe to this place we have seen scarcely a working animal whose condition was not excellent. Oxen, horses, and now mules and asses, fat and well looking, but not pampered. This looks like prosperity. And when I add that we have not seen, among the labouring people, one such famished, worn-out, wretched object, as may be met with in every parish of England, I had almost said on every farm; this, in a country so populous, so entirely agricultural, denotes real prosperity. Again, from Dieppe to this place, I could not easily point out an acre of waste, a spot of land that is not *industriously* cultivated, though not always *well*, according to our notions.—France, so peopled, so cultivated; moderately taxed; without paper money, without tithes, without poor rates, almost without poor; with excellent roads in every direction, and overflowing with corn, wine and oil,—must be, and really is, a rich country. Yet there are few rich individuals.

From Perpignan to Prades, 21 miles: ascending towards the mountains, or rather between them, up a charming valley, cultivated like a garden, and watered through its whole extent. The people are collected into large villages. These mountains are not dotted over with little happy dwellings like those which border the Rhone; but they are cultivated to their summits, exhibiting wonderful instances of persevering industry. The inhabitants of a frontier district would be likely to establish themselves in groups, for mutual protection.—The vale farmers are busy sowing lupines or annual trefoil, on their wheat stubbles, for winter food for their flocks. Many of the hedges on this road are composed chiefly of pomegranate.

From Ax we descended about 13 miles to Tarascon, a little town delightfully situated on the Arriège, at the confluence of several valleys and their streams. Here the granite and schist of the higher regions give place to stratified rocks of

limestone. These valleys are perfect gardens. In the evening we walked to a forge about four miles west of the town; we reached it about sunset, but unfortunately it was not at work. However, the beauty of the scenery amply repaid us. We were completely among the mountains; the snow remaining in many of the hollows near their summits. They are chiefly calcareous in this neighbourhood; and covered with vineyards almost to the edge of the snow. The contrast is so great between the products of the soil, and the rugged wildness of the surrounding crags; between the balmy air you are breathing, and the wintry prospect; that you are ready to suspect an illusion of the senses. On our return, whilst the rich tint of the departed sun remained in the west, with a glow unknown in our chilly latitude; the moon, appearing over a dark cloud, threw the shadow of one huge cliff upon the bosom of another, and produced such a scene of sublime tranquillity as no poet or painter could describe. The ear too partook of the enchantment from the roaring of the mountain streams.

As to the present state of agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, our author gives the following information:

By the Revolution, every oppression on agriculture was done away; tithes, game laws, corvées, &c. Since that time, much new ground has been brought into cultivation, and none of the old abandoned. The modes of husbandry have improved in many districts, by the introduction of fallow crops and artificial grasses. Rouen and its neighbourhood is a principal seat of the cotton manufactory; the Manchester of France. These great works have been wholly at a stand during the later years of the war, owing to the scarcity and enormous price of the raw material: they are now recovering their activity. I was admitted into a cotton mill at Deville, which employs 600 people: the neatness and regularity of arrangement, and the decent appearance of the work-people, bespoke a well-managed and prosperous concern. I thought the machinery good; of this, however, I am not a competent judge. Twist is completed by four operations from the carding; and the weaving costs only 2d. per yard. Women who attend the looms earn 15d. per day, equal to eleven pounds of bread; therefore the low price is not the result of low wages: a fact which deserves the attention of the promoters of Corn Bills in England. It is the opinion here, that the high price of provisions, with us, will soon give the French manufacturers the means of exceeding ours in cheapness. Louviers, famous for its fine cloths, is favourably situated on a beautiful clear stream, of which full advantage

appears to be taken, for working their machinery. Here are several noble establishments for spinning woollen yarn. Their cropping or shearing machines were performing their office with the greatest precision. I think they are wide awake to mechanical improvements; indeed, the quality of their cloth proves their skill too well to leave a doubt of the excellence of their implements. There is great decency and comfort in the looks of their work-people; of whom women form by far the principal part.

The ci-devant priory of St. Martin is now a conservatory of arts and manufactures. Here are models of implements of agriculture, including those in common use in different districts, and the modern improvements or attempts at improvement. Among these curiosities are some models of threshing machines, in which the mechanics have proceeded no further than to put in motion a set of flails. I recognize in this collection many implements, particularly ploughs, which I have seen at work as we passed. The spirit of invention is hardly at work among the French farmers. Poverty shifts with things as they are: capital looks for improvement. I have visited this collection twice, and it is with regret I acknowledge that I did not bring away one idea worth recording. Agricultural implements form but a small part of the establishment: it contains every machine, I imagine, which is in use in the silk and cotton manufacture. One room contains not models, but a complete set of machinery, which is under the care of a professor, and regularly at work, for the instruction of pupils in the art of spinning cotton. Here are also deposited numberless specimens of curious inventions in mechanics, in philosophical instruments, and in every branch of arts and manufactures. It is open on particular days of the week to the public; and every day to foreigners. Such is the liberal spirit of the nation; exemplified not in this instance only, but universally. Those of my countrymen who have been driven through the British Museum, or conducted through any other place of exhibition at home, can put a proper value on this generous treatment. I once visited the galleries of natural history in the Jardin des Plantes on a public day: it was amusing to see the crowd, mostly of what is called the lower order, which thronged the rooms; and edifying to observe their decorum, and the interest they took in examining every thing.

Nothing has a greater tendency to induce those who are possessed of a little money to take up their residence in France, than the low rate at which landed property may be purchased there when compared with its price in this country. The following statement places this in a very striking point of view:

One thousand acres arable, 500 woodland, equal to 1650 acres English; one third of the arable poor cold clay, of little value; two thirds pretty good wheat land; part dry enough for turnips: is let on lease for nine years (which the tenant would give up on receiving a fair price for his stock and crops) at 9000 francs, £375 sterling; and land-tax 1600 francs, £66 13s. per ann. might be bought, as we understood, for about 22 years

purchase, £8333. On this estate is an excellent house, and out-buildings, and a large walled garden, all in good repair.

I have already said that Napoleon appears to be no very great favourite of *Mr. Birkbeck*, who not unfrequently calls him a tyrant, and speaks pretty freely of what, he considers, the oppressive acts of his government, and the madness of his ambitious projects. Yet amidst all this tyranny, this oppression, and this mad ambition, our author is compelled to acknowledge, that "under his auspices the internal government of the country was wise and effectual; property was sacred and crimes were rare."

There was a magnificence (says he) about Bonaparte which carries you away in defiance of your sober judgment. To-day I gained a sight of the astonishing colossal elephant, which was to have been elevated on the scite of the Bastille; from which a grand street was projected to the front of the Louvre, through the whole length of the city. The canal of Ourque, a grand work of his for the supply of Paris with water, was to have formed a fountain through the proboscis of the elephant. Wherever you turn is some majestic monument of his taste. In fact, the grandeur of Paris was his creation, and you now see workmen busy in all parts, scratching out his name, and defacing his eagles. This is very pitiful. The Bourbons, in their attempts to disgrace Napoleon, by pulling down his statues and obliterating the enigmas of his power, are directing their attack against his least vulnerable part, and inviting a comparison greatly to their own disadvantage. He executed many great works of lasting utility, and many of amazing splendour. Under his auspices the internal government of the country was wise and effectual: property was sacred, and crimes were rare because they could not be committed with impunity.

It is somewhat difficult to believe any man to be a tyrant and an oppressor, who could occupy himself so much with the happiness and prosperity of a country over which he reigned, and where the effects of his good government were so conspicuous. The measures resorted to by Napoleon to recruit his armies were, without doubt, of a severe description, and might be thought rigorous by many individuals in France. But then it ought to be recollected, that they were necessary in the then state of things; much more so perhaps than the measures employed by other nations to recruit their forces. If we consider Napoleon fighting to maintain the integrity of the French territory, and for the maintenance of treaties, which had been violated by those who concluded them with him, I do not know of a better ground for going to war. I have yet to learn that the peo-

ple were hostile to his views. Every thing, on the contrary, has tended to convince me, that he has not only all along possessed their entire affections, but that the wars in which he was engaged have always been agreeable to them, and the chief cause of the strong attachment which they have uniformly shewn towards him, even when a reverse of fortune placed him, in a great measure, in the power of his enemies. In this there does not appear to be any symptoms, that the people of France ever considered him a tyrant or an oppressor. If they had, they would have assisted in keeping him down when he was down. Instead of hailing him, on his return from Elba, as their deliverer, they would have united as one man to oppose his reassumption of the government. If then it appears so very clear, that the French people never thought Napoleon a tyrant or an oppressor, never viewed him in the light of a despot, never complained of what we, good tender souls, call the horrors of the conscription, never lamented the continuance of the war, but seem as ready at this moment as ever to fight under so great a captain. If the people of France, who have the best right, the only right, to complain of these supposed grievances, never troubled themselves in any way about them, what right have we to set up a lamentation on their behalf? Upon what principle is it that we affect to feel pity and compassion for a nation that do not want our pity? And where is the prudence, to say nothing of the injustice, of calling the sovereign of any people a tyrant, a despot, and an oppressor, when the whole of that people have given so many unequivocal proofs of their entire satisfaction with his conduct? With these proofs before our eyes, we must either admit that Napoleon is not a tyrant, a despot, nor an oppressor, or we must apply these insulting and degrading epithets to the whole population of France. He is the man of their choice. They have declared that they will not submit to another. After identifying themselves, as it were, with this wonderful man, in so pointed a manner, every attack made upon him must be held as an attack upon the French people; every abusive expression applied to him must be considered as intended to apply to that great nation. There is, besides, a deal of inconsistency in maintaining that Napoleon is a tyrant. If what *Mr. Birk-*

beck has told us respecting the state of society in France be true; if we are to believe that the people there are as happy, at least, as they are in this country, and he represents them as much happier; if we are to give credit to what he tells us about the low price of land and of provisions, the delightful appearance of the country, the high state of cultivation in which he found it, the many excellent institutions, and the wise code of laws by which the rights of the poorest person in France are protected. If all this is to be held as true, and I have no doubt that it is true in every particular, and if it is equally true that Napoleon is a tyrant, then would it follow that tyranny is the best calculated of all forms of government to promote the happiness of a people; that the arts and the sciences, that every thing, in fact, conducive to the greatness and glory of a nation, flourish best under a military despotism. If this principle is to be maintained, it might indeed be believed that Napoleon is a tyrant, and that the French people actually prefer tyranny and despotism to a free representative government. But who that has any pretensions to common sense can entertain so absurd a doctrine.—France is great and powerful only because her government possesses talent, and occupies itself incessantly with the public welfare. Her people are happy only because her laws and her institutions are formed to promote happiness. No one can say, that the now greatly improved state of France is the consequence of what was called, the *paternal* sway of the Bourbons; for during the few months of their continuance in France, they were so much occupied with endeavouring to give stability to their own power, that they had no leisure to attend to any thing else. Nor can it be attributed to the management of those in whose hands the government was placed during the early period of the revolution. They, no doubt, did much to clear away the rubbish; but it was not till Napoleon was called to fill the office of Chief Magistrate; it was not till after many years of incessant labour and inconceivable anxiety on the part of this most extraordinary man, that France reached that state of greatness and prosperity, in which we now find her, and as he is described by the impartial pen of *Mr. Birkbeck*. If that gentleman should be induced to present the public with ano-

ther edition of his interesting tour, I am not without hopes that he will profit by my remarks, and either expunge the obnoxious expressions to which I have alluded, or give such an explanation of them as will clear him from the charge of inconsistency; for it appears to me utterly impossible in any man to read his book, even with a slight degree of attention, and not be convinced, that all that has been said about Napoleon being a tyrant, and about his having oppressed and desolated France, is entirely destitute of foundation.

In the concluding part of *Mr. Birkbeck's* tour, he remarks,

It is due from us to add, that in the course of our enquiries on every topic we met with no instance of incivility; no reserve or appearance of suspicion. It was thus from the north to the extreme south; and in whatever direction we had shaped our course, I am satisfied we should have experienced the same kind reception. And, in our own country; wherever an intelligent Frenchman shall present himself, prepared to communicate, and anxious to obtain information, he will be received as we were received in France; making some allowance for a degree of jealousy among the manufacturers, not incompatible with personal benevolence, but arising from particular circumstances which might render competition ruinous. A sufficient proof that we are not natural enemies! "*Les peuples ne s'entrehaissent pas,*" as I heard many of the French exclaim. How long then shall forty millions of civilized people, in the two countries, remain the dupes of that wretched and disgraceful policy, by which governments foment perpetual rivalry and war, under the hackneyed plea of supporting social order and religion, and

"Make enemies of nations who had else,
Like kindred drops, been mingled into one."

FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

ACT ADDITIONAL TO THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

*Napoleon, by the grace of God and the
Constitutions, Emperor of the French,
to all present and to come greeting.*

Since we were called, fifteen years ago, to the government of the State by the wishes of France, we endeavoured, at various times, to improve the constitutional forms, according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The constitutions of the empire were thus formed of a series of acts which were sanctioned by the acceptance of the people. It was then our object to organise a grand federative European sys-

tem, which we had adopted as conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to attain its completion, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we postponed the establishment of many internal institutions, more particularly destined to protect the liberty of the citizens. Henceforward our only object is to increase the prosperity of France, by the confirmation of public liberty. Hence results the necessity of various important modifications of the constitutions, the *senatus-consulta*, and other acts which govern this empire. For these causes, wishing, on the one hand, to retain of the passed what was good and salutary, and on the other, to render the constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to propose to the people a series of arrangements tending to modify and improve its Constitutional Acts; to strengthen the rights of citizens by every guarantee, to give the representative system its whole extension, to invest the intermediate bodies with the desirable respectability and power,—in one word, to combine the highest degree of political liberty and individual security, with the force and centralization necessary for causing the independence of the French people to be respected by foreigners, and to the dignity of our crown. In consequence, the following articles, forming an act supplementary to the constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptance of all citizens throughout the whole extent of France:—

TITLE I.

Article 1. The constitutions of the empire, particularly the constitutional act of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, the *Senatus Consulta* of the 14 and 16 Thermidor, year 10, and of the 28 Floreal, year 12, shall be modified by the arrangements which follow. All other arrangements are confirmed and maintained.

2. The Legislative Power is exercised by the Emperor and two Chambers.

3. The first Chamber, called the Chamber of Peers, is hereditary.

4. The Emperor appoints its Members, who are irrevocable, they and their male descendants, from one eldest son to another. The number of Peers is unlimited.

Adoption does not transmit to him who is its object, the dignity of the Peerage. Peers take their seats at twenty-one years of age, but have no deliberative voice till twenty-five.

5. The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire is President of the Chamber of Peers, or in certain cases a Member of the Chamber specially designated by the Emperor.

6. The Members of the Imperial Family, in hereditary order, are Peers of right. They take their seats at 18 years of age, but have no deliberative voice till 21.

7. The second Chamber, called that of Representatives, is elected by the people.

8. Its members are 629 in number. They must be 25 years old at least.

9. The President is appointed by the Chamber, at the opening of the first Session. He retains his functions till the renewal of the Chamber. His nomination is submitted to the approbation of the Emperor.

10. This Chamber verifies the powers of its Members, and pronounces on the validity of contested elections.

11. Its Members receive for travelling expenses, and during the Session, the pay decreed by the Constituent Assembly.

12. They are indefinitely re-eligible.

13. The Chamber of Representatives is of right wholly renewed every five years.

14. No Member of either Chamber can be arrested, except in *FLAGRANTE DELICTO*, nor prosecuted in any criminal or correctional matter during a Session, but in virtue of a resolution of the Chamber of which he forms a part.

15. None can be arrested or detained for debt, from the date of convocation, nor for forty days after the Session.

16. In criminal or correctional matters Peers are judged by their Chamber, according to prescribed forms.

17. The office of peer and representative is compatible with all other public functions, except those of matters of account (*comptables*); prefects and sub-prefects are, however, ineligible.

18. The Emperor sends to the Chambers Ministers and Counsellors of State, who sit there and take part in the debates, but have no deliberative voice unless they are peers or elected by the people.

19. The Ministers, thus Members of either Chamber, or sitting there by mission from Government, give to the Chambers such information as is deemed necessary,

when its publicity does not compromise the interest of the State.

20. The sittings of the two Chambers are public. They may, however, go into secret committee, the Peers on the demand of ten, and the representatives on the demand of twenty-five members. Government may also require secret committees when it has communications to make. In all cases deliberation and vote can only be in public sitting.

21. The Emperor may prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve the Chamber of Representatives. The Proclamation which pronounces the dissolution convokes the Electoral Colleges for a new election; and fixes the meeting of representatives within six months at the farthest.

22. During the recess of sessions of the Chambers of Representatives, or in case of its dissolution, the Chamber of Peers cannot meet.

23. Government has the proposal of laws; the Chambers can propose amendments; if these amendments are not adopted by Government, the Chambers are bound to vote on the law such as it was proposed.

24. The Chambers have the power of inviting Government to propose a law on a determinate object, and to draw up what it appears to them proper to insert in the law. This claim may be made by either Chamber.

25. When a Bill is adopted in either Chamber, it is carried to the other; and if there approved, it is carried to the Emperor.

26. No written discourse, excepting reports of Committees, of Ministers on laws, and accounts, can be read in either Chamber.

TITLE II.—OF ELECTORAL COLLEGES AND THE MODE OF ELECTION.

27. The Electoral Colleges of Department and Arrondissement are maintained, with the following modifications:

28. The Cantonal Assemblies will yearly fill up by elections all the vacancies in electoral colleges.

29. Dating from 1814, a Member of the Chamber of Peers appointed by the Emperor shall be President for life, and irremovable of every Electoral College of Department.

30. Dating from the same period, the Electoral College of every Department shall appoint, among the Members of each

college of arrondissement, the president and two vice-presidents. For that purpose, the meeting of the departmental colleges shall precede by a fortnight that of the college of arrondissement.

31. The colleges of department and arrondissement shall appoint the number of representatives fixed for each in the table adjoined.

32. The representatives may be chosen indiscriminately from the whole extent of France. Every college of department or arrondissement which shall choose a member out of its bounds, shall appoint a supplementary member, who must be taken from the department or arrondissement.

33. Manufacturing and commercial industry and property, shall have special representatives. The election of commercial and manufacturing representatives shall be made by the electoral college of department, from a list of persons eligible, drawn up by the Chambers of Commerce, and the Consultative Chambers united.

TITLE III.—OF TAXATION.

34. The general direct tax, whether on land or moveables, is voted only for one year: indirect taxes may be voted for several years. In case of the dissolution of the Chamber of Representatives, the taxes voted in the preceding session are continued till the next meeting of the Chamber.

35. No tax, direct or indirect, in money or kind, can be levied, no loan contracted, no inscription in the great book of the public debt can be made, no domain alienated or sold, no levy of men for the army ordered, no portion of territory exchanged, but in virtue of a law.

36. No proposition of tax, loan, or levy of men, can be made but to the Chamber of Representatives.

37. Before the same Chamber must be laid, in the first instance, 1. The General Budget of the State, containing a view of the receipts, and the proposal of the funds assigned for the year, to each department of service: 2. The account of the receipts and expences of the year or of preceding years.

TITLE IV.—OF MINISTERS, AND OF RESPONSIBILITY.

38. All the acts of Government must be countersigned by a Minister in office.

39. The Ministers are responsible for acts of Government signed by them, as well as for the execution of the laws.

40. They may be accused by the Cham-

ber of Representatives, and are tried by that of Peers.

41. Every Minister, every Commandant of armed force, by land or sea, may be accused by the Chamber of Representatives, and tried by that of Peers, for having compromised the safety or honour of the nation.

42. The Chamber of Peers, in that case, exercises a discretionary power either in classing the offence or mitigating the punishment.

43. Before placing a Minister in accusation, the Chamber of Representatives must declare that there is ground for examining the charge.

44. This declaration can only be made on the report of a Committee of 60, drawn by lot. This Committee must make its report in 10 days or sooner after its nomination.

45. When the Chamber declares there is ground for enquiry, it may call the Minister before them to demand explanations, at least within 10 days after the report of the Committee.

46. In no other case can Ministers in office be summoned or ordered by the Chambers.

47. When the Chamber of Representatives has declared that there is ground for inquiry against a minister, a new committee of 60 drawn by lot is formed, who are to make a new report on the placing in accusation. This committee makes its report 10 days after its appointment.

48. The placing in accusation is not to take place till 10 days after the report is read and distributed.

49. The accusation being pronounced, the Chamber appoints five of its members to prosecute the charge before the Peers.

50. The 75th art. of the constitutional acts of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, importing that the agents of government can only be prosecuted in virtue of a decision of the Council of State, shall be modified by a law.

TITLE V.—OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

51. The Emperor appoints all Judges. They are irremovable and for life from the moment of their appointment; but the nomination of Justices of Peace, and Judges of Commerce, shall take place as formerly.

The existing Judges, appointed by the Emperor in terms of the *Senatus Consultum* of the 12th Oct. 1807, and whom he shall think proper to retain, shall receive

provisions for life before the 1st of January next.

52. The institution of juries is maintained.

53. The discussions on criminal trials shall be public.

54. Military offences alone shall be tried by military tribunals.

55. All other offences, even those committed by military men, are within the jurisdiction of civil tribunals.

56. All the crimes and offences which were appropriated for trial to the high Imperial Court, and of which this act does not reserve the trial to the Chamber of Peers, shall be brought before the ordinary tribunals.

57. The Emperor has the right of pardon, even in correctional cases, and of granting amnesties.

58. Interpretations of laws demanded by the Court of Cassation shall be given in the form of a law.

TITLE VI.—RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

59. Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law, whether for contribution to taxes and public burthens, or for admission to civil and military employments.

60. No one, under any pretext, can be withdrawn from the judges assigned to him by law.

61. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided for by law, and according to the prescribed forms.

62. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all.

63. All property possessed or acquired in virtue of the laws, and all debts of the state, are inviolable.

64. Every citizen has a right to print and publish his thoughts, on signing them, without any previous censorship, liable at the same time, after publication, to legal responsibility by trial by jury, even where there is ground only for the application of a constitutional penalty.

65. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens. Every petition is individual. Petitions may be addressed either to Government or to the two Chambers; nevertheless, even the latter must also be entitled "To the Emperor." They shall be presented to the Chambers under the guarantee of a member who recommends

the petition. They are publicly read; and if the Chambers take them into consideration, they are laid before the Emperor by the President.

66. No fortress, no portion of territory, can be declared in a state of siege, but in case of invasion by a foreign force, or of civil broils. In the former case the declaration is made by an act of the Government. In the latter it can only be done by the law. However, should the two Chambers not then be sitting, the act of the Government, declaring the state of siege, must be converted into a plan of law within a fortnight after the meeting of the Chambers.

67. The French People moreover declare, that in the delegation which it has made and makes of its powers, it has not meant, and does not mean to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons, or any Prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the Imperial dynasty; nor the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal and seigniorial rights, or tithes, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains; it formally interdicts to the Government, the Chambers, and the Citizens, all propositions on that subject.

Given at Paris, April 23, 1848.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the Emperor,

The Minister Secretary of State,

(Signed) The Duke of Bassano.

Then follows a decree regulating the proportion of representatives for each department, who are in all to be 605.

Another decree appoints 23 Deputies to be nominated for all the arrondissements, from among merchants, ship owners, bankers, and manufacturers. They shall be chosen by the electoral colleges, out of lists presented by every department.

Then follows a decree for opening registers in which the votes on the constitution are to be inscribed. They are to be open ten days. The act of the constitution is also to be sent to the army and navy. The assembly of the field of May, for examining the votes, &c. is appointed for the 26th May.

TO THE
PEOPLE OF NOTTINGHAM,

On the Motives and Prospects of the War.

Amongst those towns of England which have shewn the best spirit, for many years past, as to political matters, Nottingham stands at least as forward as any, and, therefore, I address to you the observations, which, at this critical period, I think it my duty to publish, on the Motives and Prospects of that War, which, perhaps, will be begun before this paper reaches the press.

The last war, which added 600 millions to the National Debt, and which produced so many and such great calamities, calamities not transient but durable; that war had for its pretexts, 1st, that the French had issued a Decree inviting all nations to rise against their governments, and 2nd, that they had opened the Navigation of the River Scheldt in Flanders. The futility of these pretexts have been a thousand times demonstrated. The *real* grounds of that war are now well known; but, at any rate, there is no such pretext for the present intended, or, threatened, war. The war-faction are now compelled to acknowledge, that France is confined within her ancient limits; that Napoleon has declared his adherence to the Treaty of Paris, dictated by us and our allies; that he has made overtures to all the Powers to preserve peace; that he has most explicitly pledged himself to the French people that he will enter on no war of aggression; that he has, in complaisance to us, abolished the Slave Trade, which we could not prevail on Louis to do; that he has agreed to the formation of a constitution which will necessarily tend to promote the peace and happiness of France. All this the war-faction acknowledge; none of this can they deny. What, then, is their pretext for going to war? What do they tell you, that they wish to see Europe once more bleeding for? Why, they say, that they *cannot trust* Napoleon; that he never has kept any treaty; that he will keep no treaty now; that he will sell forth as

soon as he is strong, and that, therefore, we ought to fall upon him and destroy him while he is weak.

Whether he *be weak* is a question on which I will speak hereafter. At present let us inquire into the solidity of this opinion, that we *cannot trust* Napoleon, grounded as this opinion is on the assertion, that he is a notorious *breaker of treaties*.

Suppose this latter assertion to be true, is that a ground of war? When would wars cease, and with whom could we ever have treaties, if we were to act on such a rule? Did not Russia make a treaty with Napoleon at Tilsit, in which the former stipulated to adopt the Continental System, and in which she acknowledged Joseph King of Spain? And was it not the breach of this treaty, which led Napoleon into Russia? Did we not see Bavaria, Austria, and Prussia, all bound to Napoleon by treaty in a war against Russia; and did they not all of them actually desert him in the field and join his enemies? And, you will bear in mind, too, that he had repeatedly had the Sovereigns of these three countries at his feet, and had replaced them upon their thrones. What impudence, then, is it in the war-faction to call him a *treaty-breaker*, and to say, that we *cannot trust* him! How we have kept our *treaties* I shall not attempt to shew; nor, indeed, is it necessary. It is well known, that all those Powers, whom we now call our high allies, and on whose valour and fidelity we place so much reliance, have been our allies *before*; that they have quitted our alliance and joined France against us; that they have, in short, within the last 22 years, all been twice fighting with France against us, and more than twice fighting with us against France. These facts being notorious, what assurance must those persons have, who would persuade us, that we never can have peace with Napoleon; and that we ought to make war with him till he be destroyed, because he is a man, who does not keep treaties!

What, then, are the *real* Motives of the expected war? This is a matter of vast im-

portance. It is of the greatest consequence that the people of such a place as Nottingham, or Coventry, or any other fine town of England, abounding in good sense, should *clearly understand this question at the very out-set of the war*; because, if they do not carry this knowledge along with them through the war, the effects of the war will not, in all likelihood, lead, at last, to a just and beneficial result.

What, then, are the *real Motives* of the expected war? I am not in acquaintance with the Ministers; I know nobody who is. But, I hear many of the war-faction talk; and, with them, at least, the following are the real Motives for going to war:—They say, that the country is come to that pass, that it cannot now live in peace with its present system in existence. They say, that the last twelve months were far more distressing than any foregoing twelve months of war; that commerce was less productive; that trades of all sorts were worse; that houses and land became less valuable; that manufactures throve less; that journeymen and labourers were starving, who, before, were doing passably well.—They say, that more than 40,000 families, living upon their incomes, had migrated to various parts of the Continent, and especially to France; that these families draw out of England 15 or 20 millions sterling a year; that the rents of lands and the dividends from the Stocks were, in a great degree, spent in France instead of England, because in the former country one pound would go as far as three pounds in the latter country; that thus there was less demand for labourers, for corn, for cattle, for household goods, for all articles of dress, for carriages, than there was in time of war; that thus tradesmen, farmers, and manufacturers lost their customers, and that labourers and journeymen lost their employment. They say, that *houses* fit for persons of fortune became worth little or nothing; and, that, near London, in particular, thousands of houses became tenantless on account of the peace, to the ruin of builders, and the starvation of journeymen.

Now, I believe all this to be true; but, how, then, are we to go to war in order to make England as *cheap* a country as France? Or, are we *always* to have war to prevent these migrations to France? Are we *never* to have peace; are we to

keep on *shedding human blood*, lest peace should enable the English to go abroad in search of cheap living?

But, how comes this migration to have taken place now, more than in former times? You will bear in mind, my friend of Nottingham, that we did formerly live in peace with France for many years together; that we had treaties of friendship and of commerce with France; and that nobody used to be alarmed at the effects of any migration from England to France. How comes it, then, that France is *now* become so inviting to English people? What is the cause of so many thousands flocking thither to live in preference to their own country? You will bear in mind, my friends of Nottingham, that before the peace, we were told of nothing but the *miseries* which Napoleon had inflicted upon France. We were told, that he had drained the people of their all; that he had ruined the arts, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture; that he had taken away all the able men, and left the land to be ploughed and sowed by old men, women, and children. And yet, the moment the passage to France is free, thousands upon thousands of English people flock thither to live, while not a single French family came to live on their means in England. What, then, is the real fact? Why do so many go to live upon their fortunes in France? I will, in a few words as I can, explain this mystery.

The motive for going to live in France, is that people can live *cheaper* there. For instance, Mr. BULL has an income from the Stocks, or from his farms, which he lets, of 500 pounds a year. With this, if Mr. Bull lives in the country, he may, if Mrs. Bull manages well, keep one maid-servant, and drink a pint of wine a day, without being able, however, to lay by a single shilling for his three or four children. If Mr. Bull, or, rather Mrs. Bull, chooses to live in town, he must put up with *part of a house*; he must black his own shoes, and Mrs. Bull must cook her own mutton chop. Thus situated Mr. Bull reads in the newspaper that a bottle of wine in France costs six-pence, a turkey half a crown, a house and garden ten pounds a year, and so on. "Look here, my dear," says he to Mrs. Bull, "Why, we could live much more comfortably in France. We could keep a maid and a footman in France." "Aye," says

Mrs. Ball, "and a carriage too, my dear." "Yes," replies he, "and lay by something too for the little Bulls. "And, besides, we shall have no poor-rates or tythes to pay." They soon get rid of their odds and ends; off they go to France, leaving behind them an order to send them their income, and also leaving behind them their share of the poor-rates and other taxes to be paid by those who remain, and leaving their maid-servant, their taylor, shoe-maker, bricklayer, carpenter, butcher, baker, &c. to find, *where they can*, other customers to supply their place.

I am sure you all clearly understand this. You clearly see the reason for people migrating to France; you see how this migration throws others out of work, and how it lessens the number of persons who pay the taxes, and you see, that they would not migrate to France, if the means of living were not *cheaper* in France than in England. But, as I am not so sure, that you clearly perceive the *cause* of these low prices in France compared with the prices in England, I will explain that cause to you as briefly as I am able.

All the necessities of life are dearer in England than in France, because the *Taxes* are heavier in England than they are in France. For instance, suppose the government to take six-pence tax upon every pair of stockings, the maker must sell them six-pence a pair dearer than he did before. We pay twenty shillings a bushel for *salt*; but, if there were no tax upon salt, we should not pay above three or four shillings a bushel. The tax is, I believe, 16s. a bushel, and then there is the charge of the maker for the interest of the money advanced in the amount of the tax. For ale you pay at Nottingham, I suppose, 6d. a quart, Winchester measure. *Malt*, which now sells for 10s. a bushel, pays 4s. 6d. a bushel in tax. To this must be added the tax paid by the brewer on the *Ale*. To this also must be added the innumerable taxes paid by the farmer out of the price of his *Barley*. If you put all these together, you will see what it is that makes your Ale cost 6d. a quart. If one country pays upon every article twice as much in taxes as another country, it is very evident that living in the former must cost twice as much as it costs in the latter.

Now, then, you see clearly why things are cheaper in France than they are in

England. You see clearly why it is that people migrate to France; and, as this migration *cannot take place in time of war*, this is one of the reasons why the war-faction are so eager to push the country on into that state, without any consideration as to the consequence which that war may produce.

But, they have other reasons, one of which is of the same sort. They say, that France presents an enticing field for *Manufactures*. They have seen how manufactories have risen up in *America*. They have seen, that, in a very few years, the cotton and woollen manufactories of *America* have so rapidly increased as almost to shut out those of England.—They know that this great change in the commercial affairs of the world has arisen from the migration of English manufacturers to *America*. They know, that as much food can be bought in France for a shilling as in England for two or three shillings; and, they say, that France being so near, it will be impossible, in time of peace, to prevent manufacturers and machine-makers from going to France. They say, that thus France, instead of England, will supply the rest of Europe with what are now called English manufactures. They say, that hundreds of manufacturers and artisans went over in the last year, even under the Bourbons, and that now, when they are sure to enjoy complete *religious liberty*, without any predominant church, the migration would be by thousands. Therefore, they wish for war, seeing that, during a war, no migration can take place. They know, that there are *laws* to prevent artisans and manufacturers from migrating to any country; but, they also know, that it is next to impossible to enforce those laws. They know that such laws only make the desire to migrate the more keen. They know, in short, that such laws are not more efficient than would be a law or proclamation to prevent birds from flying from one grove to another; and that nothing but a complete and forcible obstruction will answer the purpose.

Another motive with the war-faction, and, perhaps, the most powerful of all, is, to prevent the people of England from *witnessing the effects of a free government in France*. In France Napoleon has agreed that the people shall be really represented in the Legislature; that no tax shall be imposed without the people's free

consent. In France there are *no tythes*. In France there is *no predominant Church*. The war-faction fear the effect of this example. They say, that this state of things has arisen out of a Democratic Revolution. They say, that for the people of England to have this continually before their eyes is very dangerous. They say, as the newspapers said, in the case of America, we ought to go to war; we ought to keep on war; we ought to have no peace; we ought to send Lord Wellington and all our army to fight and burn and destroy in America, until Mr. MADISON be deposed; until this "mischievous example of the success of democratical rebellion be annihilated." Until this was done, they said, that the world could have no *real peace*. Until this was done, they said, that no *regular government* was safe. Until this was done, they said, that the English government would remain in jeopardy every hour.

This faction are dreadfully alarmed at the description which travellers give us of the happy state of France. While the war lasted, the people of England were kept wholly in the dark as to this matter. You will bear in mind, my friends of Nottingham, what the war-faction told us upon this head. They told us, that all was misery in France; that the people were in the last stage of wretchedness; that they were become very poor in consequence of the taxes imposed by Napoleon; that there was no able men left to till the land; that the people hated Napoleon, and only sought an opportunity to cast off his yoke; that, in short, the country was become a wilderness. Strange transition! They now want war to prevent the people of England from migrating to that wilderness! They now want war to prevent us from seeking happiness in climes of such misery! They want war to prevent Englishmen from being captivated with the effects of tyranny!

From what has been said, it is clear, I think, that the alarms of the war-faction arise, in a great degree, from the known cheapness of living in France compared with the price of living in England. It is also, I think, clear, that the comparative high prices in England arise from our heavy taxes. The way, then, for rational men to go to work to prevent further migration, is, to inquire how our taxes may

be reduced, in such a degree as to bring English prices and French prices nearer, at any rate, to a level. And, if they were to enter upon this inquiry, they would soon discover, that so desirable an end is not to be advanced by war. It is, in fact, by war that our prices have been raised to such a height as to induce people to migrate: and, yet, strange infatuation! they would cure the evil by *more war*!

For twenty-two years previous to the late wars against France, the average price of the quatern loaf in England was *five-pence*. During the twenty-two years from the commencement of that war to this time, the average price of the quatern loaf in England has been a little more than *eleven-pence*. This has been occasioned by the augmentation of the taxes. The whole of the taxes, upon an average of years, for twenty-two years before those wars, amounted to less than twenty millions a year. Since those wars began, they have, upon an average, amounted to more than forty millions a year. Thus, you see, that high prices arise from taxation, that taxation arises out of war; and, yet, in order to prevent us from migrating to France in search of low prices, this faction would have *more war*, whereby more taxes will be imposed and still higher prices occasioned.

But, not only has war made high prices up to this time: it will continue to make prices high in England *for ages to come*; because, besides the taxes which have been raised and *expended* on account of war, there have been *loans* made to the amount of 600 millions, the bare interest of which does, I believe, exceed the whole amount of all the taxes collected in France, upon almost three times the number of people. In short, such has been the effect of the late wars with us, that our *peace taxes* were to have been *sixty millions* a year, whereas our *peace taxes*, before the war against France, were *sixteen millions* a year. And yet this faction would make us believe, that, to render us happy and safe, it is necessary to have *more war*!

If, unhappily, we now begin war again, the taxes must not only as great, but much greater, than they have been before; because, though the expenditure should not be greater on account of the war, loans must still be made, and taxes must be raised to pay the interest of them. The

loans will go on augmenting the debt, and the interest of the debt must continue to be paid after the war is over, let who will live to see that day. Of course, prices will still keep, *on an average*, rising; the difference between prices in England and in France will be greater than it is now; people will be still more disposed to migrate than at present; and, thus will war have augmented the evil instead of removing it.

The war-faction make *quite sure* of success against Napoleon. They do not allow him above three months to exist. They say he was brought back by the *army*; that the *army* were so attached to him that they never could endure the good king Louis; that the *army* bore down twenty-five, or thirty, millions of good Frenchmen; that the whole nation was nothing, and the *army every thing*. Yet, in the next breath, they say that he has *no army*; that the *army*, what there is of it, is good for little, and that the troops, so far from liking him, are *daily deserting* to the good king at Ghent. Strange fellows this *army*, or no *army*, must be composed of! Not a soul of them would lift a hand for the good king while he was in France; but, he having run away out of France, they desert from Napoleon to join the king!

On the other hand, the war-faction represent the High Allies as being wondrous strong. They have 800,000 men marching towards the Rhine. They have an abundance of cannon, horses, provisions, &c. They are, too, *so beloved by all their people*. All the people in Belgium, in Holland, in the new kingdom of Hanover, in Prussia, Saxony, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sicily, and Spain are so fond, so exceedingly fond, of their good Sovereigns, and detest Napoleon so much, that the contest cannot be either doubtful, or long. Now, if this be so, why are they *afraid* of Napoleon or his French people? Why need they be alarmed? If all their people are so free and so happy and so fond of their Sovereigns, and such haters of Napoleon and of the French, why not leave Napoleon and the French to this hatred? Why not leave them to their misery? And, why are we to be involved in a new war for the purpose of putting down a second time a man whom no people in the world care a straw about?

However, the *fact* is, I believe, not what

the war-faction tells us, in this respect. Their own contradictions and alarms prove very clearly, that they think the French nation and their chief formidable. The same faction vowed eternal war against MR. MADISON, whose name they now never mention. There is no doubt that they were, in this latter case, reduced to reason by the battles on the Lakes, on the Ocean, and on the land of America. It was the *sword*, which brought them to their senses; and, is there not reason to believe, that such will be the case again? Let us first hear of one or two great battles, and then we shall be able to judge of the relative means of the opposing parties.

And, if the war-faction should be disappointed; if war should carry the French arms again into Holland and to Vienna; if this coalition, too, should be dissolved, and England again left to make war or peace single-handed; if this *should* be the case, what will *then* be our situation? If migration be an evil now, what would it be at the end of such a war, which would have added another hundred million or two to the national debt, and, in proportion, to our permanent taxes? If we cannot live in peace with France now; if her abundance and her political example are now objects of terror to the war-faction, what will they be then?

It is a curious thing to observe, that, while, at this time, all the ports of France are open to England, and while the mail comes more frequently than ever from that country, there is no mail permitted to go from England to France. Napoleon seems not to wish to disguise any thing. He has no law, no regulation, to prevent us from seeing what he is about. Any one may write to us a full account of his proceedings. He aims at no secrecy. He suffers any one to go, or come. This argues any thing but fear. Ten thousand assassins may enter France, if they can be found. This does not seem as if he were in any terror. And yet, there are persons constantly endeavouring to persuade us, that he lives amidst the most dreadful alarms.

It is with a view of guarding you, my friends of Nottingham, against the falsehoods and misrepresentations of the war-faction that I have offered to you these remarks. Neither you nor I can prevent war, if it be to take place; but it is in our power to reject falsehood, to think rightly

upon this important subject, to endeavour to enlighten others whom we see in error, and thus to deserve no part of that reproach which will justly fall upon those who shall have been instrumental in the utter ruin of our country.

You will please to observe, that I am very far from thinking, that we can live in peace with France, unless we change our system. With taxes to the amount of *Sixty millions* a year, while France is in her present state, we never can live in peace with her and retain our greatness. People, who are able to remove, never will long continue to walk on foot on this side of the water, if they can ride in coaches on the other. Where the rich are, thither will go those arts which the rich support. I am well aware of all this; but, it is not by war that I would endeavour to keep Englishmen at home. By peace, by œconomy, by reducing the military establishment, by conciliatory laws, and especially by a constitutional Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, I would make Englishmen *feel*; I would not *tell* them, but I would make them *feel*, that there was nothing for them to envy, or to seek after, in France, in America, or in any other country upon earth.

With that respect to which your good sense and public spirit entitle you from all your countrymen,

I remain your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, May 2, 1815.

WAR AGAINST FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT,—You have already, and most ably shewn, that there exists, at this period, a striking similarity between the invasion of France in 1792, and that which is again threatened in 1815.—In nothing is the resemblance more obvious than in the pacific and moderate language now used by Napoleon, and that employed by the National Assembly when it met to determine this great question, whether the right of making war and peace belonged to the king or to the nation? Having decided in favour of the exclusive right of the people, they decreed, “that the French nation formally disclaims all wars from motives of ambition, or views of conquest; and engages never to employ her forces against the liberty of any other people.”—Even when the conduct of

Austria first compelled France to unsheath the sword, the same Assembly declared, “that the French people, faithful to the principles of its constitution, which forbade it every kind of conquest, and from arming against the liberty of any people, is now arming only for its own freedom, its independence, and its sovereignty.”—It is true, these principles were afterwards departed from; but this was not the spontaneous act of the French government. It was not with them a matter of choice when they proclaimed “peace to the cottage and war to the palace.” We must look to the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto for the cause of this.—Here indeed we shall find enough to palliate, if not to justify, all the subsequent hostile proceedings of France against her external enemies, and all the dreadful convulsions with which she was so long agitated internally.—“The inhabitants of cities, towns, or villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and fire upon them either in the open country, or from the windows, doors, or other openings of their houses, shall be punished on the spot with all the rigour of martial law, and their houses shall be pulled down or burnt.”—“The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction shall be bound without the smallest delay, to submit to the king, to set him at full and perfect liberty, and secure to him, as also to all the royal persons of his family, the inviolability and respect which, according to the laws of nature and of nations, are due from subjects to their sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties declaring, that all the members of the National Assembly, of the departments, districts, municipalities, national guards, justices of the peace, and all other persons whatsoever, shall be answerable with their lives and fortunes for all events; tried by martial law, and punished without hopes of pardon; their said Majesties further declaring, upon the faith and word of an emperor and of a king, That if the palace of the Tuilleries shall be forced or insulted, if the least violence, the least outrage shall be offered to their Majesties the King and Queen, or the Royal Family; if provision shall not be made immediately for their safety, their preservation, and their



“liberty, they will take a *signal and memorable vengeance, by delivering up the city of Paris to military execution and complete subversion: and the revolters, who shall have given occasion for such vengeance, to the just punishment of their crimes.*” Such are the 7th and 8th articles of that *humane Manifesto*, which served as a signal to rouse, and to render furious the minds of almost the whole population of France, and which, instead of tending to preserve the life of the unfortunate monarch, hastened his conveyance to the scaffold. The *Times* newspaper asserts, that “it is not historically true that the Duke of Brunswick’s Manifesto occasioned the *failure* of the “first invasion of France.”—Critically speaking, it may be that the mere *publication* of this document had not that effect; but it is also true that the measures pursued by the Allies, which were exactly in the spirit of the Manifesto, were the cause of their armies being driven from the soil of France, and of the war being afterwards carried into the bosom of their own territory. The object of the *Times* writer was to make it be believed, that the Declaration of the Allies against Napoleon, would not occasion any new disaster, in case they should again enter France. The disgraceful termination of the campaign which followed the Duke of Brunswick’s Manifesto, is sufficiently conclusive as to its effects; and although the new fulmination against the “rebel and his adherents,” is not so bloody in its aspect, though equally sanguinary, its consequences must be, indeed already have been, to unite all the energies of the French nation in support of Napoleon.—“It is not justice (says the *Gazette de France*), which “arms the Sovereigns of Europe, but passion and anger. Let them beware: all the coalitions directed against France “for twenty years were unsuccessful, “whilst they presented only a confederation of Princes, and not a league of nations, and whilst France remained concentrated in herself, and was united by a national will. Let them not then revive in France the frenzy of 1793. The “same violation of her territory, the least “insult to the moral character of the nation, would produce the same enthusiasm, the same exasperation, and the “same vengeance. Soon all the provinces, “which, during twenty years, were united

“to France, would again become French, “and the triumphant eagles would again “carry beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and “the Pyrenees, the independence and the “emancipation of nations. But if the “nation is respected, if her rights are not “contemned, all her energy will subside “into the only wish which she forms— “that of a free Constitution. Then all “France may proudly repeat what Pliny “said to Trajan, ‘If we have a *Prince*, it “is to preserve us from having a *master*.’”

It is much to be regretted, that there are so few who are capable of justly appreciating the causes of the war of 1793, or of that with which we are now threatened. The ignorance generally prevailing on this subject, seems to arise from the implicit reliance that is placed in the statements of our newspaper press, the sole object of which is to obscure truth, to paralyze the mind, and to excite the ferocious passions of cannibals, who delight in war because it satiates their thirst for human blood.—How few are there, of the present day, that have any recollection of that “enthusiasm” which animated Frenchmen, when the soil of France was first invaded; how comparatively few are to be found, that are any way acquainted with those individual traits of valour and attachment to liberty, which a former violation of her territory called forth amongst that brave and gallant people. France was then fighting for freedom, for independence, and for sovereignty. She is now arming in the same sacred cause. It was the efforts of her citizens that then insured her the victory. Why may not similar efforts again crown her with new triumphs?—The satellites of corruption tell us, that Napoleon has no regular army, and that he is destitute of every thing necessary to fit one out. Be it so. It was not by *regular* armies that France vanquished her enemies in 1793; it was not by Swiss guards, nor by mercenary troops, that she carried terror into the ranks of her invaders. It was the energies of an undisciplined, an almost unarmed population, animated by the enthusiasm of liberty, indignant at the haughty threat of punishing the defenders of their country, and resolved to revenge the insults offered to the national honour, that delivered France from the terrible state of degradation with which she was then threatened. A departure from first principles, subsequently placed her, in

some measure, at the mercy of her invaders; but although she was believed to be overcome, the spirit of independence was not subdued. It was only in *appearance* she yielded for a moment, that she might derive new life, new vigour, to resist her assailants. Of what consequence is it, then, whether France has regular armies or not; whether her forces are trained to battle; whether they wear red coats, yellow coats, or green? The whole population are resolved, like the Americans in the late war, "to defend their country, "or to perish in the contest." The spirit which enabled these patriots to combat so successfully for liberty, and to triumph over those who threatened their independence, now animates all Frenchmen. Nor has Napoleon neglected to take advantage of this noble feeling, to which he has given a direction similar to that which, even in this country, is said to have, at one period, baffled his designs against us, and to have saved us from a foreign domination. Independent of the National Guards, estimated at two millions of men, corps of *volunteers* are every where forming in France, who are not, as with us, to wear gaudy uniforms, and, in all cases, are to serve without pay. If this species of military defence was regarded of such vast importance here; if to the Volunteers of Great Britain we are now indebted for the possession of our invaluable Constitution, of the whole of that "Social System," those ancient, those sacred, those venerable institutions, in which our fathers so much delighted, and which they took so much pains to hand down unimpaired to us. If to these ardent and patriotic supporters of church and state we owe so many blessings, is it not reasonable to expect that France will feel equal benefit from the exertions of her volunteers? If we confided our all to them; if it be true that our embodying this description of force obliged the enemy to abandon his intention of invading this country, why should not the Volunteers of France appear equally terrible to her invaders?—Why should not Napoleon have as much reliance upon them as our Government had upon our volunteers? And where is the prospect of the Allies being able to subdue France with such an armed force to oppose them, when it was so confidently believed that a similar force rendered Great Britain, even single handed, invul-

nerable to all attacks that could be made against her?—I admit that the Volunteers of France will have no dominant church, no overgrown nobility, to fight for, because every religion in that country is alike protected, and because the division of property is more equalized than before the Revolution. But they will have much more powerful stimulants. They will have equality of rights to contend for; they will have that admirable code of laws which Napoleon consolidated, those benevolent institutions which he established, those unrivalled specimens of the fine arts which he collected, those extensive national improvements which he created and patronized. All this, and the integrity of that delightful country which produces so many comforts for the use of man, the Volunteers of France will have to protect, to defend, and to succour in the hour of danger. They will also have to guard against the return of that system which formerly rendered existence almost intolerable in France, and tended only to increase the luxuries of an insolent nobility, and to augment the power of a contemptible race of monarchs. But above all, these brave defenders of their country will have to protect it against the encroachments of the priesthood, who, more than any other set of men, have desolated France, and subjected the sovereign as well as the people to the most degrading and abject slavery. These are objects worthy the attention of every people. Without these, life is not worth having. To defend them to the last extremity, is what constitutes real patriotism; and when a nation is once convinced, as it appears to me the French nation now is, that the war threatened against her is for the purpose of depriving her of so many advantages, it can scarcely be a matter of doubt that she will ultimately triumph over all her enemies.—But if this conclusion is fairly drawn on the supposition that France has no regular army, and must rely upon her Volunteers and her National Guards, how much greater must the probability of her success be, when it is recollected that Napoleon has at this very moment under his command, an army of veteran soldiers, amounting to little short of 300,000 men, and that they are known to be well equipped, and amply supplied with every necessary for carrying on active operations. Supposing it true, that the Allies will be

able to bring forward double this number; supposing that so large a body of Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians, Belgians, English, Swedes, Danes, and the Lord knows what; supposing that so heterogeneous a mass could be brought into the field, to co-operate cordially with each other; that a general could be found capable of giving so vast an accumulation of discordant materials a proper direction; that he was in no risk of being counteracted in his schemes by the jealousy of other generals, of equal rank and talents, over whom he might be placed. Supposing all this likely to happen, we find that Napoleon is sufficiently prepared for it.—“If the enemies of France,” says he, “bring 600,000 men against her, she will meet them with two millions.”—Laying out of view, therefore, the probability that Belgium, that Italy, that Switzerland, that Saxony, that Poland, and that Denmark, are friendly to France, and may be preparing to assist her. Making no account of this, or of the military operations, already begun, of Murat king of Naples, France has, in my opinion, the means *within herself* of maintaining her independence; and directed, as these means will be, by the only man in the world possessing talents for so great an exertion, France must ultimately triumph.—Yours, &c.

May 2, 1815.

ARISTIDES.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

MR. CORBETT,—I was in France last summer nearly ten weeks, and as far as my observations extended, I can bear testimony to the truth of Mr. Birkbeck's statements respecting the condition of her peasantry and the cultivation of her soil. It is, therefore, with much pleasure I find this interesting publication is now in its third edition, and that you have enriched your Register by such copious extracts from it. Mr. A. Young's account of the state of France under Louis the 16th, and Mr. B's book, ought to be read by every person in Great Britain, since a want of sufficient information on this subject, coupled with the ceaseless attempts of a lying press to blacken the character of Napoleon, have the unfortunate effect of reconciling the people to a renewal of the war against that celebrated character. It is impossible that Napoleon should not be popular with the present race of Frenchmen, for a

thousand reasons which might be given. He was the upholder of those laws to which they looked for *security* and happiness in the *undisturbed* enjoyment of those advantages which the Revolution had given them. The majority were strangers to the Bourbons, and had grown up with Napoleon, whose brilliant exploits against the enemies of France reflecting its lustre on his subjects, completely identified this susceptible people with their Emperor, whose successes and misfortunes they felt to be their own. But to shew why Bonaparte is popular in France would be only to repeat, what you, Sir, so clearly proved must be the case, in your letter addressed to Louis the 18th. *Every where*, and among *all classes*, I found admirers of Napoleon. At Paris, I was told by a Merchant, at whose house I visited, (an assertion which was confirmed by many of his guests,) that an immense number of young men in that city applied for arms to defend it against the Allies, but that none could be obtained. Their number was stated at 100,000. In several companies, where I afterwards mentioned *this circumstance*, the answers were, “*Oui, Monsieur, c'est bien vrai.*” At Fontainebleau, their exiled Emperor was the subject of the most unqualified panegyric. “*Ah, Monsieur! c'est un grand Homme. La France est bien malheureuse de l'avoir perdu,*” was the *universal* answer to any questions concerning him. At a Table d'Hôte in that town, I frequently met an elderly Captain who had made the campaign of Russia with Napoleon; he had narrowly escaped with life, and was covered with wounds. The enthusiasm of this veteran soldier for his master, it is impossible to do justice to; but as his popularity with the military has been never called in question, it is needless to retell the words of the Captain.—*Why* should we not make peace with Bonaparte?—But he is a violator of treaties, and no confidence can be safely reposed in him. This only appears clear to those who have never read the French side of the question. *How* does it appear that he broke the peace of Amiens, which we concluded with him? Was it not the refusal of the English to give up Malta, after that Island had been conceded to France, which occasioned the renewal of the war?—Aided by English money, were not the continental powers continually leaguely against their conqueror, and

breaking the treaties they had sworn to preserve with France? To wage war against *prospective* ambition is proclaiming interminable hostilities. All Sovereigns are more or less ambitious, and circumstances will ever occur to bring this passion into action.—Bonaparte is not of royal origin, and it appears that adversity has taught him moderation. His enemies, on the contrary, have profited nothing from their former reverses; they have completely disappointed the raised expectations of Europe; and viewed as the promoters of assassination, have forfeited all claims on the respect of their people. Let us, however, by all means dictate to the French nation and appoint them a ruler, but at the same time let us be prepared for a national Bankruptcy as the reward of our interference. Yours, &c.

W. R. H.

THE CATS IN COUNCIL.

MR. COBBETT,—It happened once upon a time, that there lived in the French country, a great Rat, which soon became the terror of almost all the world. Whereupon all the Tom Cats of Europe met together in grand council, and resolved, to spend their last drop of blood in a war against the great Rat of France. It so fell out, however, that the great Rat was too powerful for the Allied Powers, during several years, till at length the great Rat himself, having been burnt out of his hole in the city of Moscow, was conquered in his turn, and condemned to become an exile in the Island of Elba. The High Allied Cats now mewed most gloriously, and resolved once again to assemble, in order, *for the last time*, to settle the affairs of Europe, and to restore liberty and happiness to a long-afflicted world. All the Mice in Europe were to be divided into exact numbers, and the extent of territories was to be marked out by pencil and compasses. The like to this never before entered into the imagination even of man! So much wisdom and justice were never before exhibited! One would have thought it was an assembly of Gods! Each of their High Mightinesses moved forth in a most pathetic manner, how much he had at heart whatever tended to the public weal! But, alas! how soon the glory of this world fadeth away! Sad to relate, when all things were nearly brought

to a most happy conclusion, and when the great balance of Europe was about to be adjusted to the *nicety of a hair*; behold out crept the great Rat from his rock in the ocean, and twirling his tail about, it unluckily struck against one of the even-poized scales of the great balance that hung over Europe; which scale then kicked the beam, and in a moment overturned the beautiful "order of things so happily established for the tranquillity of nations." And now, how shall I venture to describe the astonishment of the august assembly! It requires a master's hand, and the poet's fire. Each illustrious member of the grand council, with lighting in his eyes, reared up his angry tail in the affrighted air, and swore by all the gods at once, that he would never pare his claws, nor ever shear his whiskers, until the best blood of the great Rat had copiously flowed, and he was for ever "incapacitated from doing further mischief." Ever since this memorable event, loud cries, and tremendous cat-calls, have been heard from the cold regions of the North to the warm shores of the Mediterranean. What will be the result, let no one presume to imagine. It is sufficient for my ambition that I have lived to be the simple Historian of these extraordinary facts.—Yours, &c.

A MOUSE.

May 2, 1815.

CATS, RATS, AND OTHER VERMINE.

MR. COBBETT,—As you are sometimes very minute in your observations, you will not (I hope) be offended with me for the remark I have to make on the debate of Monday. An Honourable Member is reported to have broken out into a very severe censure upon the charge for *cats* in the Navy estimates, deeming it "monstrous extravagance."—Now if a man out of the Honourable House may be allowed to pass his opinion upon this article, I for one, do not think it a monstrous charge by any means; very much the contrary, for I know that the *rats* are very plenty in some of the Dock-yards. I hope no one will be offended with me for saying so, because it is the *truth*; and if two guineas' worth of Cats will be a means of clearing them, I am sure the public need not grumble at the expense. By the Honourable Secretary

of the Admiralty is reported to have explained the matter very intelligibly, so as to shut out all further difficulty upon it: he informed us that the Cats were in one yard, the Rats in another.—Your papers, Sir, are so full of importance, that I am thankful to you for the least possible space to promulgate my opinions; but I hope you will indulge me with one other remark.—I observe you frequently calling the war-faction prints, especially the Times, to account for their most immoderate abuse of the present Ruler of France as they style him, and I must allow that their abuse is most low, disgusting, and disgraceful to the country by which they are permitted, or perhaps prompted, to deal it out. You call them the miscreant hirelings of the press.—Now, whether they are really so or not, I do not take upon me to say; but this I am sure of, that if they were hired by the Emperor himself, they could not take more effectual means to unite and support his influence over the whole people of France; and the strong hold these hirelings have given him, is to him worth any premium he could bestow upon them.—If the war, which they so strenuously call for, should take place, they have fortified him, beyond all other possible means, to withstand it. From what motives they do all this, I shall not inquire, but I am positive as to the effect.—Yours truly,

May 1, 1815.

PHILO.

ODE TO LOUIS.

“’Tis done! but yesterday a King,
To-day, from power hurld;—
For He—that ‘‘ abject, nameless thing,”
His standard has unfurld.
Through Gallia’s land, triumphant mov’d,
By Gallia’s warlike sons belov’d;
And to th’ astonish’d world,
Had this important truth made known,
Nought but the People’s love secures a Monarch’s throne.

And seek’st thou, Louis, to regain
By force, thy fallen power;
Couldst thou, by foreign arms, maintain
The throne secure, an hour?
Hadst thou on Freedom’s friends relied,
The storm thou might’st have then defied,
In safety, seen it lower;

* Vide Lord Byron’s Ode to Napoleon.

That glory now, thou hast resign’d,
Deaf to thy People’s voice, to sad experience
blind.

Could not thy hapless Brother’s fate
Instruct thee, make thee wise;
Didst thou believe their humbled state
Had clos’d the People’s eyes;
That they would, tamely, bear the yoke
Their Fathers had so nobly broke,
And Liberty despise?
If to such weakness thou didst trust,
The world, thyself, must own, thy punishment is
just.

Hadst thou but kept thy plighted word,
To France but Freedom given;
Napoleon ne’er had been preferr’d,
His cause had never thriven:
An Exile now in Peace remain;
Nor seek the dangerous height again,
Doom’d, by the will of Heaven,
Thy kingly honours to resign.
No more to be possess’d by thy degen’rate line.

Buckinghamshire.

VOX POPULI.

PETITION OF THE LIVERY OF LONDON.

The petition of this numerous and respectable body against the threatened war with France, was read at length in the House of Commons on the night of its rejection; but I do not find that it has been published in any of our newspapers. I observe that the *Courier* did not even publish the resolutions passed at the Common Hall, though all the other hireling papers did. Is this to be held a proof of the superiority of our liberty of the press over that of France, of which the *Courier* is constantly vaunting? Is it in suppressing the reasons *against* the war, and in publishing those *for* the war, that this boasted liberty consists? The Editor of the *Moniteur* has given notice, that he will publish every declaration of foreign powers, however hostile to France, or to the Emperor, whenever they please to transmit them. This looks something like liberty of the press: but with our base and corrupted newspapers, nothing must be admitted into their columns that savours in the least of censure of public measures; while a place is always readily given to every thing, no matter how false and contemptible, that may any way detract from the character of the people and govern-

ment of France. Whenever an exception from this rule occurs, it is *interest* alone that causes the insertion. The suppression of the Petition of the Livery of London, is not, however, in the present case, so much to be regretted, because in the resolutions of the Common Hall we have essentially the substance of what it may be supposed to have been. These resolutions I have given below; with a report of the speeches, which I have taken from the *Morning Herald*; not because I consider this the *best* report that might have been given; but because it is the *fullest* of any that has appeared. I have likewise subjoined a list of the minorities in the House of Commons who voted for receiving the Petition, and also in support of Mr. Whitbread's motion for peace with Napoleon. Of all the critical periods during the two and twenty years' struggle with France, none of them was so pregnant with consequences so favourable, or so prejudicial, to the cause of general freedom, as the period in which we now live. It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, that those who have hitherto borne the weight of carrying on the war, and must again bear the burden of the new contest, should not only have their eyes opened to the true state of matters, but that they should be acquainted with the names of those Members of Parliament, who have endeavoured to stem the torrent which threatens to overwhelm Europe.

The Common Hall was held on Thursday the 27th ult. The *Lord Mayor*, after the requisition had been read, addressed the Livery, and intimated, that as far as his authority would go, he should endeavour to procure each speaker silence and orderly attention. Mr. Waithman then stood forward, and said, he had never appeared before the Livery on a more important subject than that he had to propose to them. He did not appear for the purpose of discussing any particular form of government, or the rights of individuals, but it was to recognize the great basis of the Constitution. Twenty years ago, he said, he addressed them on the same question, namely, on the principle of engaging in war without just cause of war. Whatever might be said in other quarters, he could venture to say, the citizens of London did not see the cause of war. The principle he should endeavour to inculcate

was, that all interference with the domestic affairs of any other country ought to be disclaimed, because it was on that principle the British Constitution, proceeding from the glorious revolution, was established. Mr. Waithman then adverted to the treaty of Vienna, and expressed his concern on finding the name of a British Minister affixed to it—all interference with the affairs of France could not be too much deprecated. When this country thought proper to drive King James from the throne, and to establish the present family, what would Englishmen have said had foreign nations interfered? The present family was established by the revolution, and what foreigner dared interfere with our form of government. It was curious to see among the Powers signing the treaty, the Ministers of Austria, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden. Some of these had not only restored the Inquisition, but had sanctioned the separation of Norway from Denmark, Genoa from its ancient constitution, and Saxony from its legitimate monarch. Such persons were unfit to reform other States; they wanted reformation at home. Mr. Waithman reminded the Livery that they had petitioned against the Property Tax and the Corn Bill; and though their prayers had not been heard, it was most essential they should petition Parliament against the war. He condemned the conduct of the Allies in putting Bonaparte out of the pale of the law. They had no right, he said, to proscribe any individual; such a power belonged only to the Supreme Being. [Here a most violent clamour ensued; a great number of persons hissed and interrupted Mr. Waithman, exclaiming—*Off, off! No friends of Bonaparte! &c.*] The *Lord Mayor* then came forward, and silence being obtained, said the Livery would recollect that he was sworn to preserve the peace and public tranquillity, and he was determined to maintain it. As the meeting had been called for a quiet discussion of the subject, they would doubtless give the Speakers on both sides the question an equal chance of being heard. If they did not observe order he should be under the necessity of putting an end to the Common Hall. Mr. Waithman then resumed his arguments against the war, and having condemned the renewal of the Property Tax, and all the

war arrangements, concluded amidst loud uproar and interruption, by moving the following resolutions, which embodied nearly the whole of his speech.

Resolved,—That this Common Hall, having recently witnessed the marked disregard shewn to the Petitions from this city, and those of the nation at large, are the more strongly confirmed in the conviction of the corrupt state of the representation, and the total want of sympathy in opinion and feeling between the House of Commons and the people.

That these considerations would, under circumstances of less importance, have deterred us from the exercise of a right which appears to have been rendered nugatory; but hopeless as we fear it is again to address that Hon. House, yet, at a crisis so momentous—when a determination appears to have been so strongly manifested by the Ministers of the Crown again to plunge this devoted country into the horrors of war—we feel it to be an imperious duty to our country, ourselves, and posterity, to use every constitutional means towards averting from the nation the overwhelming calamities with which it is menaced.

That the Livery of London have seen, with feelings of abhorrence, the Declarations and Treaties of the Allied Powers, and to which are affixed the names of British Ministers, wherein are avowed and promulgated the monstrous and unheard-of principles, that the breach of a Convention by a Sovereign “destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended—places him without the pale of civil and social relations”—renders him liable to public vengeance—and that, consequently, “there can be neither peace nor truce with him;”—principles revolting to the feelings of civilized society—repugnant to the rights, liberties, and security of all States—and evincing a combination, or rather a conspiracy, which, if once sanctioned, would lead to consequences the most dreadful and alarming, and for which there is no parallel in the history of the world.

That, recollecting the noble struggles which our ancestors have made for re-establishing and preserving their liberties—recollecting the frequent reformation they have made in the Government—that they have always maintained and exercised this right—and that the august family now upon the throne, derived the right to the Crown, not by hereditary claims, but upon the legitimate foundation of all authority, the choice of the people—and indignantly disclaiming, as our ancestors have done, all right in Foreign Powers

to interfere in our internal concerns, we cannot but consider any attempt to dictate to France, or to any other country, the form or mode of its Government—the person who shall or shall not be at the head of such Government, or in any way to interfere in its internal policy and regulations, as highly impolitic, and manifestly unjust, and deprecate all attempts to involve this country in a war for such an object—a war against those principles, which this nation has ever maintained and acted upon.

Torn by the miseries and calamities of the late devastating war; still tasting the bitter fruits of that protracted conflict; and no means having been adopted to lessen our national burthens, by those necessary retrenchments in the national expenditure so earnestly and so repeatedly called for by the people; but, on the contrary, an Act has been passed, restricting the importation of corn, by which a tax is virtually imposed of several millions per annum upon food, and entailing upon us in times of peace one of the greatest evils produced by the war. Before, therefore, we are plunged into another war, and in support of such principles, we might ask what has been gained by the immense sacrifices we have already made? and, contemplating the disastrous consequences of a failure in this new contest, the people have a right to demand what advantages are proposed even in the event of its success, or at least to be satisfied that hostilities are unavoidable, and that every means of fair and honourable negotiation have been exerted, and had proved ineffectual.

That to enter into such a contest in the present state of the country, with all our national funds mortgaged to their utmost bearing, and that without an effort at negotiation: or to refuse to conclude a treaty with any power, under the presumption that such treaty may, at some remote period, be broken, appears to us an act of insanity—putting to hazard not only the property and happiness of families, but the very existence of the British Empire, and tending to exclude forever from the world the blessings of peace.

Were the impolicy of a new war upon such principles, and under such circumstances, at all doubtful, or were Government at all to be benefited by the result of experience, we need but recall to recollection the memorable Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick at the commencement of the late contest—a Manifesto which had the effect of arousing and uniting all the energies of the French nation, and gave that victorious impulse to her arms which endangered the liberties of Europe; we need but call to recollection, that during the progress of that war, notwithstanding

the immense sacrifices of British blood, and wanton waste of British treasure, lavished in subsidizing Allies to fight in their own cause, we have not infrequently seen those powers, who entered into the contest in alliance with this country, abandon that alliance, and joined in league with France, endeavouring to exclude us from the Continent of Europe.

That, after all our sacrifices, and all our exertions, in the common cause, we failed to procure from one Sovereign that tribute to Humanity—the Abolition of the Slave Trade; and beheld another Monarch commence his career by re-establishing the Inquisition, persecuting the best patriots of the country, and even prohibiting the introduction of British manufactures into his dominions.

That the Livery of London have ever been, and now are, ready to support the honour, the character, and the interests of the British Empire, and to resist every act of aggression; but, seeing all the consequences of the late war, looking at the depressed state of the country, the hardships and privations of the people, the financial difficulties, the uncertainty and hazards of war, seeing likewise that France has disclaimed all intention of interfering in the concerns of other nations, that she has declared her determination to adhere to the Treaty of Paris, that she has made pacific overtures to the different Allied Powers, has already abolished the Slave Trade, and given other indications of returning to principles of equity and moderation; and holding, as we do, all wars to be unjust, unless the injury sustained is clearly defined, and redress by negotiation cannot be obtained; and more particularly holding in abhorrence all attempts to dictate to, or interfere with, other nations in their internal concerns, we cannot but protest against the renewal of hostilities, as neither founded in justice nor necessity.

That it is with feelings of indignation we perceive his Majesty's Ministers have proposed the renewal of that most galling, oppressive, and hateful Inquisition, the Tax upon Income, an Inquisition which had, in consequence of the universal execration it excited, been recently and reluctantly abandoned, and which we had hoped could never have been again renewed, at least during the existence of that generation who remembered its oppressions.

That a Petition be presented to the House of Commons, praying them to interpose their authority to stop a weak, rash, and insatiated Administration in their mad and frightful career, and to adopt such measures as may best preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the nation.

Resolved—That the said Petition be fairly transcribed, and signed, by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, two Aldermen, and twelve Liverymen, and presented to the Honourable House of Commons, by the Representatives of this City in Parliament.

Resolved Unanimously—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for his readiness in calling this Common Hall, and for his strict impartiality in presiding over the debates of this day.

Resolved—That the thanks of this Common Hall be given to Mr. Robert Waltham and Mr. Samuel Favel, for their zeal and ability shewn upon all occasions conducive to the public welfare, and so conspicuously manifested this day.

Mr. Favel condemned the Declaration of the Allies, the Property Tax, the Corn Bill, and the policy on which the war was to be renewed.—*Mr. Perring* professed himself unable to comprehend the nature of resolutions which seemed to him to wander far from the object in view; the language, however, of the requisition was intelligible, and to that he would confine himself. If he understood the question, it was to decide whether the country should or not, under the present circumstances, enter on a war against the Government of France. He was not prepared to afford any sanction to such a war. Although he cordially agreed with a Right Hon. Gentleman, whom he considered not only the most eloquent, but one of the soundest statesmen (*Mr. Plunkett*), that we should be justified in such a war so far as the right went; it by no means followed that it would be expedient to exercise such a right. He entertained great doubts of such expediency. He distrusted the elements of which the proposed alliance was composed:—let it not be imagined, that although it consisted of the same nations, that only twelve months since drove France within nearly her ancient limits, it was therefore formed of the same materials; he feared that the Congress at Vienna had effected a lamentable change in its composition (*applause*). The league against France had been irresistible, because the people felt the cause their own, and every heart beat in unison with the Government. Would the people of this country feel that they had now such an interest in the contest, as to induce them to submit with cheerfulness to the sacrifices it would require? That our

resources were ample to maintain any contest in which our honour and real interests were felt to be at stake, he was well convinced (*loud cheering*); but it was necessary that there should be an unanimity on the point, which did not appear to exist on the present subject. Mr. Perring considered that there was but one safe course to pursue—which was to be prepared:—for whatever other Gentlemen might think, he suspected Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his professions of moderation, and he should as soon expect the Ethiopian to change his skin or the leopard his spots, as that Bonaparte would prove different from what the last twenty years had shewn him to be. He gave his assent to the proposed Resolutions so far as they went to prevent the country being precipitated into a war, of the policy of which he confessed himself doubtful.—*Mr. Hunt*, of Bristol, gave his decided support to the Resolutions, and contended with uncommon assurance, that there was no pretence for war. French messengers had proved that the intentions of France were peaceable; they were ready to abide by the peace of Paris; although it was forced on them, they were willing to continue at peace on those terms. It was his opinion; if the war was renewed, that it would be a war of unjust aggression. It was a war to set the Bourbons on the throne. Some years ago a crusade was undertaken by the Powers of Europe against the rights of man, and if the people went to war now it would be for the same object. He denied that Louis the Eighteenth was the legitimate King of France. He was descended from Hugh Capet, who forfeited the throne; the people having decreed that the Bourbons should cease to reign, none of that House could be called legitimate heirs to the crown. The people had not only the right of dethroning kings, but of taking off their heads, if they despised the laws. The people of England not only took off the head of Charles the First, but drove the Stuarts from the throne. The Sovereigns of England had since held their government by law. They were legitimate sovereigns, but if they were to disobey the laws of the people they govern, and were deprived by the nation of their rights, they would cease to be legitimate. The people had the sole and absolute right of electing

rulers and laws by which they were to be governed. Louis XVIII. was as much the legitimate heir to the Crown of England as France, being in some degree related to the Stuarts. He contended, amidst loud groans, hissing, and interruption, which continued some time, that war was unjust and impolitic.—*Mr. Thompson*, another vehement orator, supported the Resolutions, and eulogized his friend Mr. Waithman.—*Mr. S. Dixon* opposed the sentiments averse to war. The advocates of Bonaparte were so deluded by their idol, that they lost all recollection that he was a man who had never kept one engagement in his life. He was a man who had violated every oath, every declaration he had made. Would any man among them make a contract with a person who had broken his faith as Bonaparte had? He expressed a hope that the Livery of London would not disgrace themselves by agreeing to the resolutions, which would prove a precious morsel for Bonaparte and his friends. He protested against the resolutions. A most violent clamour again rendered the appearance of the Chief Magistrate necessary. The Lord Mayor having again restored order, Mr. Dixon concluded by recommending the Livery to oppose a proceeding established on theory and abstract reasoning. *Mr. Flower* (a printer) entered a long train of objections to the conduct of the Allied Sovereigns. The Emperor of Austria had been as much the enemy of his country as Bonaparte, and by breaking his treaties, had shewn himself actuated by the same policy as his son-in-law. Having contended that the French had the right of making their own rules and rulers, he gave his support to the resolutions. *Mr. Waithman* made a reply. The resolutions were then read and agreed to by a large majority of hands. It was next agreed, that the resolutions should be embodied in a Petition to be presented to the House of Commons by the City Members. Mr. Waithman then moved the Thanks of the Meeting to the Lord Mayor, for his readiness in granting the Meeting, &c.; and the same being unanimously carried, the Lord Mayor returned thanks. *Mr. Hunt* then moved the Thanks of the Meeting to Mr. Waithman, for the able manner in which he had conducted the business of the day. *Mr. Thompson* seconded

the motion, which was carried; and, after a speech in return from Mr. Waithman, the Common Hall was dissolved. The proceedings on this occasion (concludes the reporter) were of the most clamorous description, and Guildhall was not unlike a bear-garden.

LIST OF THE MINORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FOR RECEIVING THE CITY PETITION.

Abercrombie, Hon. J.	Kemp, —
Burdett, Sir F.	King, Sir J. D.
Byng, G.	Littleton, Hon. H.
Baring, H.	Lubbock, Ju.
Berkeley, H.	Martin, J.
Bennett, Hon. H.	Milton, Ld.
Baring, Sir T.	Montgomery, Sir H.
Barham, J. F.	Newport, Sir J.
Broadhurst, J.	Neville, Hon. —
Brand, Hon. T.	Nugent, Ld.
Calvert, C.	Osborne, Lord F.
Cavendish, Ld. G.	Preston, R.
Cavendish Charles,	Ponsonby, Right
Calcraft, Jn.	Hon. G.
Drake, W. S.	Proby, Ld.
Fitzroy, Ld. Jn.	Phillips, G.
Ferguson, Sir R.	Protheroe, E.
Lefevre, Shaw	Rowley, Sir Wm.
Finlay, K.	Ridley, Sir M. W.
Forbes, Ch.	Robinson, A.
Grant, P.	Smith, W.
Gordon, Wm.	Smyth, J. H.
Guise, Sir William	Smith, R.
Ouscoigne, Gen.	Sendamore, R.
Cockell, B.	Tierney, Rt. Hon. G.
Hornby, Edward	Tavistock, Marquis
Horner, F.	Whitbread, S.
Hammersley, H.	Wortley, Sh.
Hamilton, Ld. A.	Wellesley, H.
Jervoise, G. P.	Wilkins, W.

TELLERS.—Alderman Atkins and Sir William Cartia.

LIST OF THE MINORITY

ON MR. WHITREAD'S MOTION FOR PEACE.

Abercrombie, Hon. J.	Langton, W. G.
Althorpe, Lord	Maddox, W. A.
Atherley, Arthur	Martin, J.
Aubrey, Sir John	Martin, H.
Astell, William	Monck, Sir C.
Barnard, Viscount	Moore, Peter
Bewick, C.	Mackintosh, Sir J.
Birch, Joseph	Montgomery, Sir H.
Brand, Hon. Thos.	Newport, Sir J.
Byng, George	Osborne, Lord F.
Bullet, James	Pierce, H.
Burdett, Sir F.	Phillips, G.
Calvert, Charles	Piggott, Sir A.
Cavendish, Ld. G.	Pittie, Hon. F. A.
Cavendish, Henry	Plumer, W.
Cavendish, Charles	Ponsonby, Right Hon. G.
Chaloner, R.	Pym, Francis
Coke, Thomas	Paulet, Honourable H.
Campbell, Hon. J.	Vane
Carew, R. S.	Ramsden, S. C.
Dundas, Charles	Romilly, Sir S.
Dundas, Hon. L.	Rowley, Sir Wm.
Dunannon, Vht.	Sendamore, R. P.
Ferguson, Sir R.	Smyth, J. H.
Foley, Hon. A.	Smith, W.
Foley, Col. T.	Smith, J.
Gordon, R.	Seabright, Sir J.
Grant, J. P.	Tavistock, Marquis
Guise, Sir William	Taylor, M. Angelo
Horner, F.	Tierney, Rt. Hon. G.
Halsey, J.	Wellesley, R.
Hornby, Edward	Western, C. C.
Howorth, H.	Wharton, John
Latouche, R.	Whitbread, S.
Littleton, Hon. W.	Wilkins, Walter
Leach, J.	Winnington, Sir E.
Legon, Sir W.	Webster, Sir G.

TELLERS.—Hon. H. Bennett and Sir M. Ridley,

PAIRED OF

Frankland, T.	Stanley, Lord
Lefevre, C. Shaw	Swann, Henry
Neville, Hon. R.	

LETTER VII.

To the EARL of LIVERPOOL,
On the part which America is likely to take in a War between England and France.

MY LORD,—From several parts of America I have received thanks for my Letters to your Lordship on the subject of the American war. The people in America think, or, at least, many of them think, that those Letters had great weight in producing the peace of Ghent, than which you and your colleagues never adopted any measure more wise nor in better time. Yet, you have never thanked me for my advice. You, to whom the peace was much more necessary than to Mr. MADISON, have never acknowledged your obligations to me. You have appeared to be sulky with me, though I taught you so exactly what to do, in order to avoid the great evils which were coming upon you from all quarters. The consequences of the American war were foretold by me nearly two years before the war began. I told you that you would have war, if you persevered in seizing men on board of American ships on the high seas. You did persevere; and you had war. I told you that the Americans would beat you in fighting, if you continued the war for two years. You continued the war, and they did beat you. I told you, that you would never have peace, if you demanded any concession from America. You insisted on great concessions on her part as a *sine qua non* of peace; and, after three months more, you made peace by giving up every thing, not excepting the *sine qua non* itself. In short, you expended fifty millions of money, and lost, I dare say, thirty thousand men, in accomplishing nothing, except creating a navy in America, causing her manufactures to flourish, and implanting in the hearts of Americans, for ages, a hatred of the English government.

I remind you of these things, in order to bespeak your attention on the present

subject. I shall here deal in prophecies again; and shall not be at all afraid of proving, in the end, to have been a false prophet. You appear to me now to be in a very fair way of adding another six hundred millions to our debt, and of bringing the guinea up to forty shillings, instead of twenty-eight shillings, at which point it is now arrived. I wish to prevent this; and, if I do not succeed, I shall, at any rate, have these pages to refer to, when the mischief has taken place, and when few besides myself will be able to say that they did all in their power to prevent it.

I am of opinion, that France alone is now, as she was in 1793, more than a match for the coalition against her. But, I am further of opinion, that, before the war against her be six months old, you will see America taking a part in it, unless you carefully abstain from every thing that can be construed into a violation of neutral maritime rights.

War, or peace, with America, will depend upon the opinions of the people in that country. The people there are really and truly represented in the Congress. There are no vile sham elections in the United States. That which the people wills will be done. The Americans are a sensible people; they all read from a press which is really free; they discuss all political matters freely. They love peace; they would prefer peace; they would make some sacrifices to peace; but they will never hesitate a moment in preferring war to slavery or dependance.

Now, then, what is likely to be the view which the Americans will take of the present scene in Europe? And what are likely to be their feelings with regard to what is passing in this quarter of the world? It is very easy for our corrupt press to persuade the alarmed and selfish part of England that it is necessary to plunge the country into war, in order to root out the present government of France. But, it will not be so easy for any body to persuade the American people that such an undertaking is just. They will see the matter in its true light. They will see that

Napoleon has been replaced at the head of the government by the will of the people of France; they will see that he has had the wisdom and virtue to abandon his ambitious projects; they will see that he has voluntarily confined himself within the ancient limits of France; they will see that he has tendered the olive branch to all surrounding nations; they will see that he means to contend solely for the independence of France; they will see that he has returned, as nearly as circumstances will permit, to the principles of 1789; they will see that he has provided for the people being *really represented* in the Legislature; they will see that there is to be no religious persecution, and no predominant church in France; they will see that the French people have derived great benefits from the revolution, and that now all these benefits are to be confirmed to them; in France they will see a *free people*, and in Napoleon they will see the *Soldier of Freedom*.

On the other hand, they will ask what right England, or any other power, can have to interfere in the internal affairs of France; they will ask why England should not treat with him now as well as at Amiens; why not treat with him as well as with the Directory at Lille. They will ask why England should refuse to treat with him, from whom she received the Islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. They will ask what can be the *real* object, the *ultimate* object, of a coalition of those powers who were assembled at Vienna, and who were disposing of states at their pleasure.

The Americans have seen the republic of Genoa given to the King of Sardinia; they have seen Poland parcelled out between Prussia, Russia, and Austria; they have seen the fleet of Denmark taken away; they have seen the people of the Republic of Holland sunk into the subjects of a King; they have seen the Republic of Venice transferred to the Emperor of Austria; they have seen the Pope replaced with the Jesuits at his heels; they have seen, that, in Spain, where a free constitution had been formed by men who had been fighting on our side, the King has been brought back; that he has destroyed this Constitution; that he has treated the makers of it as traitors; that he has re-established the inquisition which Napoleon had abolished; that when two

of the alledged traitors took shelter in Gibraltar, they were given up to their hunters, and that when complaint of this was made in our parliament, the reply was, that "*we had no right to interfere in the domestic affairs of Spain.*" The Americans will ask, why this principle is not applied to the *domestic affairs of France*. They will ask, not for vile, foul-mouthed abuse of Napoleon and the French people; but for some *proof* of our right to interfere against him.

Having seen all these things; having seen what we and our Allies have been at in every part of Europe; having seen that the people of France is the only people in Europe living under a government approaching towards a resemblance to their own, they will want very little to assist them in forming a correct opinion as to the real object of the war against France, if such war should now, without provocation on the part of France, be resolved on.

It appears to me, therefore, that the American people will, at least, feel great interest in this war, much greater than they felt in the last war; and, that as they have just laid down their arms, after a contest in defence of their maritime rights, they will, the moment they hear of this war, prepare again for that defence. America, in all likelihood, will again be the only neutral nation. There will be no *Milan and Berlin Decrees* to give a pretence for *Orders in Council*. So that, if we trench upon her rights, her ground of war will be cleared of all confusion. She will stand upon her *indisputable* rights. And, if she be left in the full and free enjoyment of her advantages as a neutral power, she will carry on three-fourths of the commerce of the world. Our cruisers may keep at sea, but it will be only to witness the increase of her mercantile marine, and all the proofs of her wonderful prosperity. France will receive all that she wants from foreign countries by American ships. America will supply her with colonial produce, and with certain articles of manufacture. The latter will, through the same channel, find an outlet for much of her abundant produce. These two countries will become much more closely connected than ever, and we should come out of the war shorn of our means, while the means of all sorts of America would be found to be prodigiously increased.

But, my Lord, is it *quite certain* that the people of America would not feel strongly disposed to take part in this war against us? They see that France is the only country left with a government resembling their own. Great as is their distance from Europe, they have felt, that, when left to be dealt with single-handed, their very existence, as an independent nation, was put in jeopardy. There were many persons in America, who loudly blamed the President, Washington, for not taking part with the French, even when America had not a single public ship of war. They reasoned thus:—that England was, from the nature of her force, as well as the situation of her dominions, the only enemy that America had to fear; that she had never ceased to demonstrate a hostile mind towards America; that she saw in America not only a successful example of democratic revolution, but a dangerous rival in commerce and maritime power; that she only waited for a *favourable moment* to use all her force to crush this rising rival; and, *therefore*, it was less dangerous to declare, at once, for the Republic of France, and make common cause with her, than to wait the issue of the contest, in which, if France should fall, America could not long survive without, at least, another long and bloody war upon her own soil.

This was the reasoning against neutrality in 1793. How these reasoners must have triumphed in 1814! When they saw all ground of dispute between England and America removed by the close of the war in Europe. When they saw, that, instead of this producing in England a disposition to make peace, it only produced redoubled activity in the war. When they read, in the very same English newspapers that told them of the abdication of Napoleon, that NOW, NOW, NOW! was the happy moment for crushing America; for putting an end to “the existence of the *mischievous example of democratic rebellion*” exhibited in the American Union. When they heard their President and the majority of the Congress denominated, in these same papers “*rebels and traitors*.” When they saw, in the report of a speech of a Lord of the Admiralty, that Mr. MADISON was to be *deposed*, as Napoleon had been deposed. When they saw the breaking up of the American Union represented as absolutely necessary

to the well-governing of other nations. When they saw the fleet called upon officially by the Lords of the Admiralty to finish the American war in such a way as would *insure the LASTING TRANQUILLITY OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD*. When they heard the English prints call upon the people of New England to separate themselves from the Union. When they heard it predicted, in these prints, that Mr. MADISON would be put to death, and that the people would *form a connection with the PARENT state*. And, when, upon the heels of all these predictions and threats, they saw an army actually sent off *from France* to fight against America; when they saw that identical army, which had been engaged against Napoleon, sent to invade America by the way of Lake Champlain; when they saw the war of fire and plunder carried on upon their sea-coast. When those who were for war on the side of the French Republic, in 1793, saw all these things in 1814, how they must have triumphed!

America must feel great confidence in herself from her past achievements. The skill and bravery of her seamen and land-troops must give her great confidence. But, there is no man who reflects (and the Americans are a reflecting people) who will not perceive, that, with all her valour and all her virtue, America has had a very narrow escape; and, that, if all had been *quite settled* in Europe, she would have had to carry on a much longer and more bloody contest. It cannot but be evident to the American Statesman, that, if France were to be completely subdued; if she were reduced to that state to be obliged to receive a ruler dictated by us and our allies; if her hands and feet were thus tied for ages; and, if the situation of all Europe were such as to leave the whole undivided power of England to be employed against America, the situation of the latter would be, at least, very *unpleasant*, not to say *precarious*. And, if such a person considers what were the *real objects* of England in 1814, the manner in which the war terminated, and what an *excellent memory* she has, he must be a bold man indeed if he feel no apprehensions at the total subjugation of France.

It has not been forgotten in America, that, directly after the abdication of Napoleon, there appeared an article in our

newspapers, stating, that there was a SECRET ARTICLE in the TREATY OF PARIS, stipulating, that *none* of the parties, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, should interfere in our war against America. This news was given as copied from the *Vienna Gazette*. The *Vienna Gazette* is under the immediate controul of the government there. The Americans paid great and deserved attention to this; and, must they not have lamented to see France reduced to such a state? They afterwards saw, that there was no safety for their ships of war or their prizes in the ports of France. They saw, in short, that the Bourbons, holding their power almost at the mercy of England, afforded not the smallest hope of any support against so formidable a power as England. Then it was, that many Americans blamed Mr. MADISON, not for resisting the exercise of our alledged right of impressment; but, on the contrary, for not having sooner made war against us in alliance with France. They told him, that he was, at last, in a state to be able to appreciate the wisdom of keeping aloof from France on account of the title of her ruler. They laughed at him for his scruples to make common cause with an Emperor, while he saw England having allies in the Turk, the Pope, the Algerines, and the Indians; and they laughed at him the more, when they recollected, that America had won her independence while in an alliance offensive and defensive with a Bourbon King of France.

However, many of the causes which kept America aloof from France are now removed. The principles of 1793 are again adopted in France; the system of reforming by means of conquest is abandoned; Napoleon will have learnt how to respect the rights and to value the character of America. Experience has taught the Americans what they have to expect under certain circumstances. The latter are in no danger from France; they never can be in danger from France; and, Frenchtown and Alexandria will remind them what danger they are in from England.

It is said, by some persons in America, that, though it might have been wise to seek permanent security in 1793, by entering into the war on the side of the Republic of France, it would not be wise seeing that America has become so

much more able to defend herself than she was in 1793, a proof of which she has given in her recent war against the undivided force of England. On the other hand, it is contended, that, though America be so much more powerful than she was in 1793, England, loaded as she is with debts and taxes, is more formidable than she would have been in 1793, even if she had then subdued France; for, though the people of England suffer, the government has more force at its command; and, what is more for its advantage, the country is brought into that sort of state which makes war almost necessary. If her paupers have increased three-fold, her armed men and her means of destruction have increased five-fold. She is become a nation of fighters. She possesses all the means of destroying. And, say these reasoners, it is not only subjugation against which America ought to guard: it is her duty to guard herself also against devastation and plunder. Besides, say they, England has now less powerful motives to the exercise of forbearance towards America. While the latter was without manufactures; while England had almost a monopoly in the supplying of America; the former saw in the prosperity of the latter the means of augmenting her own riches and power. But now the case is different; England sees in America even a manufacturing rival; and, what is still more provoking, she sees in America a rival in naval power and renown. Therefore, say they, she must and she will desire our destruction; whether she will attempt it again will depend upon her and our means of attack and resistance.

It must be confessed, that our infamous newspapers have given but too much reason to the Americans upon this head. For, they have published lists of the American navy and accounts of the American shipping and manufactures; and, having dwelt upon their magnitude and on their rapid increase, they have called upon your Lordship and your colleagues to prosecute the war for the purpose of destroying these evidences of rising power and wealth. They have contended, that it was just to carry on war against America to destroy her navy; to destroy her shipping and manufactures; and to obtain, at least, a stipulation from her, not to build ships of war beyond a certain number and a certain size. They have contended that such a



war would be *just*; that we should have a *right* to impose such conditions; and that *our safety* demanded that we should.

If I am told, that these are the sayings of a set of foolish writers in newspapers, my answer is, that I have seldom seen any of these people promulgate any political opinion without its being, in the *sequel*, very clear to me, that it was not in their own foolish heads that the sentiment had been hatched. These men are, in fact, *nothing of themselves*; they have no principles, no opinions; they care nothing about the matter. They are the mere tools of those who speak through them, whom they not unfrequently despise, but from whom, and through the means of whom, they live comfortably and sometimes get rich.

Upon the whole, therefore, my Lord, it is not to be apprehended, that, if we make war upon France for the avowed purpose of deposing Napoleon, the people of America will feel a strong disposition to take part with France in that war? And, if they were so to do, have we not great cause to fear, that the war would be extremely injurious to us by sea as well as by land? The American privateers, though without a port to take shelter in on this side of the Atlantic, did great mischief to our commerce even in the Channel. What, then, would they do if all the ports of France were open to them and shut against us? If, in short, America were in alliance with France, what English ship unarmed could hope to escape capture? And, is it to be hoped, that, in such a case, the skill, the discipline, and undaunted bravery of the American navy would not be communicated to that of France? Emulation might do a great deal towards sending forth fleets able, in a short time, to cope with those of England. Really, if we wish to keep these two nations asunder, it appears to me, that we have no way of accomplishing the wish but that, of keeping at peace.

If America were to join France in the war, we should, doubtless, tell her, that she was acting a very base part; that she had received from us no provocation; that we had not meddled with her; that we had expressed our anxious desire to live at peace with her. But, my Lord, might she not answer?—very true; and you have received no provocation from France; France has not meddled with you; France

has expressed her anxious desire to live at peace with you: and yet, you have gone to war against France: if, therefore, it be base on my part to make war upon you, after you have begun war upon France, where is your justification for having begun that war? Besides, have you no ally? You boast of having all Europe on your side. And shall France have no ally? Shall you have twenty allies against the old ally of America, and shall it be deemed base in America to become the *only ally* of France? You say, that yours is a war of *precaution*: so is mine. You fear that *Napoleon may*, one day or other, *get to London*; and you have been at Washington, at Frenchtown and at Alexandria.

It is a favourite saying, or it used to be, in America, that it was her true policy to *keep aloof from European politics and wars*. General Washington several times expressed this sentiment. But can she do it? If General Washington had seen the Congress House in flames, the other day, and had seen our people so busy in packing up goods at Alexandria, he would, I imagine, have begun to think, that it was not so easy a matter to keep aloof from European wars; and, if he had lived to be made acquainted with the famous Captain HENRY's exploits, I think he would have had his doubts as to the possibility of keeping aloof from European politics. Even we, in England, say, that *America should keep at peace*, though we ourselves are always at war in some part or other of the world; though there is no war, in which we have not a hand. The truth is, that America *must* take a part in the wars and politics of Europe. Here are powers in Europe who can reach her, who have colonies in her neighbourhood, who have an interest, or think they have an interest, in injuring her. They combine and co-operate with one another; and she must form alliances too; or, she cannot be many years an independent nation.

It was impudently asserted, not long ago, that America had acted a *fool* part towards us, in the war; and she was called an *assassin*, who had attacked us in the *dark*. I was pleased to hear, from such a quarter, a sentiment of *abhorrence* against *assassins*; but, I was displeased to hear such an act attributed to America; because no charge was ever more false. It is notorious, that America used every

effort, and made every sacrifice short of a surrender of her independence, to maintain peace with England; and, that, so far from attacking us in the dark, she gave us notice, for years before-hand, that she would repel by force our seizure of her seamen, unless we ceased that practice. What, then, could be meant by this charge of assassin-like conduct? Really, we seem to have taken into our heads, like the cock on the dunghill, that *all the world was made for us*; that no nation is to form an alliance, nor even to think of defending itself by its own arms, if we disapprove of it. When our interest, real or imaginary, is in question, the interest of no other nation is to be thought of. The question with America, according to this presumptuous whim, was to be, not whether she suffered injury; but merely whether it was conducive to our interest to impress her sailors. If it was useful to us to do this, she was to deserve annihilation if she did not quietly submit to it, and to all its cruel and degrading consequences.

We proceed upon the same notion with regard to alliances amongst foreign powers. What! America make alliances with any power but us! Dreadful presumption! Presumption which merits all the weight of our vengeance! What! America seek safety, when we think it best to keep her in continual danger! America make an alliance for the purpose of defending herself against us, whose public writers, at least, devoted her chief magistrate to the gibbet, and herself to a return under the mild protection of "the PARENT state!" Nor are there wanting writers in America to hold the same language; but they are met by men, who are able to contend against them. *There the press is free, really free*; and, there truth will prevail.

A good specimen of this insolent way of talking was given by Sir John Cox Hopesley, who at a late county-meeting in Somersetshire, said, that the Americans, or at least, their President and the majority of the Congress, were the *slaves of the late tyrant of France*, a proof of which they had given in their late war against us. So, because America, in defence of herself, went to war with us, while we were at war against Napoleon, she was to be deemed the *slave of Napoleon*, who had no power to hurt her, and who had never called on her to go to war in his behalf.

She was to stop till our war with him *was at an end*, before she sought to defend herself. It was *baseness* in her to assert her own rights, at the end of many years of complaints, because we were at war with Napoleon.

This insolent language, my Lord, is little calculated to heal the wounds of America. She will, in spite of all we can say, reflect on her past danger, and she must have lost her usual wisdom in profiting from experience, if she does not now seek the means of security betimes. That, with all her natural reluctance to war, she will be disposed to do this I am certain; and, it will, I imagine, require but a slight provocation to induce her to act upon that disposition. It has been announced to us, that Switzerland has been informed, that there are to be *no neutrals* in this war against Napoleon. Hamburgh, Tuscany, Genoa, and several other states felt the effects of such a principle during the first war against Republican France. Denmark felt those effects during the last war. America will consider of, and judge from the past; and, your Lordship may be assured, that she will not want the means of doing what her permanent safety shall manifestly demand.

I have thus, my Lord, stated to you what I think will be the view that the people of America will take of the present scene; what I think will be their feelings; and I have pointed out the consequences, which I apprehend from those feelings, if we enter upon the war against France on the ground which is at present set forth. The Americans, I repeat, are prone to peace, as every uncorrupted nation is; but as it was said, the other evening, that it was better to go to war now with a strong alliance on our side, than be compelled to go to war at the end of an exhausting armed peace without allies; as this was deemed triumphant reasoning, in England, in behalf of offensive war, you must not be surprised if it be imitated, in America, in behalf of a war of defence.

I am, &c., &c.,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, May 6, 1815.

LEGITIMATE SOVEREIGNTY.

MR. COBBETT.—Is not the present preparations for war against France, for the purpose of ousting from the throne of a

people's confidence and affection, a man who, of all potentates that ever lived, has perhaps the best title to that distinguished situation, truly abominable? The nineteenth century will be for ever disgraced in the page of history for affording an example of a race of men that could have been so criminally abject as to recommend so iniquitous, so servile a piece of treason against the social rights of man. The monstrous injustice of such execrable practice sickens every sense of virtue, and renders life itself almost insufferable. The natural feelings of the human mind, uninfluenced by the immorality, public and private, that has been engendered by the profligacy of the age, must *revolt* at the spoliating proceedings of modern times. Individual robbery is visited by the penal infliction of the law; but an authority setting itself above all law, will despoil whole nations, will dissolve all ties and obligations on which the moral and social character of man essentially depends, and is not held amenable to any tribunal; nay, is even applauded by the corrupt tools of licentious power as having conducted itself *magnanimously*! It would be easy to prove that no individual living can assume to himself, in his own right, as all despots avowedly do, the sovereign power. This authority is inherent in the people that may be incorporated into a nation, and *equally* emanates from every individual in that social assemblage. For the benefit of the whole, the aggregate of this individual power may be conferred on any person that may be the object of preference, to carry the high authority thus confided into effect for the advantage of the nation. The person exercising this sovereign power is a sovereign *legitimately delegated*, and may act as such with all the consideration that may be due to the people whose suffrages he represents. Where, but in France, and America are to be found heads of governments of this rightful stamp and authority? The French people in the ardor and gratitude of their love and attachment to Bonaparte have conferred on him an imperial throne: a throne the first in intrinsic worth on the face of the globe, and one, which a generous and high minded nation of thirty millions of people, it may be fairly hoped, will cause to be duly respected. A throne, that may be truly regarded as the edifice of the people's own creation, must be

the darling object of their care and protection: a throne like that which exalts and adorns the person of Napoleon, is indeed truly enviable; it stands alone in sterling value; it is a precious unique in these enslaving and enslaved times; it is the throne of a free nation emanating from the sovereignty of the people, and intrusted to the revered and beloved Napoleon as the faithful guardian of civic rights, as the tried and approved repository of the inestimable charge. What will the French profit by this Imperial Constitution of National liberty? Why, instead of being governed by schemes of ancient but execrated vassalage, it will be ruled by the indefeasible axioms of the rights of man; the legislative authority will originate from the majority of the nation, where alone it legitimately exists. No unequal privileges can be claimed; the rights of the individual are those of the multitude; no distinction can arise in the administration of the laws; the Emperor is the first servant or magistrate of the people, and holds that high office no longer than he shall faithfully fulfil its inseparable duties. This is a scheme *novel* it must be owned, in these degenerate times. America only furnishes its counter-part. England has some pretension to its general principle in the provisions of *Magna Charta*, but the machinations, abuses, and sophistications incident to all social institutions have, through lapse of time, approximated its present government too much to the prevailing systems of Europe, (in which the sovereignty of the people is ridiculed rather than acknowledged and revered) to admit of being any longer likened to the sage and enlightened views of legislation, recognised and adopted in the French and American schemes of government. Napoleon, the author of this enviable amelioration in the French government, and Madison, his American co-partner in political wisdom, have been objects of unceasing aspersions and vilifications. They have been severally denounced and menaced with utter destruction. After the one was overthrown, by the influence of plots and treasons, the other was held to stand in the way of "social order, and the blessed comforts of religion," and even the British government was called on to wield her power against the pestiferous evils of American liberty. The warlike preparations that are at present making,

have most evidently for their object the destruction of *French liberty*, overwhelming as that liberty must be, under the able direction of Bonaparte, to countries pining and sinking under the pitiless scourge of what is considered as *hereditary* and *legitimate* slavery. French liberty has a quality in it, with reference to surrounding nations eminently contiguous; its influence must spread. Like the electric fluid, it will diffuse itself. Some nations, indeed, to continue the electric simile, may be more ready *conductors* of it than others, according to natural and acquired capabilities; but none can permanently continue in a state of *non-conductors* of the sacred principle.

JUSTITIA.

LITERARY FUND AND WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

I have observed, that, year after year, this institution becomes more like a common *charity* concern. A parcel of Lords, and other men of *purse*, take the *chair*, and take the lead. This last meeting was, I see, presided over by the *Duke of Kent*, in the same way as the Lancaster school meetings, and other meetings for the assistance of the poor and miserable. The consequence of this must be, that the poor devil's *politics* will serve as the measure of the bounty he is to receive. The original design of this fund must be totally overlooked. That design, I believe, was to prevent authors from selling their pens; whereas now, I should suppose, the principal design to be to purchase the pens of authors, or to keep alive poor slaves whose works are well-meant towards their patrons, but destitute of the talent necessary to make them sell.—I observe, that the "*Founder's*" health was drunk, but, that the "*Founder*," Mr. DAVID WILLIAMS, was not named.—Mr. David Williams wrote some excellent political tracts in support of the principles of *freedom*; he also translated some of the works of Voltaire on the subject of *religion*. Never did he expect that his institution would tumble into such hands as have now got hold of it. The truth is, that the scheme was a very good one. Its object, and its tendency, was to encourage literary merit, and to make authors honest and independent; but it has now manifestly been converted into a sort of poor-

list for decayed literary hacks. They tell the world, that they do not publish the *names* of the parties who receive charity. They are very wise in this, for the public would soon see what the real object of the Fund was, if they could see the *names of the persons relieved*. In short, this, like almost every other "*Charity*," as they are called, is neither more nor less than an adjunct of the government, or, rather of the *System*. What Jacobin, or Jacobin's wife (unless she first betrayed her husband) was ever relieved by any of these societies? They are kept up for the purpose of keeping the needy in good humour, or of rewarding faithful decayed slaves. Here the man who has paid a fortune in taxes often comes, cap in hand, and receives back the means of getting a dinner. It is curious to observe, that the Aristocratic faction in America have resorted to a trick of this sort. They set up, some few years ago, a society, which they called the "*Washington Benevolent Society*," which, it appears, has branched out all over the country. The object of this trick was to collect little groups of the most needy and mean-spirited part of the people, and, by the means of donations in money, clothes, books, or medical aid, to attach them to the aspiring rich, and thus to found a sort of affiliation against the Republican government. The name of *Washington* was taken for the purpose of deception, and as a party-word, opposed to the name of Jefferson or Madison, who were thus to be held up as having deviated from the principles of the man, to whom American gratitude has given what, perhaps, American wisdom and justice would have given largely, but certainly with a less prodigal hand. Availing themselves of this amiable weakness, these crafty enemies of their country's freedom have been working up the people here and there, by the means of these societies, to an opposition to the government. They hold their stated meetings, as our "*charities*" do. They make speeches, compliment one another, extol the virtues of Washington, who, though one of the first of patriots, never was fool enough to bestow his money in the making of paupers. Shut out of the Legislative Assemblies by the people's voice, they harrangue at these meetings, and thus continue to keep themselves in wind. Silly as the thing is, however, *in itself*, I would have the Ameri-

cans be upon their guard against it. It is aspiring Aristocracy in its most alluring guise; it is imposture of the most dangerous kind. It tends to the creating of *pauperism*; to the forming of a class in the community, who have no interest in supporting the rights and liberties of the nation, and who are to be bought and sold like cattle. These societies ought to be resolutely attacked and exposed. A little matter would break them up amongst a sensible people. I wish I could shew the people of America the effects of pauperism in England; I wish I could make them see the degradation which it has brought upon the land of their forefathers:—there would need nothing more.

WAR AGAINST FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT—There are some persons with whom it is in vain to reason, and whom it is impossible to convince. As a proof of this, the effects of prejudice and blind incredulity were never more palpably evinced than in the declarations, so repeatedly made, by most of the public journals, that the *army*, and not the *people* of France, are favourable to the return of Napoleon; that the nation at large has a perfect dislike to his name, character, and government; and that no proof of attachment by the people has yet been given, from the moment of his landing at Frejus to the time of his entering the city of Paris; no not even up to the present period. When such declarations as these are made, in the face of so many opposite facts, it is almost impossible for any evidence, however strong, to remove such deep rooted prejudice. What kind of evidence, short of a miracle, would be deemed sufficient to convince such wilful perverseness? It is not a little curious to see how they attempt to account for Napoleon's uninterrupted march to Paris. His landing, they tell us, was so sudden and unexpected; his movements so rapid and direct, that every loyal citizen was seized with a momentary astonishment. A paralytic affection deprived the nation of all motion, and all sense of feeling, except that a small disaffected rabble, the dregs of the military, basely attached themselves to the "vile tyrant," and conducted him to Paris! For a moment let us glance at the *moderation* and *modesty*, the *impartiality* and *candour* of these men, when

speaking of Napoleon. They call him a perfidious traitor, an audacious rebel, a vile miscreant, a run-away coward, a monster, whom every body hates, an enemy to tranquillity, happiness, and order, a hater of mankind, with whom no peace or truce can, or ought to, be made; and, to complete the climax, he is said to be a devil incarnate, but by which of the fallen angels he was begotten we are not yet informed. Doubtless they will next tell us he is Belzabub, the prince of the devils. These calumniators have a great facility in the use of these epithets. They apply them to all who think different from themselves. You, Sir, have very pointedly animadverted on their *modest* declamations against Mr. Madison, the American President. It was certainly a very pious avowal of theirs, that "the world should be delivered of such a democratic traitor," "and that no peace can or ought to be made with so rebellious a government." Much the same language was used in speaking of the immortal Washington, when that admired character directed the affairs of the most independent representative government in the world. Truth stands in no need of abusive language to support it. Such mean and contemptible expressions militate against the cause they are intended to serve. The *Moniteur* some time ago informed us that the loyalty of the French to the Bourbons was *universal*. Why then did not the Duke de Orleans, and the French Marshal who went with him to Lyons, excite the people of that great city to resistance? Opportunities have been afforded the people in various parts of France to prove their attachment to Louis, had they been so disposed. The exertions of the Duke of Angouleme, as well as his heroic Duchess, were incapable of rousing them to support their cause, notwithstanding they had *royal blood* in their veins, and tongues pouring forth rewards on all who heard them. It is notoriously true, that Napoleon landed with a little band of 600 men. While moving forward to the capital, why was he not arrested in his progress at Digne, at Gap, at Grenoble, or at Lyons, before his military strength became formidable? At neither of these places, nor at any other in the whole of his march, did a single individual oppose him. Can it be imagined, if such a force was to land in any part of Eng-

land, with the intention of subverting our *glorious* constitution, that it could proceed twenty miles without meeting a successful opposition, if not a total annihilation? Two months have elapsed since Napoleon's arrival in France. Still all remains tranquil. Time has been allowed to remove that astonishment, which, it is pretended, deprived the nation of all motion and sense of feeling. The wheels of government, through all France, proceed with the same regularity and order as though it had been of long standing. There appears to be no difficulty in making appointments to any office, or of forming institutions, which would do honour to any country. The abolition of the Slave Trade, and the establishment of popular Education; these two acts alone will hand Napoleon's name down to future ages with gratitude. Formerly he puzzled the Sovereigns of Europe by the splendour of his arms. Now he puzzles them by his moderation. He assures the world "he will not be the aggressor." That "his first wish is to become useful in establishing the repose of Europe;" to prove which he has sent pacific overtures to the different powers now arming against him. These powers have not disclosed the propositions. All that is known, therefore, respecting them, must be gathered from what he, or the French government, have said on the subject. France seeks no enlargement of dominion, nor desires to interfere with the internal government of other countries. She is willing to accede to the conditions entered into at the close of the war. What more is wanted? The sanguinary hirelings of the day inform us, that nothing short of Napoleon's life will satisfy them; that Europe and the world can be safe and happy only in his death. But bribes and rewards have as yet proved ineffectual to accomplish the *pious* design. Napoleon, they inform us, is so perfidious a character that he violates his treaties. Does this charge exclusively belong to the Emperor of France? Have no solemn engagements been disregarded by others? Napoleon and Murat, King of Naples, retort the same charge, with equal confidence, on the allies. If it is right to invade France because treaties have been broken, where is the country that may not be invaded? Again, the friends of war say, Napoleon is such a restless tyrant that no one can live in peace with him.

May it not rather be said that no one *will* be at peace with him?—Let the experiment be *fairly tried*. Even the honest ox, by constantly goading, will turn again. The war party confidently aver, that the combat once begun will soon, very soon terminate; that the overwhelming armies of the Allies will give no chance for the "tyrant's" escape. It is much easier to say what shall be done than to accomplish it. Let such silly advocates turn their attention to the state of France at the time the celebrated Duke of Brunswick entered that fine country with his inhuman Proclamation. It will be remembered that France was then disorganized, her councils divided, the army scattered; no rallying point to look at, and the people dissatisfied and tumultuous. Yet with all these disadvantages, the invading army was discomfited, beaten, confounded, and disgraced. The condition of France at *this* time will not bear a comparison. Its present advantages are infinitely *superior* to the former period. The kingdom is united. The army organised, and the resources great; so that they are in a condition to wage war with any who have temerity enough to combat with them. France has again exercised the unalienable right which every nation possesses. She has called Napoleon to the throne, and peace reigns throughout her vast empire. Millions rejoice at his arrival. Can any principle in equity justify a war which has no better foundation than *personal revenge*? Must the peace, order, and tranquillity of one of the finest countries in the world be desolated and distracted by a war faction, because one man lives? Is the naked spear to find a grave in slaughtered multitudes? Must the ravages of war kindle up a flame, and convulse all Europe, because one man exists who is obnoxious to us? The very idea overwhelms the human heart with terror and dismay—How tremendously awful will be the responsibility of that faction who encourages and commences the devastating carnage! Humanity bleeds at the anticipated prospect.—Yours respectfully;

MERCATOR.

ABDICACION OF BONAPARTE.

MR. CORBETT.—In the publication of the celebrated treaty of Fontainebleau, a treaty that will probably be regarded by

remote posterity as one of *hoaxing memory*, you judiciously observed, that the character, the tenor, and political importance of its terms with reference to Bonaparte, appeared to be such as better denoted a *conquering* than a *vanquished* power.—They certainly proved the military resources of the then imperial government of France, and evinced; that a dread was felt on the part of the Allies at putting to risk the possible issue of a protracted contest. Its continuance must indeed have been most sanguinary. Its cessation, therefore, by any conceivable means, was preferable to urging on the horrible work of carnage. Humanity owes the homage of gratitude to all the conflicting parties, for acceding to the pacific stipulations of the treaty of Fontainebleau. Whether that arrangement was founded on a *secret* understanding, that the abdication of the imperial throne was to be but temporary, is a circumstance with respect to the *public* articles, only to be vindicated by the *modern justification* that has been so often offered of state artifices and chicanery. Considering the bad faith with which the French Emperor had been treated by his former Allies, it was a sort of *ruse de guerre*, or rather *de paix*, which merits more properly to be regarded as an adroit piece of *lea tallionis* than as a flagrant instance of *mala fides*. But the warranty of Bonaparte for resuming the French throne, is affirmed to rest on a direct violation of the avowed conditions of that treaty. The non-performance of the stipulations respecting the Italian duchies to his Empress and Son, and the alleged design of wresting from him the sovereignty of Elba, are crminating proofs of the want of good faith in the contracting parties.—Independently of the voice of the French people, loud and heart-felt, in recalling their expatriated Emperor, his right to the throne of France is founded on a violation of treaty; so that what might have been a *moral* abdication had the conditions of obtaining it been observed, ceased to have any authority the moment these conditions were violated. It does, therefore, appear, that the throne reverts to him as his undoubted right, even were it not imposed on him by the free and universal acclamation of an approving people. No potentate on earth can have a better right to sovereign authority than Bonaparte. He is again

called to that high office by the very sovereignty of the people, the only legitimate source of magisterial appointment, and the undisguised terror and dismay of despots. It is now very generally, though absurdly enough, objected by the indiscriminating adversaries of the French Emperor, that the Allies were blameable, nay, almost criminal, in suffering so dangerous a person to be stationed so near the shores of France as in the island of Elba; that if circumstances did not exactly admit of putting him to death, yet the least that could have been done with him, consistently with the security of Europe, was to have placed him where he never could be again on the political arena of the world. In short, that he should have been dungeoned for life. How pretty is all this, in petty, in childish resentment; but how mighty foolish to attempt impossibilities.—The military power of Bonaparte, coupled with the resources of his vast mind, was greater at the time he signed the treaty of Fontainebleau than that of all Europe put together. It might be difficult to gain credit for this assertion, had not the recent expression of the military feeling of France in his favour incontrovertibly proved its correctness. It was reserved for the year 1815 to give, to the astonished world, an instance of a person who had incurred the remorseless reproaches, and indecent vilifications of the governing part of nations, being received, as it were by one heart and hand, by millions of a populace devoted to his military, his political, and his moral virtues. Ancient Rome furnishes instances of the military transferring the imperial diadem to favourite individuals; but then it was when the situation was vacillating between contending favourites. France presents a spectacle of receiving a *banished* Emperor into her bosom; of his traversing the extensive regions of that populous country, to the very capital, in a manner more like making a pleasureable excursion than as performing a hazardous enterprise; of his being every where openly caressed; of his finally reaching the seat of government without an opposing shot having been fired; and all this in the midst of some shew and much legislative prattle about heroic resistance to his progress. The Bourbon government thus summarily supplanted, was strong in *form* but wholly destitute of that *substantial*

power which is only to be found in the hearts of the governed. Legislators may strut in office, and talk largely, but without the authority emanating from public confidence, it dwindles into mere puppetism, and becomes the *Vox et prætereun nihil*. A potentate like Bonaparte, seated in the rightful throne of his people's choice and attachment, cannot be shifted from his imperial eminence without an extent of caruage that can never be warranted, and which cannot be hazarded without drawing on its authors execration and ruin.

VERITAS.

INTERESTING DOCUMENTS.—In my last I had occasion to censure all our corrupt newspapers for *suppressing* the petition, and, some of them, the resolutions of the Livery of London against the threatened war with France. I accused them of publishing every thing calculated to inflame the public mind against the people and government of France, and to promote interminable war; I said that they carefully kept out of view all those arguments, those statements of fact, and those public documents which demonstrate the impolicy of hostilities, and furnish a clear and explicit exposition of the actual state of France, the stability of the government, and the devotion of the people to their present ruler. This I have repeatedly shown to be the way in which our corrupt press is almost universally conducted. I have now before me a remarkable proof of this, if any proof was wanting to establish the fact. A Sunday newspaper, entitled the *Postscript*, professing to be conducted on liberal principles, contained, in its last number, two documents, the one bearing to be a letter from Murat, king of Naples, to our Prince Regent, full of *pacific* sentiments, and the other a dispatch from the Duke of Otranto (Fouche) to Prince Metternich the Austrian Minister. This last I have given below. It will be read, I am sure, with great attention by all who deprecate war, and who are friendly to liberty. Nothing, indeed, could have been better written to expose the folly and futility of the arguments adduced by the war faction. But the ability which the writer has displayed, the conviction which every line carries with it of its truth, and the internal evidence which it bears of authenti-

city; all these concurring circumstances, however much they served to recommend this document to the notice of the conductors of our newspapers, seem to have been considered by this venal crew, as affording good cause for its suppression. Even the conductor of the *Morning Chronicle*, whose columns have lately been stuffed with, what he has been pleased to call, "Most important State Papers," but which no one else regarded in that light; at least, which possessed only a *secondary* character. Even, I say, the *penetrating*, the *impartial*, the *liberal* politician, Mr. Perry, could not, or rather *would not*, publish this interesting letter; in his *immaculate* journal. If he believed it a *forgery*, why not say so, and give his reasons for the assertion. If he considered it *genuine*, he merits execration for rejecting it. In refusing a place to a document of so much interest, he gives the most convincing proofs that he is influenced by base and sordid motives, and that all his boasted attachment to the people's rights, is mere pretence, mere hypocritical cant, which is the more pernicious that it is wrapt in the veil of sincerity and truth. The following is the letter to which I allude, and which, as far as I have been able to discover, has not appeared in any of our newspapers, except in the *Postscript* of the 7th instant.—I hope the conductor, or conductors, of that journal, whoever he or they may be, will meet that support, which his, or their impartiality, in this instance, merits.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Duke of Otranto to Prince Metternich.

MY PRINCE—Every event has confirmed what I predicted to you six months ago. You were too pre-occupied to hear me; hearken to me now with attention and confidence; we may, in the peculiar circumstances and the imminent situations in which we are placed, influence in a powerful manner, the approaching and perhaps eternal destinies of France, of Austria, and of Europe. You are deceived respecting what is going on, and what is preparing in the midst of us.—You will judge of the reports of a people rash and blinded by the misfortunes which strike without the power to enlighten them. You are given to understand at Vienna, that Napoleon has been brought back to

the throne by the army alone: that there are none on his side but a soldiery drunk with war. But forthwith you will know that our army has not been recruited in public houses. Generals, Captains, soldiers, all are drawn entirely from the bosom of the nation; and for 25 years our army has executed almost always their wishes and the laws by the most brilliant victories. How dare you tell us that it is the army alone which votes for Napoleon? Our legions do not range themselves more promptly under their colours than the Nation itself around his person and his throne. Almost every where on his route, the popular insurrections in his favour preceded the presence of Napoleon. The Bourbons, reduced to seek in every place a *Vendee*, have not found it even in *La Vendee* itself. Of so many armies of volunteers, which they said they had in the South, not one is formed; and though some little hands trembled while they had at their head the Duke of Angouleme, they are become intrepid by passing under the tri-coloured flag. The power of the nation consists in its talents as much as in its armed force. They think now, or they express themselves with respect to Napoleon, in the same manner in the towns, in the academies, and in the camps. Without doubt, liberty has been much restricted, but it has never been destroyed. Glory, at least, was a compensation for France; she desired not aggrandisements of which we abjure the abuse; but she was not able to support the abasement when she had thrown off the government of the Bourbons. The French people feel the extreme want of peace; they wish it as they wish for happiness; but if they be forced into a war, they believe that, under Napoleon, they will not suffer disgrace. We do not wish, say the Powers assembled in Congress, to oblige France to take the Bourbons again; but Napoleon will not be recognised by us. France must choose another Chief; for, to restrict her, they add, we shall have, if necessary, 900,000 men.—I shall not stop to discuss here the principles of the rights of nations: it is too evident that they are all violated by a similar pretention. The Emperor Napoleon may demand from the Emperor of Russia, from the Emperor of Austria, from the King of Prussia, in what manner he has merited from them, a hatred so violent, as

to cause them to believe that they owe nothing to the justice which is due to all other men, and that in consideration of their personal hatred to Napoleon, they are authorised to rob the French of the sacred right of their independence, absolute and without limit, in the choice of the Chief of the Empire.—Victory has several times placed the political existence of the Powers of the North at the mercy of the Emperor Napoleon, and he has not wished to erase any one of them from the lists of nations. It is the wish of Alexander, whose name is revered amongst us, to dispense with our rendering to his virtues the homage which they merit? Does the Emperor of Austria, in dethroning, contrary to his interests and those of his monarchy, his son-in-law, and his grand-son, wish to prove to the world, by the most astonishing and authentic of all examples, that among the most hideous of all the sentiments of human nature, hatred is that which has the greatest sway over kings? The people are not disposed to believe it: and in this age of revolutions it might be better to take care to dissuade them from it. In short, my Prince, when it shall be beyond doubt that France is resolved to display all her forces, to expose all her destinies to support on his throne the man who is the object of her pride, who alone seems to her capable of guaranteeing all the existences and all the relations proceeding from Revolution; will the Princes at the Congress make the attempt, perhaps a vain one, to tear him from his throne, at the price of all the torrents of blood which this new war will cause to be spilled?—What pretexts will cover so many outrages on reason, on justice, and on humanity?—They pretend that Napoleon cannot offer any guarantee with respect to the durability of the peace of Europe; but what a strange mode of seeking this guarantee, to commence their research by replunging Europe in all the fury and horrors of war!—On the contrary, every thing announces, every thing establishes, that any Prince in Europe, at the present time, cannot give this guarantee of peace in the same degree as Napoleon.—No one has experienced so many dangers and vicissitudes of war, so many unexpected and terrible reverses, as Napoleon.—It is, in fact, a new life, as well as a new reign, which the Emperor Napoleon commences,

after having understood, during a year, in the Island of Elba, as in a tomb, every thing which truth as well as hatred, has told in Europe, respecting his first reign and his first life.—In fine, my Prince, France has given herself a new Constitution, which will not be a vain charter. It is no longer possible to use subtlety and deceit. The force of things will necessarily bring order and justice into social life.—Our Constitution constitutes two Chambers. The sittings in both will be public. Thus France and Europe will understand every thing which will be said on peace and war; and every war, which shall not be one of justice and evident necessity, shall paralyse with terror the man who would kindle it in Europe, already bleeding from so many wars.—The coalesced Powers plume themselves on the immense number of men which they can collect. But, perhaps they may have calculated erroneously—they may be deceived. If it were true, as they give out, that they have 900,000 men, fit for action, France, who has already 500,000, will soon have a million. I seek not to exaggerate the exultation which, in a similar war, will fix all the senses, and the enthusiasm with which their souls will be transported. Every man in France will become a soldier; every article of iron will be fabricated into a sabre, a bayonet, or a musket, every where, as in 1793, will be established manufactories of salt-petre, of powder, and of cannon.—From the Rhine to the Pyrennees, from the Mediterranean to the Ocean, the diversions of the peasants, on Sundays and holidays, will be military exercises; every commune, every village will be transformed into barracks; and the entire population of the Empire, arrayed as the National Guards, will be prepared to live in tents.—Already does France resound with war-songs, in which the acquirers of national domains, who harbour fears for their property; the friends of reason, who have been threatened with the return of superstition; the military, whose glory they have wished to tarnish; in short, all classes of citizens repeat with enthusiasm their ardent expressions of passions the most dear, and the most terrible.—In this war, which will be, in fact, a crusade against the independence of a nation, the contagion of the principles of the French Revolution, may find their way amongst people too igno-

rant and too barbarous even to understand their own interests. On the approach of the Emperor Napoleon, and his armies, marching with animation to songs of liberty, Kings may be abandoned by their subjects, as the Bourbons have been by the soldiers on whom they depended with such confidence. Every throne will be subverted before kings will learn how to govern; and how many evils will be the work of Princes, capable by their virtues of rendering happy the greatest part of the world.—How much will those Monarchs and humanity be indebted to you, my Prince, if, by the wisdom of your counsels, you can dissuade them from the determination, in which they oppose interests and passions over which they ought to have no controul.—I have only to renew, with the most lively expression, to your Highness, the assurances of the highest consideration.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.
Paris, April 23, 1815.

LETTER FROM MR. BIRKBECK.

Wanborough, May 4, 1815.

SIR—The little work which has received your favourable notice is now going through a fourth edition. The appendix to the first, which I take the liberty of sending you, was printed separately for the accommodation of the purchasers of the first.

It is due to you as well as to myself to state, that I don't feel myself called upon by the new position which Napoleon has assumed, to qualify the terms in which I have censured the principles of his former government, because I am quite convinced that they were hostile to the best interests of his people, and perfectly inconsistent with political freedom.

I should have lamented as sincerely as I now rejoice at his restoration, had he, like Louis, recovered the throne uninstructed by adversity, or through any other means than the consent of the people, *conditionally* granted.

Infatuated by success, he forgot that he owed it to the energies of a nation struggling for freedom; and, mixing himself with kings, he became a foe to that liberty from which he derived his greatness. He now acknowledges his error, and, if it be in good faith, it is an instance of magnanimity new to the page of history.

The acts of his government have hitherto corresponded with these fair professions; and, as a pledge of their sincerity, he has received into his councils men of sound principles, and whose integrity he had himself exposed to the severest proof.

This consummation of the late *glorious contest*, though far more glorious than any which its most sanguine supporters have even imagined, is not entirely to the satisfaction of the old governments. They had rather see Bonaparte at the head of his army than surrounded by wise and just counsellors; and they are right. He is, in his present attitude, more formidable to the "social system," as exemplified in the late Congress at Vienna, than when he was thundering at the gates of that capital.

But why *the people* should be disturbed at the view of Napoleon in his present attitude, I don't understand, unless, indeed, their comforts depend on the security of two or three thrones, and the insecurity of the rest, according to the principles established at the said Congress. Yours, &c.

MORRIS BIRKBECK.

THE ENDYMION AND PRESIDENT FRIGATES.

When the news of the capture of the latter of these vessels reached this country, it was given out by our corrupt press, that she had surrendered to the former, with whom she had fought *single-handed*, and that no other of our ships of war had fired a shot at the President. This was trumpeted abroad by the *Times* and the *Courier*, and never to this hour has any of these venal prints retracted the assertion. On the contrary, they repeated it, again and again, and gravely assured their readers, that the result of the conflict betwixt the President and the Endymion, had redeemed all the naval glory which this country had lost during the previous contest at sea with the Americans! I was satisfied, on the first blush of the transaction, that the President had been engaged with more of our frigates than one, and, instead of the enemy losing any of the renown he had acquired, that this battle, when the particulars came fully to be known, would increase the splendour of his achievements. I said to those with whom I conversed on the subject, that I was willing to abide by the account of the battle, as given by Captain Hope of

the Endymion, which, no one ever doubted, would be published in the Gazette. The Gazette appeared; but it contained no particulars from Captain Hope as to the actual engagement, or any detail by which it could be ascertained whether he fought the President single handed or not, or whether that ship surrendered to the Endymion or to another vessel belonging to our squadron. But from other accounts in the same Gazette, and particularly from the American official account, it turned out, as I had supposed, that more than one of our frigates was engaged; that the Pomone also had fought with the enemy; that it was to this ship the President actually struck; and that at the very moment this happened, a ship of the line, another frigate, and a sloop of war, belonging to us, were fast bearing down to attack her. It was plain, therefore, that the President had not surrendered to the Endymion, but that she surrendered to a *British squadron*, consisting of one sail of the line, three frigates and a sloop of war! It was also clear, that had the President and the Endymion fought single handed, the latter must have fallen into the hands of the former. Where then was the ground for exultation? Where the proof, that the capture of the President "redeemed all the naval glory which this country had lost during the previous contest at sea with the Americans?" I see, by files of papers which I have received from Philadelphia, that the conductors of newspapers at Bermuda, had imitated the example of our vile press, and had, like them, endeavoured to detract from the character of Commodore Decatur, by representing that he had surrendered the President to a single British frigate. To expose the fallacy of this statement, the American Commodore addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, an extract of which I have given below. This letter puts it beyond all question, that the President was considered, even by the commander of our own fleet, as a capture *by the squadron*, and not by a single ship. It proves that the Endymion had on board, *in addition to her usual complement*, 50 men, one lieutenant, and one masters' mate, which shews that the *crew* of the Endymion, the chief reliance of every vessel of war, was more numerous than that of her rival. It also proves that the Endymion was completely

disabled in the action, and would, it is more than probable, have become a prize to the President, had not the rest of our squadron come to her relief.

WASHINGTON, March 14.

Extract of a letter from Com. Stephen Decatur to the Secretary of the Navy, dated New York, March 6th, 1815.

"In my official letter of the 18th January, I omitted to state, that a considerable number of my killed and wounded was from the fire of the Pomone; and that the *Endymion* had on board, in addition to her own crew, one Lieutenant, one Master's mate, and 50 men belonging to the Saturn, and when the action ceased, was left motionless and unmanagable until she bent new sails, rove new rigging and fished her spars, nor did she rejoin the squadron for six hours after the action, and three hours after the surrender of the President. My sword was delivered to Capt. Hays, of the *Majestic*, the senior officer of the squadron, on his quarter-deck, which he with great politeness immediately returned. I have the honor to enclose you my parole, by which you will perceive that *the British admit that the President was captured by the squadron.* I should have deemed it necessary to have drawn your attention to this document, had not the fact been stated differently by the Bermuda Gazette on our arrival there, which statement, however, the editor was compelled to retract through the interference of the governor and some of the British officers of the squadron."

After the disastrous retreat of the British army at New Orleans, General Jackson, the American commander, published an animated and spirited Address to his army. The following passages will shew with what ardour and unanimity the soldiers of Liberty will always combat, when their rights and independence are in danger:—

"*Citizens and Fellow Soldiers*,—The enemy has retreated and your General has now time to proclaim to the world what he has noticed with admiration and pride—your undaunted courage, your patriotism, and patience under hardships

and fatigues. Natives of different states acting together for the first time in this camp; differing in habits and in language, instead of viewing in these circumstances the germ of distrust and division, you have made them the source of an honourable emulation, and from the seeds of discord itself have reaped the fruits of an honourable union.—This day completes the fourth week since fifteen hundred of you attacked treble your number of men who boasted of their discipline, and their services under a celebrated leader in a long and eventful war—attacked them in their camp the moment they had profaned the soil of freedom with their hostile trade, and inflicted a blow which was a prelude to the final result of their attempt to conquer, or their poor contrivances to divide us.—A few hours was sufficient to unite the gallant band; at the moment they received the welcome order to march they were separated many leagues in different directions from the city. The gay rapidity of the march, the cheerful countenances of the officers and men, would have induced a belief that some festive entertainment, not the strife of battle, was the object to which they hastened with so much eagerness and hilarity. In the conflict that ensued, the same spirit was supported, and my communications to the executive of the United States, have testified the sense I entertained of the corps and officers that were engaged. Resting on the field of battle, they retired in perfect order on the next morning to these lines, destined to become the scene of future victories, which they were to share with the rest of you, my brave companions in arms.—Reasoning always from false principles the enemy expected little opposition from men whose officers even were not in uniform; who were ignorant of the rules of dress, and who had never been caned into discipline—Fatal mistake! a fire incessantly kept up, directed with calmness and with unerring aim, strewed the field with the brave officers and men of the column which slowly advanced, according to the most approved rules of European tactics, and was cut down by the untutored age of American militia.

TO THE FUND-HOLDERS,

On the supposed approaching war against France.

Of all the classes of people in this country you appear to me to have been, and still to be, the most misguided, as to all questions of politics, and especially as to the important question of *peace or war*. I will now do my best to enable you to judge correctly upon this subject, as far, at least, as your interests are more immediately connected with it.

Your great characteristic is *anxiety for the safety of your property*; but, though self-preservation is the first of nature's laws, and though, in general, men who are alive to little else, are extremely alive, and even very skilful, in cases where their own interests are at stake, you do not appear to me to perceive how your interests have been, or how they will be, affected by *war*. You entertain a sort of vague apprehension, that, unless Napoleon be destroyed, you shall have your property taken away. You look up to the government, that is, in your sense of the word, to the Minister for the time being, as the guardian of your property. Hence you are always found on their side on the question of war, or peace. If they say war, you are for war: if they say peace, you are for peace.

On the subject of the *Corn Bill*, you were against the Ministers; because that was a question, as you thought, involving no danger to your property. But, in fact, you were more interested in the passing of the *Corn Bill* than any other class of the community; and, in explaining this seeming paradox to you, I shall, in the easiest way, introduce the remarks which I propose to make with regard to the effect, which war has upon the quality of your property, and upon your chances of security, or insecurity.

What you most desire is, to have the interest of your stock regularly paid in full, and to prevent any insecurity to your capital. Your interest is paid almost wholly, and, indeed, entirely, *by the land*.

You will start and swell here, and ask whether commerce and manufactures, and trades and professions, pay nothing? Yes, they do; but, they pay *precisely in proportion to the prosperity of agriculture*. That is to say, in proportion to the *height of prices*. If the land, out of which all the great receive their increase, and all the farmers and all the labourers receive their profits and their wages, yield *little*, little can all these pay to tradesmen and manufacturers, little will be the profits of commerce and of professions. When wheat was 20s. a bushel, the landlord and the farmer had three times as much money to lay out as they have now. Hence the present universal out-cry about the dulness of trade; hence the numerous bankruptcies; hence the stagnation of commerce and manufactures.

Though, therefore, I agreed most cordially with you in your opposition to the *Corn Bill*, the *grounds* of our opposition were very different indeed. I knew, that a *Corn Bill* was necessary to enable the land to pay the sum of taxes, demanded by the government; but *I wished the sum of taxes to be diminished*. You wished to have *Corn Cheap*, and the sum of taxes *not to be diminished*. These two together were impossible. They could not, and they cannot, co-exist. If you are asked, at any time, what *security* you have for your property, do you not always answer, that your security is *on the land of the nation*? Do you not say, that the estates of all the land-owners are *mortgaged to you*? This is a great mistake; for, it is only the *revenues* which are mortgaged to you; but, to obviate all difficulty upon this score, take it for granted that you have a *bona fide mortgage* upon all the land in England. Can it, then, be *your interest*, that the land should be unable to pay you your annual demands? The land, upon your own principle is *partly yours*. Can you, then, be gainers by its produce being depreciated? A certain farm, for instance, pays a hundred pounds a year towards your annual demands. If produce fall so low as to disable this farm from

paying you more than fifty pounds a year, how are you to be paid your dividends in full? Hence, it is clear, that the Corn Bill was more for *your protection* than for the protection of the farmers, who really eats and drinks of his own produce. Your expences of living, would keep pace with the price of the produce of the land. In the *end*, the thing might be the same; but, if one half of your dividends was deducted, on account of the fall in the price of produce, you would soon discover, that a Corn Bill, or any other such measure, was more for your *security* than for that of the farmer.

But, what is it, which has rendered high prices *necessary to your security*? WAR. War, which has augmented the taxes on the land, and which land, to be able to pay those taxes, must now have a high price for its produce. War, therefore, has been your great enemy, and not the landlords and farmers, as you have been taught to suppose.

To go no further, therefore, you, above all people, ought to regret the renewal of war. You cry out against those who are opposed to war; you accuse them of seditious, and almost, of treasonable motives. You call them enemies of law and of social order. And for what? Because you look upon war against Napoleon as necessary to the security of your property; when the fact is, as I will now proceed to show, that war has been, and must be, ruinous to that property, which, though no part has been *violently seized on*; which, though you have still continued to receive your dividends to the full nominal amount, has imperceptibly passed away from you to the amount of *more than one half* of what you really possessed in the year 1792. Your property has passed from your possession in two ways: first in point of credit, or the value of the capital; and next, as to the currency in which the interest is paid. This will clearly appear from the following statement of the price, the settled *peace price*, of three per cent. stock, during the peace, previous to the first war against the Republicans of France, and of the subsequent peace prices.

In 1792, before the war against France, the
steady peace price of the Three per Cents.
was 95
During the Peace of Amiens in 1802, it was 77
After the Peace of Paris, in 1814, it was .. 66

This statement exhibits the fall in the value of the capital; the fall in the value of any estate in the funds. That which was worth 95 pounds, in 1792, was worth only 77 pounds in 1802, and only 66 pounds in 1814. But, far is this from of the matter short of the real market, or the currency, in which funds are bought and sold has *also* fallen in as great a proportion. A guinea is risen to 28 shillings; and, therefore, in *real money*, a hundred three per cents, at 66, as they were *during the peace of Paris*, last year, were worth only 49 pounds; and, at this moment, they are worth only about 44 pounds. In the year 1792, the currency in which the dividends were paid, and in which funds were bought and sold, was equal in value to real money. So that,

Guineas. Shillings.

In 1792, you could have sold a hundred Three per Cents. for.....	90	10
In May, 1815, you cannot sell them for more than.....	40	19

Is there any one of you, who can deny these facts? And, if you cannot, do you still look upon those as the enemies of your property, who wish for peace? Can you deny, that it is *war*, which has had this alarming effect upon your property? And, yet, do you blame those, who are against *more war*? That vile and prostituted news-paper, the *Times*, which you all read, sometimes, in drawing a comparison between the situation of France and England, talks about the comparative price of the funds in the two countries; and takes this as a criterion of national prosperity, and of the solidity of the government. Nothing can be more false than this principle; but, suppose it to be true. There is no such great difference in the price of the funds in the two countries at this moment. The French funds are *five per cents*. Our five per cents are at 88 in *paper*; in real money, they are worth 62 pounds. And, we see, that the French five per cents are worth, even now, 62 pounds in real money; for, in France, it is *gold*, with which funds are purchased. So that, if you are to weigh public opinion, popular confidence, and the solidity of governments in this scale, we have, on our side of the water, but little to boast of in the comparison, though France is, at this moment, surrounded by hostile armies, though she is menaced with an

invasion by a million of men in arms, and though millions of money are employed, in all probability, to excite dissensions in her cities and provinces. Have you ever seen the matter in this light before? Is it not time, then, for you to begin to think?

Such is the state, to which you have been reduced by the "*great statesman now no more*" and his successors of both factions. Such is the price that you have paid for your support of those men and their measures. Such is the fruit of those wars, which you were told were to secure you in the *enjoyment of your property*; wars, which ended in placing the Bourbons, for eleven months, upon the throne of France; in restoring the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition, and in erecting Holland and Hanover into kingdoms; wars, the *success* of which you have joined in celebrating!

But, now; if such have been the effects of *war* upon your property; if, in fact, you, who had estates in the funds in 1792, have lost more than the half of those estates, what are you ALL to expect as the consequences, to you, of another war? I shall lay out of account all the possible dangers from a stoppage of the sinking fund, or any other measure, to which necessity might drive the minister for the time being; I shall suppose that no danger can ever arise to you from internal commotions, produced by the pressure of war; but, I must assume, and I think, you will allow the assumption to be correct, that the thing will, *at least*, go on as it has done; and, of course, that your estates in the funds will daily grow of less and less value, in proportion as the mass of debt is augmented. You are quite sure, that war will augment this mass; and, yet, you raise not your voices against war, but on the contrary, appear to be disappointed, that blood has not yet been drawn.

The *certainly* that your estates will continue to melt away as they have melted, is, one would think, quite sufficient to make you deprecate the renewal of war. Having lost 50 guineas out of every 90 guineas that you possessed in 1792, in the first restoration of the Bourbons, one would think, that you would dread a second "*success*" of the kind as you would dread the hour of death. The late wars lasted 20 years, exclusive of the peace of

Amiens. Another 16 years of war, at the *same rate*, would take away the remaining 40 guineas. So that, even in case of a second "*success*," you would be without a penny. But, it is not thus, that the thing would travel. The stone that rolls down a hill, even if the surface be smooth, goes swifter and swifter as it approaches the bottom; and, if it meet with rubs in its way, its bounds add to its velocity, till, at last, it comes, at a single jump, like a ball from the cannon's mouth. So it will be, because, so, from the nature of things, it *must* be with funded property, if we now enter on a war of any considerable duration.

To be satisfied of the truth of this, you have only to look at what has taken place in other countries, where there have been funding systems, and at the *increasing force* of the Debt in England. Since the funding system began, we have had *seven wars*. The debt created by each war is as follows:

1st War, which ended in 1697	£21,000,000
2nd War, which began in 1702	33,000,000
3rd War, Ditto 1739	48,000,000
4th War, Ditto 1756	72,000,000
5th War, Ditto 1775	108,000,000
6th War, Ditto 1793	297,000,000
7th War, Ditto 1803	416,000,000
	£992,000,000

There are perhaps, 30 or 40 millions of floating Debt, besides the amount of the *arrears* of the last war; so that, about *eight years* of war would, in all human probability, bring the Debt to 1600 millions, at which point it would render the funds possessed in 1792 worth nothing at all. But, the thing would hardly proceed; it would hardly get along, at any rate, to this length. An addition of three or four hundred millions, is, probably, as much as it would bear, before the whole thing would be blown up; for, by that time, the price of the guinea would be so high, and the alarm would become so great, on your part, that you would sell your stock at any price, till, at last, there would be nobody to purchase.

Is not this the natural march of your property? Is there any one of you, who will set his face against the facts, which I have stated? If wars have gone on adding to the Debt in the above manner, why should not the same take place again? If the value of your estates has fallen in

the proportion of from 90 to 40, during the creation of 700 millions of Debt, will not another 5 or 600 millions take away the whole of your estates? If you cannot find any answer to these statements; if they be true, and you are obliged to acknowledge them to be true, why should you shut your eyes to your danger? Is it the part of wise men; is it the part of men of common sense, to act thus?

The calamity of which I have been speaking, I mean your total ruin, *is to be prevented*; but, it is to be prevented *solely by peace and economy*; that is, by getting rid of all the heavy expences, except that of the National Debt. If all the other expences were reduced to the standard of 1792; if the Army, the Navy, the Civil List, were brought down to the state of that year, the interest of the Debt might still be paid, and that, too, without a Corn Bill. It is, therefore, for *peace and economy* that you ought to petition, instead of joining in the cry of *war*, and in the abuse of those who have endeavoured, and are still endeavouring, to prevent that calamity, a great one to us all, but to you a thousand times greater than to any other class of the community. WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 16th May, 1815.

LETTER VIII.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

On the Naval Force of the United States of America.

MY LORD,—From the beginning, and before the beginning, of the late war with America, I thought it my duty to warn you, that, one of the consequences of that war would be the creating of a great Naval Force in that country. I endeavoured to describe to you the immense means of America for such a purpose. Her fine rivers, bays, and harbours; her excellent ship-builders, her hemp, iron, pitch, and timber, all of her own produce; and, above all, her matchless seamen. Of the truth of this account you and your colleagues must, by this time, be pretty well convinced; but, I cannot help quoting, and addressing to you, a paragraph from the *Times* newspaper of the 16th instant, in the following words:—"Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated the 17th of March:—'*Congress have at length determined to have a navy—a Bill has*

*passed the Legislature, appointing a Navy Board. Commodores Hull, Bainbridge, and Rodgers, it is expected, will be appointed Admirals, and put in command. A very powerful force, under the command of Commodore Bainbridge, is now fitting out for Algiers: it will consist of two new 74-gun ships, five frigates, and ten sloops of war. If I am not mistaken, the Algerines will rue the day when they provoked the vengeance of our tars. The *Guerriere*, under the command of Morgan, sailed from this port yesterday for New York, where she is to be joined by the *Constellation* and *Java* frigates, from the Chesapeake, and the *United States* and *Macedonian* from Long Island Sound: these frigates, with six sloops of war, form the first division against Algiers, and it is said that 2,000 of Brown's rifle veterans will go with the squadron. The whole nation is decided for a navy: the *Pennsylvania*, a 74-gun ship, will be launched at this place in the month of May. Large quantities of timber are daily brought down the Delaware and Schuylkill for ship building. It is no more extraordinary than *war*, with what dispatch they build *war* in this country. The *Peace*, 18 guns, was built at Newbury Port in 18 working days! The *Wasp* was built at New York in 20 days! The *Saratoga*, Commodore Chauncy's flag-ship, of 64 guns, on Lake Ontario, took up only 30 days from the laying of her keel until she had all her guns on board, and was ready for a cruise. It is said *Congress* intend to have the frames of the Lake squadron removed to the Atlantic."—Now, what does your Lordship think of this? Do you think, that it indicates any thing of that *desire*, of which you were pleased to speak some time ago, on the part of the American people to *put themselves under the protection of his Majesty's government*? Or, do you now begin to think with me, that it indicates the speedy appearance of an American Fleet of 20 ships of the line and as many frigates on the Ocean? Really, my Lord, this is of far greater consequence to us, and to the world, than the erecting of Hanover and Holland into kingdoms. The "*regular government*" of Algiers will now find, I dare say, that it must change its course; but, the American Navy will not be employed solely against this very "*regular**

government." It will, and it must, make a figure in the world. It must act a great part. *Four years* will swell it to a respectable size. Before the end of that time, if we have war with France, I predict, that we shall see an American fleet of great force, carrying its "*bits of striped bunting*" across the Atlantic.

It is for you, my Lord, who are a statesman and a prime minister, and for your bright colleague, who has recently returned from Vienna; it is for you, and not for me, to say precisely what will be the consequences of this very important change in the naval power of the world; but, as it is a Yankey subject, I will venture to guess, that the friendship of *Jonathan* will soon begin to be courted by every nation who has either ships or commerce; and, that, even already, some of them has their eye upon *alliances* to be formed with him, in order to deprive us of the power of exercising a mastership on the high seas. At present the main use that I would make of the above information, is, to urge it on you as a reason for remaining at peace with France. I do not want to see an American newspaper to know what the people in that country will think of the threatened war in Europe. I know they will not have patience to read one single article in the *Times* newspaper without throwing it down, and crying out for more ships to be built and manned. The war ended in a way to *provoke* and at the same time to *encourage* them. The past, the future, resentment, glory; every thing will concur in favouring wishes for a new contest; and, though they build ships very quickly in peace, they would do it more quickly in war.

Some will say, that, seeing this danger, we ought, without delay, to fall upon Napoleon, and to destroy him, conquer France, and burn or capture all her fleet, before the Americans have time to build a large fleet. Yes, if you could be sure of doing all this in the course of *this summer*. But, if you should fail. Failure is possible. It is sufficient for us to know, that it is possible. We may, indeed, do all that is wished; but, we may be obliged to come to a peace without doing any part of it; nay, we may, as in the war of 1793, draw the French armies out of France to over-run our allies. Louis le Desiré ascribes the former successes of Napoleon to Providence, who permitted him, for

awhile, to make conquests. But, as Providence has permitted him to come back to France, and even to put out the Bourbons, why may not Providence permit him, in case France is attacked, first to defend her, and then to rally forth in pursuit of her assailants?

If this should be the case, I think we may rely upon seeing the American *Admirals* in our seas; and, therefore, this should come in as an item in our estimates of the consequences of war, if now made against France. With a stout American fleet at sea, our *West India Colonies*, and the *Azores*, belonging to our ally, Portugal, would be in any thing but a satisfactory state. In short, it would require fifty ships of the line and fifty frigates to defend them all. The Slave Trade would soon be at an end, and the whole face of the naval and commercial world would be changed. The fleets of France would revive. Example, emulation, have powerful effects. I beg you to think well, and in time, of these things. I beg you to take your eyes, for a little, from Hanover and Belgium, and to cast them on the other side of the Atlantic, where you will see what is much more dangerous to England than is the army of Napoleon, numerous and brave as that army may be.

I am, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 11th May, 1815.

P. S. On looking over a file of American papers, which have just reached me, I find the following official letter from the Secretary of the Navy, to the Committee of ways and means of the House of Representatives. It clearly shews, that "the encouragement and gradual increase of the navy (as observed by the *National Intelligencer*) is now a national sentiment:—"

Navy Department, Feb. 28th, 1815.

SIR—In compliance with your request, I have the honour to transmit an estimate of the expences of the navy, reduced to the demands of an establishment, accommodated to all the effects of the peace with Great Britain, but at the same time to provide for the protection of our commerce against the actual hostility of the Dey of Algiers. An act that proposes the reduction of any part of the naval force, is naturally accompanied with a grateful recollection of the service which that force has rendered to the nation. In the first movements of

the late war, *the achievements of the navy excited admiration and confidence throughout the United States, shedding a lasting splendour upon the American arms. Victory has invariably been the result of our naval combats with an equal force; and even when the surrender to a superior force has proved unavoidable, it must be acknowledged by the world, that those who have gained the ship, have not always gained the glory of the battle.* Co-operating with their brave and patriotic brethren of the army, the officers and crews of the American vessels of war have greatly contributed to the honourable restoration of peace; and whatever may be the general policy of reducing the naval establishment, it must be universally a favourite object to secure for those meritorious citizens a participation in the blessings which they have conferred upon their country. Permit me, Sir, to take this opportunity of recommending to your attention the bill which has received the sanction of the Senate, for creating the rank of *Admiral* in our naval service. The measure is suited to the existing naval establishment, and appears to be necessary, not only as the means of furnishing commanders of proper rank for our squadrons, but as the means of bestowing professional distinction and reward upon the distinguished veterans of the navy. It has been seen and lamented, that for want of this grade of command, the gallantry of a subordinate officer could be rewarded by promotion, while his gallant superior officer must remain stationary. The *protection of commerce* against the hostilities of the Dey of Algiers will require, that a *strong squadron* should be stationed, as soon as practicable, in the Mediterranean. The Algerine naval force is believed to consist of four frigates, four corvettes, four sloops of war, and twenty gun-boats; but these vessels will be covered and aided by the powerful batteries which defend the harbour of Algiers. To secure success in our operations, therefore, and to command the general respect of the Barbary powers, it is proposed, that the American squadron shall consist of *two* seventy-fours, *six* frigates, *three* sloops of war, and *six* or *eight* small armed vessels; and an estimate of the expence of the expedition accompanies this communication. If, however, congress should not contemplate a maritime war against Algiers, and

should not be disposed to increase the naval establishment, a different course must be pursued. The *three* seventy-fours (of which two may be soon completed for sea, at a small addition of expence) should be *perfected* in their guns and equipments, and laid up in ordinary *so as to be ready for service upon the first emergency.*—Four frigates should *always be manned and ready for sea*; and should be deemed to be in *actual service*, together with four sloops of war, four small armed vessels (to be principally employed as dispatch vessels) and two gun-boats in each principal port. The flotilla may be discharged, and the gun-boats (with the exception provided for) and the barges may be generally laid up or sold, as the president may deem most expedient. The ships and vessels on the lakes, or on the stocks for the lake service, may also be laid up, or sold, as the president shall direct. But it is respectfully suggested that no greater reduction of our naval establishment ought at this time to take place. *The destinies of the nation appear to be intimately connected with her maritime power and prosperity—and as the creation of a navy is not a work to be quickly performed, it seems necessary not only to cherish our existing resources, but to* AUGMENT THEM GRADUALLY AND STEADILY. The purchase of timber, the casting of guns, and the collection of all other materials for building and equipping vessels of war, at safe and convenient places, are objects of the greatest importance; and the actual construction of at least one seventy-four and two frigates, is recommended upon principles of economy as well as policy. Smaller vessels of war can be built as the occasions occur, but these require time and care. Contracts for a supply of two hundred heavy cannon to be delivered at New York, Boston, or Portsmouth (which afford at all times an outlet to the ocean) might be advantageously formed. To these general views, I beg leave to add that an appropriation, for the purchase of the vessels captured by Commodore Macdonough on Lake Champlain is necessary; and, as the estimated value cannot be now ascertained, the appropriation may be made for such sum as shall be settled and agreed upon, with the approbation of the president. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, &c.

B. W. CROWNSHIELD.

NOTTINGHAM.

The following documents will show, that the people of this public spirited town have *wished* to assemble, in a peaceable and orderly manner, under their Magistrates, to *petition against the renewal of the war*, which wish has been opposed by the Mayor. These documents, which I insert with all the names attached to them as a mark of my respect for the town of Nottingham, will speak for themselves; but, I cannot refrain from making a remark or two.—The Mayor refuses to call a Meeting, on account, as he says, of “the *unsettled state* of the public mind.” Why, what is that to the purpose? The people’s meeting, discussing the great subject of peace or war, and proposing a petition, is, one would suppose, the best possible way of *settling the public mind*. What! Then this Gentlemen would, I suppose, never have another *election*; for, then, it is notorious, that the public mind is *unsettled*; unless, indeed, he would have, as in the rotten Boroughs, all the matter snugly settled *before-hand*.—He will suffer the people to sneak into the Town-Hall to *sign* a petition. That is, he will suffer them to sign that which not a fiftieth part of them can have an opportunity of *reading*. If the petition had been proposed at a public meeting, not only would it have been read aloud to the people; not only would they have heard *what it was* that they were about to sign, but, they would have been made acquainted with all the facts and arguments for and against it: they would have been in possession of the *reasons* for doing that which they were about to do.—What, then, can have been the *true cause* of this refusal? We shall probably be informed of it hereafter.

“TO THE INHABITANTS OF NOTTINGHAM AND ITS VICINITY.

“It having been stated, in the REVIEW of last week, from proper authority, that a REQUISITION had been presented to JOHN ASHWELL, Esq. Mayor, the purport of which was to convene a PUBLIC MEETING, at GUILDHALL, to consider of the propriety and necessity of PETITIONING the PRINCE REGENT, and the HOUSE of COMMONS, on the impending War with France; the Committee engaged in this affair, convinced of the high importance of the subject, feel it a momentous duty, which they owe to

their fellow townsmen and to themselves, to publish the Requisition to the Mayor, and also the Correspondence which has ensued thereon; so that the Public may be thoroughly enabled to form a correct opinion of the conduct of the parties concerned in this matter. The inhabitants of the town and its vicinity are respectfully informed, that this business is not abandoned, but will be pursued by the Committee, with all the ardour and ability of which they are possessed; and in a mode which they conceive, under existing circumstances, best calculated to produce the desired effect.

BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.
Nottingham. May 5th, 1815.

“TO JOHN ASHWELL, ESQ. MAYOR.

“SIR.—We the undersigned housekeepers of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, most respectfully solicit you to call a PUBLIC MEETING of the inhabitants thereof, at the first convenient opportunity, to take into consideration the propriety and necessity of PETITIONING HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT, and also the COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, against involving this country, unnecessarily, in a War with France, because that nation, in imitation of our immortal forefathers, has thought right to choose a Government consistent with its own will.”

Richard Alliot	Samuel Doubleday
John Bryan	W. Blackwell
Robert Smith	Henry Leaver
Nathaniel Nead, Jun.	Richard Sibert
Jonathan Dunn	J. Norweb
James Wright	William Daft
George Brauley	John Blackner
Samuel Cartledge	John Roberts
George Johnson	John Sands
John Kendall	Thomas Yates
E. B. Robinson	Charles Heald
James Smith	Robert Webster
Samson Walker	George White
John Leaver	Henry Cross
John Lightfoot	E. Milligan
Christopher Renshaw	John Woodward
John Wood	Samuel Holland
Thomas Marshall	William Page
John Henshaw	Isaac Meats
James Harriman	Joseph Thorpe
Robert Sewel Maples	William Baldock
John Parker	William Mason
John Dalby	James Edwards
John Wood	Charles Clarke
William Biggs	B. Hind
Samuel Beardaley	James Saxby
John Greaves	Edmund Hart

" TO MR. CLAYTON.

Nottingham, April 29, 1815.

" SIR—I have, in conformity with my promise to you, laid the Requisition I had the honour to receive, before my brother Magistrates, at a meeting last night; and after mature deliberation, they are of opinion with myself, in the present unsettled state of the public mind, it would be better to avoid a Town Meeting upon this occasion.—If, however, the use of the Guildhall, for the purpose of having Petitions lay there to receive signatures, would be desirable, it is quite at the service of the gentlemen who conduct this business. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

" JOHN ASHWELL, Mayor."

" TO JOHN ASHWELL, ESQ. MAYOR.

" SIR—I have had the honour to receive your letter, which I shall lay before the Committee this afternoon; should they decide on a public meeting, will you be kind enough to say whether you will permit them to have the use of the Guildhall for that purpose. Waiting your reply, I am, Sir, your's &c.

" J. CLAYTON."

" TO MR. CLAYTON.

" SIR—In answer to your letter, the Hall will be occupied on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in the next week. I am your obedient servant,

" J. ASHWELL."

" TO JOHN ASHWELL, ESQ. MAYOR.

" SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour of the 29th instant, which was laid before the Gentlemen who signed the Requisition, for their consideration; they are extremely sorry to observe that the Guildhall will be occupied on Tuesday, &c. so as to deprive them of the opportunity of meeting in that place, for the sole purpose of considering the propriety of addressing the Prince Regent and the House of Commons on the impolicy of interfering with the internal affairs or regulations which France may chuse to adopt as to her form of Government or Ruler, and not to involve this country again in War, with all its evils, unless for objects truly national. Will you, therefore, be kind enough to state explicitly, whether on a subject so highly important, and a proceeding so truly constitutional, any protection or countenance may be expected from the Magistrates, &c. should a Public Meeting take place (in the town) or whether such a proceeding would meet with opposition; I can assure you it is not the wish of the persons concerned in this business, to disturb the repose of the town, &c. Waiting your reply, I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

" *Nottingham, May 1, 1815.*" " J. CLAYTON,"

" TO MR. CLAYTON.

Nottingham, 2d May, 1815.

" SIR—I am not aware that your note of the first instant requires from me any particular answer. It is the duty of Magistrates to preserve the public peace always, and to the proper discharge of this duty, the attention and exertions of the Magistrates of Nottingham, I hope, will be always found directed. I am your most humble servant,

" JOHN ASHWELL."

" TO JOHN ASHWELL, ESQ. MAYOR.

" SIR—I have received your letter this afternoon, and, I must confess, the contents of it do not a little surprise me, as it neither contains a candid or explicit answer to my letter of the 1st instant: I did not require of you to point out the duty of magistrates, &c.; every man of common capacity must know the line of conduct marked out for them, BY THE LAW OF THE LAND, and if that was more observed, less trouble would accrue in the conducting of Constitutional or Public Meetings; but, it appears, the voice of the people is neither to be heard nor respected, either by one power or the other, but that their sufferings and calamities must be endured without a murmur or a sigh. I presume you cannot forget the Public Meeting that took place respecting the Corn Bill, at which you had the honour of presiding, and, I have no doubt, you will recollect the manly and correct conduct of it, and which you so highly complimented and commended, and the pledge you gave, to call any future Public Meeting conducted on the pure principles of the Constitution; and can that promise be so easily broken! particularly by the Chief Magistrate! whose conduct and expressions ought to be as clear as the sun at noon day, without ambiguity. A respectable Requisition was handed to you, signed by persons, if not rich, or possessing great talent, they were honest to their country, and friends of the greatest of blessings, peace! and the cause of humanity; therefore, in my humble opinion, it became your imperious duty to have called a Public Meeting, being considered (as far as expressions go) the supporter and advocate of the cause of your country. If, Sir, you will give me a direct answer to my last letter, I shall feel obliged; in the mean time, I remain, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

" J. CLAYTON."

Nottingham, May 2, 1815.

It appears that no reply was returned by the *Mayor of Nottingham to Mr. Clayton's* urgent and constitutional request. Determined, however, not to abandon their purpose, the Committee in name of

those citizens who signed the requisition, caused the following *address* to be printed and circulated :

“**FELLOW TOWNSMEN AND COUNTRYMEN**—The present moment is awfully portentous; dismally dark clouds hang over our country, pregnant with unheard of misery and woe to ourselves and future generations, the mere description of which, however faintly drawn, would horrify minds the least susceptible of generous sentiments, would melt hearts the most obdurate: but we will not harrow feelings, already sufficiently wounded, by attempting to pourtray such direful calamities as must necessarily result from a renewed course of warfare with France; without having one legitimate object to stimulate us to the adoption of such a *desperate* measure; for *desperate* it must be considered by all, (of whatever political opinion,) who look at the *financial difficulties* of this nation. *Come forward, therefore, fellow countrymen, and exercise your rights—be obedient to the imperious calls of duty—use every constitutional effort of which you are possessed, to prevent the vessel of your country from being driven in the gathering tempest*; and then, should the Government of the nation be so infatuated as to plunge you into all the horrors of war, you will, amid all your galling sufferings, be exempt from those bitter reflections which must ever attend an accusing conscience.—You are respectfully informed, that under existing circumstances, the Committee, who continue to manage this business, consider it an act of *prudence*, and not of *submission*, to decline calling a public Meeting. They therefore, lay before you, for your approval, the following **RESOLUTIONS** and **PETITIONS** which they intended to offer, had a public Meeting been called by the Mayor, in conformity to the requisition presented to him, and which was published last week in the Nottingham Review, and in hand-bills, together with the correspondence produced by such application.—A Petition to the Prince Regent, and another to the House of Commons, will be laid for signatures, at a shop in Smithy-row, lately in the occupation of Mr. Darby, to-morrow, from ten o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening, and will continue to be open for a week. The adult male inhabitants of this town and its vicinity, who are the **FRIENDS**

of **PEACE**, and the admirers of the principles of our excellent Constitution, it is hoped, will come forward as one man, and affix their names to those Petitions.—By order of the Committee,

JOHN GREAVES, jun. Secretary.

Wednesday Morning, May 10th, 1815.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved 1. That as war is the extremity of evil, no nation should engage therein until all lawful and honourable means to avert it have been tried, and proved unavailing.

2. That every nation has an indisputable right to choose its own Government; and that a war commenced and prosecuted by any other nation with a view to the annihilation of such choice, is most unjust; because it is contrary both to the law of nature and of nations, to the avowed practice of the civilized world, and to the very principles which exalted the House of Brunswick to the Throne of these realms. Therefore this Meeting regards with horror and dismay, the hostile preparations now making; the professed design of which is, to compel the French nation, by force of arms, to dethrone the Sovereign of their choice, and to impose upon them another, to whom it appears they have a complete, radical, national objection.

3. That this Meeting not only sees, but feels, the heart-rending calamities which the late wars have entailed upon this country:—Trade, commerce, and manufacture scarcely exist: nothing present themselves for observation and contemplation, among the trading, commercial, and manufacturing part of the community, but ruin, wretchedness, and woe.

The National Debt has been increased in a four-fold degree, and now requires no less sum than *thirty millions* sterling to pay the common interest, with an addition of public expenditure to the annual amount of *twenty millions* more, even on the supposition of this country enjoying universal peace.

4. That in the opinion of this Meeting, it would be highly chimerical, impolitic, and most iniquitously unjust to the people of this country, for the Government thereof to plunge them into renewed warfare for any other objects than those truly national, probable in their acquirement, and of sufficient magnitude and importance to compensate this nation for the sacrifices and sufferings naturally resulting therefrom.

5. That from the pre-eminent station which Great Britain holds in the scale of nations, this Meeting believes that her efforts to preserve the present peace would not be ineffectual.

6. That the effects which the late wars produced on this town and neighbourhood were most lamentably afflicting; the poor-rates were increased in an eight-fold degree, and more than one-sixth of its population received parochial aid.

7. That this Meeting present an address and petition to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying that he will not interfere by war or otherwise, with the internal affairs of France, and that the said petition be transmitted to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, requesting him to present it to his Royal Highness.

8. That this Meeting do also present an address and petition to the Honourable the House of Commons, praying that they will not grant any supplies for the purpose of subsidising foreign powers to enable them to go to war with France, and that this petition be forwarded to John Smith, Esq. and Lord Raneliffe, the two Members for the town, with a request that they will, upon presenting the same, cause it to be read, and support the prayer thereof.

9. That the thanks of this Meeting be given to John Smith, Esq. our worthy representative, for his independent, steady, and persevering conduct in Parliament.

10. That this Meeting cannot but regret the long absence of our other worthy representative, Lord Raneliffe, from his Parliamentary duty.

ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, REGENT
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND,

The humble, dutiful, and loyal Address and Petition of the inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, and its vicinity.

May it please your Royal Highness—We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, and its vicinity, respectfully approach your Royal Highness, with *barrowed feelings* of the most poignant grief:—*feelings* which we have not heretofore endured; although our privations, sacrifices, and sufferings, for the last twenty years, are unparalleled in the annals of our country. We beg most ardently to impress on the mind of your Royal Highness, that, however just, wise, and politic, the late wars may have been considered in their respective origin and duration, that the effects resulting therefrom, on his Majesty's loyal subjects, were, and are, most grievously afflicting. After such unequalled sacrifices of blood and treasure, what national advantages might we not have expected? But the lamentable reverse is the fact:—Trade and commerce are annihilated;—our merchants ruined,—our artisans pauperised. We would not

presume to dictate to your Royal Highness, but to state constitutionally to you, our opinions and feelings. Hence the mighty warlike preparations now making, which fill our minds with painful anxiety, impel us to declare, that we think it the imperative duty of this country, not to wage war with France, (particularly when we consider the state of our finances) without it be for objects purely national, likely to be obtained, and commensurate with its consequent calamities:—calamities, the mere contemplation of which strike us with horror. It is so repugnant to our feelings—so contrary to the dictates of justice,—to the Constitution of our country,—to the practice of our forefathers,—to the very principles which placed your august family on the throne, and, above all, to that princely declaration, so honourable to your understanding and your heart, made by your Royal Highness, when you were invested with Regal Authority,—that “the Crown was a sacred trust, to be held only for the welfare and happiness of the people;”—that we could not for a moment have entertained a thought, were it not for that most objectionable Declaration made by the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Sovereigns, bearing date the 13th of March, (and also the Treaty of the 25th of the same month,) 1815, together with the hostile attitude which Europe has since assumed, that your Royal Highness would coalesce with those Monarchs on the Continent, to prevent by force of arms, or otherwise, the French people from retaining that Sovereign and forming that Government which are the objects of their choice. We, therefore, most respectfully implore your Royal Highness, that your Royal Highness will not interfere, by war, or otherwise, with the internal affairs of France. And we further implore your Royal Highness, that no measures may be adopted by this country, to impede any friendly communications, that may be offered from that nation. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

PETITION TO THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the inhabitants of Nottingham and its vicinity.

Sheweth—That your Petitioners cannot view, but with sentiments of most fearful apprehension, the extensive preparations making by the Government of this country, for an apparent renewal of war with France; nor can they avoid expressing their regret, at seeing themselves likely to be plunged once more into all the calamities, distresses, and privations, attendant upon warfare, with no other object than that of upholding the interests of a dynasty twice declared by the people unworthy to reign:—for no nobler

purpose than that of controlling a great nation in the choice of its ruler—a system of policy, which your Petitioners humbly conceive, is, in direct opposition to principles recognised by our excellent Constitution at the Revolution of 1688, and publicly avowed by the Prince Regent, viz. “that the Crown is held only in trust for the benefit of the people,” and calculated, in their opinion, to subvert public liberty, destroy national independence, degrade civilized society, and establish in Europe, once more, the darkness of the middle ages, and the tyranny of feudal laws. And further, that your Petitioners looking to your Honourable House as the depositary of their liberties, and the guardians of their properties, do most earnestly entreat your Honourable House to withhold such supplies of money and men, as may be demanded by the Executive, for the purpose of carrying on this premeditated war, until it has been satisfactorily shewn, that all attempts to arrange honourable terms with the Emperor Napoleon are impracticable and unavailing: and your Petitioners are further induced to dwell upon this point, from a conviction that no positive good is likely to arise to this country, nor any permanent repose to Europe, from an attempt to impose a Government on the French people by force of arms. Nor can your Petitioners refrain from calling the attention of your Honourable House to the direful calamities which have flowed in upon the inhabitants of these kingdoms from the late sanguinary and expensive wars, undertaken upon the same unjust and chimerical principles as that now projected, and which, in its effects upon this country, has pauperised its labouring classes, loosened the foundation of public credit, annihilated its manufacturing consequence, increased its taxation to an insupportable degree, and swelled the national debt to an amount that threatens the stability of our political institutions; whilst its consequences to this town and neighbourhood, in a local point of view, are now severely felt in the diminution of their trade, the alarming increase of poor rates, and the vast accumulation of misery in every shape, by which they are surrounded, in the midst of a population destitute of employment, and goaded to despair, by the apparent hopeless state of their condition: it does, therefore, appear to your Petitioners, that under such circumstances, for the Government to enter again upon hostilities, (unless for the acquirement of great national objects, commensurate in advantage with the sacrifice made for their attainment,) would display a contempt for the sufferings of the people, a violation of public justice, an indifference to the voice of humanity, inconsistent with the cha-

racter of Parliament, incompatible with every idea of representative Government, and portending imminent danger to the future liberties and happiness of Englishmen. Apprehensions we cannot but experience, when contemplating the marked disregard of public opinion recently manifested by your Honourable House on the question of the Corn Laws, and the attempt now making to revive that odious and inquisitorial impost, the Tax upon Income. Your Petitioners do, therefore, again most forcibly entreat that your Honourable House will, on this occasion, suffer the voice of justice and humanity to prevail, and that in the discharge of your Parliamentary duties as the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, you will withhold the grant of any subsidy or loan to any foreign power, or any supply of money or men, asked by the Executive at home, until such demand shall have been clearly proved to be necessary for the upholding of our country's honour—for the defence of our acknowledged rights, or the maintenance of our national independence. And your Petitioners will ever pray.

THE NECESSITY OF WAR WITH FRANCE.

Mr. Cobbett—The return of Napoleon to France has imparted fresh vigour to your pen in defence of peace, and, what you are pleased to call, the principles of civil, political, and religious freedom. Fearful of your influence over the public mind, and anxious to see unanimity prevail in this country, respecting the war with France, I venture to address you on the subject, relying on your candour for its insertion in your Register. We cannot, Sir, make peace with Napoleon.—We are a religious nation.—Bibles and missions to the *Heathen* is the cry amongst us.—We are making the most extraordinary efforts to proselytize the world to our holy and *peaceable* religion.—Bonaparte is an unbeliever! What fellowship hath light with darkness? What part hath he who believeth with an infidel? What! shall we, who have so much regard for the souls of Hindoos and Africans have no concern for those of our French neighbours? Shall we suffer an infidel to reign over them?—But if we have no regard for them, let us at least take care of ourselves. France is a very *near* neighbour: she publishes what she pleases respecting religion. Alas! let us fear the contagion of her infidel principles more than ever, and let us war against Napoleon their patron, till we

have placed once again on his throne the *religious* Louis the 18th. What are the sacrifices of a million of lives, and two or three hundred millions of treasure, compared with the blessed comforts of religion?—What is the general distress of our country compared with the pleasure of fighting “the monster Bonaparte?” Do not call this stale and stupid reasoning. France is *now* much in the situation she *was* when Europe began her *first* most *just* and *necessary* war against her; and the *same* arguments which were *then* used by the allied powers in their justification, may be *now* employed in defence of their intended invasion of that country. There was a time, it is true, when that system of religion which Louis the 18th sought to revive in France, was reviled by us. We ridiculed the credulity of the French people and their devotion to their priests. But now we find this religion is so intimately connected with the principles of social order, that it has become our bounden duty to uphold it (at least on the Continent) with all our might and power. We formerly prayed for the downfall of, “that man of sin, the Pope;” now, we rejoice at his restoration! We formerly called the Jesuits the “Devil’s own gang;” now, better informed, we have discovered they are a “highly respectable and enlightened body of Christians!!!” The destruction of the Inquisition was long and ardently wished by us; now, better acquainted with the principles of social order, we are perfectly satisfied with its *revival!!!* There are many political reasons why we cannot make peace with Bonaparte. He professes to have returned to “the principles of 1789.” Should this be the case, “the French people will be *really represented* in the legislature:” they will be more free than they ever were before, and the *numerous advantages* arising from their *revolution* will be secured to them. What *fellowship* can such a state of things in France have with *ours* in England? There can be no agreement between them: this must be obvious to every one; I need not, therefore, enlarge on this subject. There was a time, indeed, when it was thought the people of England had the greatest concern in the making of laws; that taxation and representation should go hand in hand; but now the admirable maxims of the late Bishop Horsely, of

immortal memory, that the people have nothing to do with the laws but to *obey* them, nor with the taxes but to *pay* them, are become much more fashionable. It is not long ago we contended that people had a right to choose their *own rulers* and forms of government: now, “the *social system*” of the late *glorious Congress*, that people are the *property* of kings, is most warmly approved and supported! Formerly an assassin was thought the most detestable of wretches; *now* a hand-bill is posted up in the streets of London offering £2000 for the murder of Napoleon! Now, then, Sir, you see plainly why our ministers *cannot* make peace with the French Emperor. You perceive it is you and your party who have remained *stationary*, while the rest of us have improved in religious, moral, and political knowledge! *Peace and liberty* is the cry of those detestable and irreligious rebels the French. *War, taxation, and Louis the 18th* be ours. Our cause is most *religious* and *just*. The example of France is most *dangerous*. Let us not grudge to spend our last shilling, and shed our last drop of blood in ousting the abominable Napoleon from the throne, where the French people have placed him, in order that so *successful an instance of national rebellion* against a *pious King* may not go unpunished. Yours, &c.

A FRIEND TO SOCIAL ORDER.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

SIR,—A nation must learn to cease warring against the liberties of another country before it can learn to defend its own. I trust that adversity is destined to perfect the character of Bonaparte, and the liberties and long glory of France.—His twenty days tranquil progress through innumerable perils of every kind, calm and benign, with his small band of friends, over a space arduous for a single traveller, in the same time, from the gulph of St. Juan to the metropolis and throne of France, has no parallel in history, and throws all, even his victories, into shade! It is delightful indeed to see Carnot at the head of the administration of the interior, that great mind, prompt, firm, open and independent at all times, which plied not when myriads stooped, but remained erect and unmoved. Philosophy, true politics,

liberty, peace, order, and humanity, must all rejoice in this decisive appointment, and on the suppression of the Censorship of the Press, and the dissolution of the Pseudo-Senate and degraded Chamber of Deputies, who would submit to deliberate, as it was called, on a change of government, without any authority from the people, and with an host of invading and besieging strangers at their gates. The characteristic and magnanimous instance of intrusting captured Vienna to her own troops; to which I would add his generous dismissal of the armies of Austria and Prussia; and the King and Emperor themselves—35,000 men completely in his power, speaks the man the general, the liberal statesman: his attention to this day of the wounded Austrian officers—his love, founded on knowledge and true approbation, of the arts and sciences—his remembrance of the widow of Rousseau, when neglected and in indigence—his power during his late astonishing enterprize over the best feelings of the human heart, which no man ever has to such an extent, unless those feelings have first possession of his own:—all these contradict the disgusting and horrible portraits by which our abandoned papers have endeavoured to feed and enflame eternal war.—The *Suffolk Chronicle* would not insert my letter in which I endeavoured to obtain a REQUISITION to the HIGH SHERIFF, to call, as early as possible, a County Meeting, to consider of a Petition to prevent our being made a party to a war for the purpose of interfering with the internal government of France, after the clearest and fullest manifestation of the national will.

CAPEL LOFT.

REPORT ON THE RETALIATING SYSTEM, &c.

The following is a report made by a committee of the senate, on the subject of the pretences whereon our late enemy justified his devastations of private property and of public buildings, unconnected with the purposes of war. As great pains have been taken by the factious prints to discolour the facts on this subject, with a view to palliate the atrocities committed at Washington and elsewhere by the British forces, in violation of the usages of war and the dictates of humanity, it is satisfactory to receive a statement of facts on this head from the highest authority,

and in an unquestionable shape. These facts, it will be seen, contradict the aspersions which have been unnaturally cast by some of our own citizens on their country's honour, with the view solely to support pretensions of our then enemy, which are now decisively proven to have been wholly groundless.

Nat. Intel.

In Senate, March 3, 1815.

The Committee on foreign relations, to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States on the 26th of September last, respecting the unauthorised mode of warfare adopted by the enemy, on the plea of retaliation, report, that, although the war has happily terminated, they deem it important to rescue the American government from unworthy imputations with which it has been assailed during its progress. They have, therefore, endeavoured to ascertain whether the destruction of York, in Upper Canada, and the other cases assumed by our late enemy, as authorising a departure from the settled rules of civilized warfare, were of a character to justify or extenuate their conduct. The result of the inquiries of the Committee, manifesting to the world, that the plea which has been advanced for the destruction of the American capital, and the plunder of private property, is without foundation, will be found in the communications of the secretaries of the departments of war and navy, and of General Dearborn, commander of the American forces in the attack on York, herewith submitted.

Department of State, Feb. 28, 1815.

SIR—I have had the honour to receive your letter, requesting, on behalf of the committee of foreign relations, any information which this department possesses, relative to the misconduct that has been imputed to the American troops in Upper Canada during the late war, and in reply, I have the honour to state, that the charges appear to be confined to three. 1st, The alleged burning of York; 2d, the burning of Newark, and 3d, the burning of the Indian villages usually called the Moravian towns. 1st. The burning of York, or any of its public edifices or of any of its private houses, has never been presented to the view of the American government by its own officers, as matter of information;

and it never was exhibited by the British government, or any of its officers, as matter of complaint; until it was asserted in the address of the governor in chief to the provincial parliament of Canada, on the 24th of January, 1815, "that as a just retribution, the proud capitol at Washington; has experienced a similar fate to that inflicted by an American force on the seat of government in Upper Canada." This assertion, having led to an inquiry, I am enabled, from official documents, and general information, to state the following facts of the case, for the information of the committee. The town of York, in Upper Canada, was taken by the American army under the command of General Dearborn, on the 27th of April, 1813, and it was evacuated on the succeeding 1st of May; although it was again visited for a day, by an American squadron under the command of Commodore Chauncey, on the 4th of August. At the time of the capture, the British troops on their retreat set fire to their magazine, and great injury was done by the explosion, to property as well as to persons within the range of its effects. At the time of the capture, as well as at the time of Commodore Chauncey's visit, the public stores were seized, and the public store houses were destroyed; but the destruction of public edifices for civil uses, or of private property, was not only unauthorised, but positively forbidden by the American commanders; and it is understood that no private house was destroyed by the American troops. It has recently, however, appeared, that a public building, of little value, called the Parliament House (not the Government House) in which it is said that an American scalp was found, as a part of the decoration of the speaker's chair, had been burnt; whether it was so, and if it was, whether it was an accidental consequence of the confusion in which the explosion of the magazine involved the town, or the unauthorised act of some exasperated individual, has not been ascertained. The silence of the military and civil officers of the provincial government of Canada, seem to indicate that the transaction was not deemed, when it occurred, a cause, either for retaliation or reproach.—2d. The burning of Newark, adjacent to fort George, occurred on the 10th December, 1813.—The act was vindicated

by the American general, as necessary to his military operations; but as soon as the American government heard of it, instructions, dated the 6th of January, 1814, were given by the department of war, to major general Wilkinson, "to disavow the conduct of the officer who committed it, and to transmit to governor Provost a copy of the order, under colour of which that officer had acted." This disavowal was accordingly communicated, and on the 10th Feb. 1814, governor Provost answered, "that it had been with great satisfaction he had received the assurance, that the perpetration of the burning of the town of Newark, was both unauthorised by the American government, and abhorrent to every American feeling; that if any outrages had ensued the wanton and unjustifiable destruction of Newark, passing the bounds of just retaliation, they were to be attributed to the influence of irritated passions, on the part of the unfortunate sufferers by that event, which, in a state of active warfare, it had not been possible altogether to restrain, and that it was as little congenial to the disposition of his majesty's government, at it was to that of the government of the United States, deliberately to adopt any plan of policy, which had for its object the devastation of private property." But the disavowal of the American government was not the only expiation of the unauthorized offence committed by its officer; for the British government undertook itself, to redress the wrong. A few days after the burning of Newark the British and Indian troops crossed the Niagara for this purpose; they surprized and seized fort Niagara; they burnt the villages of Lewistown, Manchester, Tuscarora, Buffalo, and Black Rock, desolating the whole of the Niagara frontier, and dispersing the inhabitants, in the extremity of the winter. Sir George Prevost himself appears to have been satisfied with the vengeance that had been inflicted; and, in his proclamation of the 12th of January, 1814, he expressly declared, that for the burning of Newark, "the opportunity of punishment had occurred; that a full measure of retaliation had taken place, and that it was not his intention to pursue further a system of warfare, so revolting to his own feelings, and so little congenial to the British character, unless the future measures of the enemy should compel him again to resort to it." With

his answer to Major-General Wilkinson, which has been already noticed, he transmitted a copy of the proclamation, "as expressive of the determination as to his future line of conduct," and added, "that he was happy to learn, that there was no probability, that any measures, on the part of the American government, would oblige him to depart from it."—3d. The places usually called the Moravian towns, were mere collections of Indian huts and cabins, on the river Retrench or Thames, not probably worth, in the whole, one thousand dollars. The Indians who inhabit them, among whom were some notoriously hostile to the United States, had made incursions the most cruel into their territory. When, therefore, the American army under General Harrison invaded Canada on the of , 1813, the huts and cabins of the hostile Indians were destroyed. But this species of warfare has been invariably pursued by every nation engaged in war with the Indians of the American Continent. However it may be regretted on the score of humanity, it appears to be the necessary means of averting the still greater calamities of savage hostility; and it is believed, that the occurrence would never have been made the subject of a charge against the American troops, if the fact had not been misrepresented or misunderstood. Many people at home, and most people abroad, have been led to suppose, that the Moravian towns were the peaceable settlements of a religious sect of Christians, and not the abode of a hostile tribe of savages.—I have the honour to be, &c.

JAS. MONROE.

To the Hon. Wm. W. Bibb,
Chairman of the Committee on foreign relations.

Navy Department, February 18, 1815.

SIR.—In compliance with the request of the committee of the senate, communicated to me by your note of the 14th, current, I have the honor to transmit to you, herewith, *extracts* from the letters of commodore Chauncey to the secretary of the navy, on the subject of destroying the public storehouses and stores at York, in Upper Canada, and which is all the information in this department on that subject. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

B. W. CROWLINSHIELD.

Hon. Wm. W. Bibb,
Chairman of a Committee of the Senate.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Isaac Chauncey, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

Off York, U. C. April, 20, 1813.

"The enemy set fire to some of the principal stores, containing large quantities of naval and military stores, as well as a large ship upon the stocks, nearly finished."

From the same to the same, dated

Off Niagara, Aug. 14, 1815.

"In the evening of the 30th ult. we weighed and stood for York, arrived and anchored in that harbour, at about 3, P. M. on the 31st; ran the schooners into the upper harbour, landed the marines and soldiers, under the command of Col. Scott, without opposition; found several hundred barrels of flour and provisions in the public storehouses, five pieces of cannon, eleven boats, and a quantity of shot, shells, and other stores; all which was either destroyed or brought away. On the 1st inst. after having received on board all that the vessels could take, I directed the barracks and public store houses to be burned; we then re-embarked the men, and proceeded to this place, where we arrived yesterday."

Letter from General Henry Dearborn to the Hon. Joseph B. Varnum, a member of the Senate.

Boston, October 17, 1814.

DEAR SIR.—In reply to your letter of the 11th instant. I assure you in the most explicit manner, that no public or private buildings were burned or destroyed by the troops under my command, at York, in Upper Canada, excepting two block-houses, and one or two sheds belonging to the navy yard.—I placed a strong guard in the town with positive orders to prevent any plunder or depredation on the inhabitants; and when leaving the place, a letter was received from Judge Scott, chief justice of the superior court, in which he expressed his thanks for the humane treatment the inhabitants had experienced from our troops, and for my particular attention to the safety of their persons and property. A frigate, on the stocks, and a large storehouse, containing their naval stores, were set on fire by the enemy, subsequent to their offer of surrendering the troops and public property. Several of the most valuable public buildings, con-

nected with their principal military positions, were destroyed by the explosion of their magazine, which proved so fatal to our troops; and although there were strong provocations for burning and destroying the town, nothing of the kind took place, more than I have already mentioned, either by the army or navy. Yours' with respectful esteem, H. DEARBORN.

Hon. Joseph B. Varnum.

PETITIONS AGAINST THE WAR.

The example of the Livery of London has not been followed by the Citizens of Nottingham alone. In the City of Westminster, and in the Borough, petitions have been voted by the electors against involving the country in all the horrors of a new war with France. These, I am afraid, will have little effect, if the Allies, as is pretended, are bent on renewing the work of slaughter. These are not the times when the people are to expect that their voice will be heard, even by their representatives. But who have they to blame for this? Why, none but themselves. It is they who have all along willingly contributed to carry on the war. It is they, many of them, who now make the greatest noise about the pernicious consequences of the last war, that were the first to call for it. Poor drivellers! do they suppose that after investing corruption with the vast power they have done; after giving it the unlimited controul of the national purse; after submitting the neck to that yoke; do these credulous dupes of a crafty system expect, that the noisy lamentations they now set up to procure attention will be met with any thing but a *deaf ear*. No, no; it is not the way to tame the jackal to feed him with human flesh; it is not the way to eradicate corruption to pour plenty into the lap of the corrupt. Those who have all along been *sincere* in their desire for peace have been but few in number. They are entitled, and have a legitimate claim, to be heard, but I have little com-

passion for the many who first called for the war, and who would still call for it, if they thought it for their *interest*. For such men as these I feel no regret; they merit all the calamities they have endured; they are the victims of their own folly and avarice; they are justly punished for their cupidity.—What measures may be necessary to induce the legislature to lend a willing ear to the petitions against the threatened war, it is not for me to say; but after the way in which the petitions against the Corn Bill were received, I do not expect a favorable result, even although nine-tenths of our population were to remonstrate against the measure. The country has supplied the means of commencing, at least, the war. Those now possessing these means, have given pretty good proofs that they are not of disposing minds for peace. It is useless, therefore, to talk to them on that subject. Have all those, who are now petitioning against the war, been careful not to contribute to its support? How can they expect, after opening their purses, and willingly paying their quota of war taxes, that they should have any thing else but war?—It is the *taxes* that occasions all the mischief. It is the *taxes*, the soul and sinews of war, which have involved the country in its present distress. Until, therefore, measures are adopted, and constitutional measures there are, to bring these taxes within moderate bounds, war we must have, war we shall have, and war will sooner or later involve the country in irrecoverable ruin.

TRIUMPH OF WESTMINSTER, AND PURITY OF ELECTION.—The friends of freedom will, I am persuaded, be gratified to learn, that the *eight* anniversary of Sir Francis Burdett's election to represent the city of Westminster, is to be held in the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on Tuesday the 23d instant; and that Sir Francis is to be in the Chair.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Botley, near Southampton, 20th May. 1815.

I have, within these few days, had tendered to me, through the *Post*, a small parcel from America, with "*newspapers*" written on it. This parcel had, as appears by the *Post-mark*, been sent from *Liverpool* to *London*, and from *London* to *Botley*. The charge on it was *nine shillings and six-pence sterling*; that is to say, however, in our paper money, being about, at this time, *a dollar and a half*. I did not take the parcel, of course, much as I wished to see its contents. From this account, it will be perceived, that, unless parcels of newspapers, coming from America, be actually conveyed by the bearer of them either to me at *Botley* (which can seldom happen), or to *London*, the object in sending them must be defeated; for, a file of daily papers, for only one month, sent to me by post from any out-port, would cost, at least, the price of a good large fat hog. I remember one parcel, which came to me, charged with *nine pounds some odd shillings of postage*, which is now the price of a hog of seventeen score weight.—As I am very desirous to receive, frequently, papers from America, and as the papers in that country are not, as ours are, loaded with a tax equal to more than one half of their retail price, I will point out the manner in which they may be sent to me.—The parcel should be addressed to me by name, "*to the care of the Publisher of Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, London.*" But, it ought, if the vessel go to *London*, to be carried by the master, or mate, or by some careful person; and, if the vessel arrive at some out-port, the parcel, with the same direction on it, should be carried to some office, whence a *London Coach* departs. There it should be delivered, and the bearer should see it *booked*, as we call it.—By these means American papers will reach me with very little trouble, and at an expence of which I should think nothing.—All *single letters* from America

may be addressed to me at *Botley*, near *Southampton*, and be put, at once, into any post-office in this country.—The hirelings, who conduct nine-tenths of the newspapers in *London*, have all possible facilities in receiving American newspapers. But, they publish from them that only which suits their purpose. Their object is to mislead the people here; or, to keep them in the dark; and, they cull out every passage calculated to answer this end. Besides, there are very few papers (the *National Intelligencer* excepted), which are sent to *England*, except the papers called *Federal*. The persons who send these papers, if not *English* by birth, are *English* by connection. Thus we see only one side of the picture; and hence it was, that malignant and beastly as is the Editor of our *Times* newspaper, for instance, the fellow really might be deceived himself by the cookoo clamour of the Aristocratical American newspapers; but, hence, though I could get a sight of none but the same sort of papers, *I was not deceived*, because I had had that experience, which enabled me to put a proper value upon what I saw in these papers.—It is of great consequence to the cause of truth and freedom, that the Republican papers should come to us from America, and that other Republican works should also reach us; for, it is from this Island that opinions and facts go forth to produce impression on the mind of the world. Bound up as our press is, we, by one means or another, contrive to get a great deal into circulation. We are nearer the grand scenes of action than you are; and, if you wish your principles and your example to have their due and speedy effect, we must be the principal vehicle of them.—Some one at *Philadelphia* has recently sent me a parcel of American papers, received at *Philadelphia* from other places, from which I perceive, that my *Letters to Lord Liverpool* have been re-published in all parts of the Republic, from *Boston* to *Savannah*, from *Philadelphia* to *Pittsburgh*. Flattering as this is to my self-love, it is much more gratifying to me as a proof of the powers of the press, and

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as the foundation of a rational hope, that the day is not distant, when tyranny, wherever it may exist, will fall beneath those powers.—Letter VI. to the Earl of Liverpool, I wrote, I remember, in a room in a farm-house, one morning when I was detained by rain. I might have thought it; but, certainly I had not then the most distant idea, that what I was then writing, would so quickly come back to me, in another print, after having been read on the banks of the Ohio and those of the Mississippi.—This single fact; the sight of only one such print, is to me more than a compensation for all that I have suffered in the cause of Truth and Freedom. But, it is of far greater importance as a stimulant to future exertion, and as suggesting additional care in planning and executing.—But, why should not the *friends of Freedom* co-operate? We see how firmly bound together its enemies are; how they, for the furtherance of their grand object, mutually sacrifice all their prejudices and even their petty conflicting interests. You have heard the Saints of Hertford rejoice at the restoration of the Pope. The Holy Father has embraced the Dey of Algiers, who calls him a Christian Dog.—Why should not we aid each other? You are better off than we are. You have free presses in every sea-port; your sea-ports are numerous; your masters of vessels have a direct communication with you; you can easily come at all that we publish. While your continent, and all its presses and literary productions, are shut from us by hundreds of obstacles of which you have no idea, our enemies have their regular correspondences, their communications always open; they know here all that is passing in your country; while we are wholly in the dark; while we are deprived of the use of all those powerful weapons, which your unrestrained press would put into our hands.—I hope that these considerations will be sufficient to induce some one of you, at least, to forward to me, in the manner above pointed out, such papers and other publications, as are likely to be of benefit to the cause of Truth and Freedom, and of which you can want no assurance of my *will*, at any rate, to make the best possible use.—America now begins to make a great figure in the world; but, her *example*, which, if made universally known, would be of more weight than her military or naval

power is, from the causes above stated, of comparatively little service.—I take this opportunity of expressing my best thanks to MR. MATHEW CAREY, of Philadelphia, for a very excellent pamphlet, which he has had the goodness to send me, entitled, “*A Calm Address to the People of the Eastern States, on the Subject of the Representation of Slaves; the Representation in the Senate; and the Hostility to Commerce, ascribed to the Southern States.*”—I should be obliged to some one to send me any work, or works, giving an account of the *Expences of the Government, and State Governments of America*; also of her shipping, commerce, debts, taxes, &c. &c. And, if Mr. CAREY, or some other person equally capable, would spend a few hours in giving me an account of the prices of *provisions and labour*, I should deem it a particular favour. These may have changed since I left America.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have (22d May) received, from some friend in Philadelphia, a small file of *Aurora*, containing the “*EXPOSITION of the CAUSES and CHARACTER of the War.*” This paper, it appears, is *official*, and was ready for *official promulgation*, just at the time when the news of the Peace arrived. I never read so able a paper; never one calculated to produce so great an impression. It is an invaluable document for history: a noble monument of the power of the human mind. If our government have received this paper, and if they will but read it carefully, they will, I am sure, clearly see, that any attempt either to delude, subdue, or check the rise of America, must fail of success.—The paper would fill about four whole Registers, perhaps. But, though I cannot insert it; it will be of great use to me; and I beg the sender to accept of my best thanks.

LETTER III.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the hope of success, in a War against France, which hope is founded on the discontents said to exist in that country.

MY LORD,—I learn, through the *Times* newspaper, that these letters of mine, addressed to you, are regularly *re-published in France*; so that we are in a fair way of

descending to posterity together; a consideration which cannot, of course, fail to encourage me in a continuance of the correspondence. The *Times* recommends to you and your colleagues to put a stop, *by the strong hand of power*, to writings like mine, in order to prevent their being transfused into the French language; and, it does this in the same breath, in which it calls upon this burdened nation to make war upon France, because (as it falsely asserts) she has a *tyrant* at the head of her government. Such are the writers, who call for war against the French people: such, if you plunge us into war, will be your *friends and supporters*. I have been told, that, amongst other means, that have been made use of to impede the circulation of the Register, it has been forbidden to be taken in at *Army Mess-Rooms* and in *Ward-Rooms on board of Ships of War*. I have never complained of this. But, my Lord, it is very hard, if I am to be permitted to have readers neither *abroad* nor at *home*. And, what a *cause* must that be, which thus wishes to silence by the strong hand of power, all its opponents!

But the subject on which I am now about to address your Lordship, is of a more serious nature. The partisans of war, always blind to the past, appear to be very busily engaged, at this time, in providing for themselves, in advance, every species of disappointment and mortification. They have, as in the case of America, spoken with so much confidence of success; with so much contempt of the adversary; and with so much insolence have they treated him and the whole of the French nation, that, were they not notoriously dead to all sense of shame, they must, in case of failure, commit upon themselves that act, which they would richly merit from the hands of a personage who is about upon their own level in point of occupation. They have now started new game; they have now discovered new ground of hope. They now tell us that France is in a state of commotion, and almost of rebellion, against Napoleon; and, that when once the allied armies begin to move into France, the whole nation will declare for the King.

My Lord, you know this to be false; but, it is no more than merely the second chapter of the delusions practised with regard to America. These same writers told us, that the people of America were hos-

tile to Mr. Madison; that commotions were actually in existence; that the States were upon the eve of dividing; that the President was about to be impeached; and, that we ought not to make peace, till he was *deposed and punished*. They now tell us of divisions and commotions in France. This is now the lure to entice us into an approbation of war.

And, my Lord, to what do these commotions amount? That there are discontented persons in France; that the Bourbons have partisans amongst ex-nobles and ex-priests, who had begun again to scent the sweets of feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny, is so natural, that it would be miraculous indeed, if there were not troubles in the interior of France. But to what do they amount? We hear of *breaches of the peace*; we hear of political squabbling; we hear of angry and violent disputes; but where, since the surrender of the Duke of Angoulême, do we hear of any thing like a powerful opposition to the present order of things? We are told, by the *Times* newspaper, that, in one particular instance, cannon has been brought to *defend the barracks* against the people.

But, my Lord, the very same papers are compelled to confess, that some of the *Belgian* troops have been actually killed, and others wounded in an effort to go over to the French; that, at *Liege*, some of the Saxon (*now* Prussian) soldiers have mutinied, refused to march, and have even attempted acts of violence on the "dear old Blucher," whose whiskers the nasty wretches in London, calling themselves "Ladies," were beastly enough to slobber. Nay, we are told, and that, too, in a proclamation under his own hand, that "he has *escaped assassination*." We read, in proclamations of the King of Prussia, that to *speak in favour of Napoleon* is to be *punished with the utmost severity*. And yet, we are not to be permitted to doubt, that all the nations on the Continent are very hearty in the cause against France; while the most insignificant riot in France we are to look upon as the certain sign of national hostility to the present government.

If, my Lord, the same criterion were applied to *ourselves*, what should we say? We have seen, and, I believe, we now see, more than one county in Ireland *proclaimed* to be in a state of *disturbance*; we saw, not long ago, counties in England

in a similar state; we have, within these few years, seen a Prime Minister shot in the lobby of the House of Commons, and we saw great numbers of troops brought to London and stationed at no great distance from the place of Mr. Bellingham's execution. The newspapers informed us, that, in the disturbed counties in England, the Judges were guarded by troops of the line. Mr. Bankes is reported, in our newspapers, to have said, not long since, in the House of Commons, that the *military* were sometimes called in to assist in *collecting the taxes* in your country, Ireland. The newspapers have recently told us of two instances, at *Norwich* and at *Lynn*, in England, where the *German troops* were employed to keep the people from committing violence. And, how long, how many weeks is it since troops of the line were brought to prevent *your own house* from being demolished, as those of the Lord Chancellor and the Chief Judge's had been? Nay, were not troops of the line brought to defend the *Parliament House* and its Members against the *people*; and that, too, only about nine weeks, or ten weeks ago? Is there any thing going on in France equal to these occurrences? And, yet, does any one pretend, that this government is, or has been, likely to be overthrown? It is said, from the German papers, that Napoleon takes *precautions against assassination*; and, surely, my Lord, after all that has been promulgated, and even attempted, such precautions cannot be thought wholly unnecessary. But, does this argue, that the *nation* hate him? Our gracious and beloved King went to the Parliament House, and to the Play, of late years, in a *bullet-proof coach*; but, did that fact argue, that he was *hated by his people*?

Every trifle, the words, or pretended words, of any individual, hostile to Napoleon, is greedily caught at and carefully retailed out, by the writers in London. If the press of Paris were to pursue this mode with regard to our government, what would it make of the pithy precepts and sentiments, *written on the walls in and about London*, where any one may easily find words in *praise* of Napoleon, but I will not say what is to be found with regard to *others*. Why, if the walls of Paris were written over in such a way as to Napoleon and his government, we should be told *hourly* to expect to hear of his total destruction.

What *reason* have we, then, to suppose that he is not liked by the people of France? *How came he at Paris*? What but the good wishes, the anxious desires, of the *people*, took him thither? What! are we to be made believe, that he, who went, not only without an army, but almost without companions of any sort, 500 miles through cities and towns fortified, and arrived in the capital without having seen a single hand raised against him; are we to believe, that he is now *hated* by the people of France? And, are we to believe, that Louis, who found not a single man to defend his throne; whose departure was as quiet as if he had been a traveller, lodged at an hotel; who, with all the armies, all the civil authorities, all the treasures of the country, at his command, could not, though he offered immense rewards, obtain the support of any dozen of persons: are we to believe, that the *whole* of the French nation are *now* for this king?

We are told, that the measures of *police*, which have been adopted in France, prove that Napoleon and his government feel themselves in danger. But, my Lord, let us bear in mind, that, during the war against the French Republic, the *Habens Corpus Act* was suspended in England for seven years, and that the King and council imprisoned, without trial, for any length of time, any man whom they thought it right to imprison; and, that, in Ireland, *martial law* was in existence at several periods, and for a great length of time. Yet, did any one ever presume to say, that the King and his government were hated by the nation?

We are told also to look at the *French funds*, and to conclude from their price, that the nation are disaffected towards the government. I have shewn; I have *proved*, in my last number, that the French funds are very nearly as high in price as ours are. I have demonstrated this: but, is there no other cause for low price of public funds in France besides that of the *disaffection of the people*? The wonder is, that when a million of men are preparing to invade France, the funds sell for any thing at all. Their being at 60, under such circumstances, proves the *great confidence of the nation*. If we were upon the point of being actually invaded; if we saw only 100 thousand men on board of boats in Bologne harbour ready to sail for England, and had *no defence but a land*

defence, what price do you think *our funds* would be at? Yet, the French see many hundreds of thousands of men armed against them; they know that they have to depend only on their arms for defence; they have no sea to protect them; they know that their country is liable to be invaded every hour: still their funds are nearly at as good a price as ours. What reason, therefore, have we to conclude from the price of the funds, that the French nation are disaffected towards their government? But suppose the funds were to experience in France a greater fall. What have we seen in *England*? Why, we saw the Bank stop payment in 1797, not upon an actual invasion by an army, but merely upon the report of an *invasion being intended*, though we had the whole country armed, and though we had a fleet to defend us of more than 500 ships of war! It was then that the Bank obtained an act of parliament to enable it to *refuse* to pay its own notes in money. From that time it has not paid in money, except in a trifling degree. Since that, laws have been passed to make Bank notes a legal tender, and to prohibit the sale of guineas. Yet, no one has presumed to say that the nation hated the king, and that the people would not fight to defend the country against foreign invasion. Why, therefore, are we to conclude that the French nation hate Napoleon, because the French funds are at a low price?

I think it is clear, then, that we have no good reason to rely for assistance in war, if war should be finally resolved on, on the dislike of the people of France to their government. We must rely, I think *solely* upon the force of our arms and those of our Allies; and, if all the people of France are heartily opposed to us, what prospect have we of *ultimate* success?

On the other hand, how do the people of England feel as to this expected war? There have been petitions, or remonstrances, against it in London, Westminster, Nottingham, and others are preparing. But, where have we seen a meeting to *approve* of the war? For the war of 1793 there were Meetings in abundance. Not one in favour of this war. It is not to be doubted, that the Noblesse and the Clergy and other persons would call Meetings in favour of war, if the *public* feeling was at all for war. Yet not one such Meeting

has been called, except in the town of *Plymouth*, whose address *for war* is considered in the same light as the *protestant Fishermen* of Newfoundland giving "*the Pope*" as a standing toast. The truth is, that, from one end of the country to the other, the feeling of the people is against war. There is not one man, or woman, out of ten, who does not condemn the presumptuous notice of making war upon France to compel her to change her Chief Magistrate. The case is so plain, that all men understand it. They all say, that we have no business to intermeddle. The question admits of no disguise. For this time even the craft of the prostituted newspapers cannot succeed in deceiving the people. Therefore, if you still resolve to enter upon this war, you find no *voluntary contributions*; you will find very little zeal on the part of the mass of the people; and, if events should compel you to make peace, you will find yourselves in such a situation as no English Ministry were ever before in. You will then feel the real effect of that system of politics begun by Pitt, which system has been pursued from 1792 'till the present hour.

I am, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 23d May, 1815.

TO

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

On the Pitt System of war against France.

Botley, 24th May, 1815.

SIR,—Your speech, delivered at the Westminister Meeting, last week, has led to a train of reflections in my mind, which I cannot refrain from laying before the public, and, in order that they may have a better chance of possessing some little merit in the eyes of my readers, I address them immediately to you.

From the out-set of the wars against the Republic of France, you contended, that the result would be *injurious to England*. I will, for the present, leave aside the *real motives* of the wars, and will merely consider *their effects*, as they have hitherto developed themselves. You contended, that we ought to have left the French nation to itself; that, justice and morality and freedom out of the question, the English nation would, in the end, *greatly suffer* in consequence of war against France. That, therefore, wisdom,

sound policy, bade our government remain at peace. The politics of PITT first, and afterwards of LORDS GRENVILLE and GREY, of PERCIVAL and LORD CASTLEREAGH, were directly opposed to yours. They were for war, and (leaving justice out of the question), they said it was *necessary*, in order to prevent the contagion of French principles. They said, that they were aware that great sacrifices would be necessary; but, that it was better to sacrifice a part than the whole of our property and our religion into the bargain. They asserted, that France was in the gulph of bankruptcy; and, that if we expended much, she would be *totally ruined*.

The war began. France, instead of being conquered, became a conqueror. France, in the year 1797, had got rid of almost the whole of her debt, and her currency was *gold*, while, in that same year, the Bank of England obtained an Act of Parliament to enable it to refuse to pay its bills in money. Still the war raged, till, at last, in 1814, we saw the Bourbons actually replaced upon the throne of France.

This was the day of triumph with the system of Pitt! Now it was, that you were tauntingly reminded of your long opposition to the war. Now it was, that you were called upon to confess your error, and to go and perform "*an act of penitence at the foot of the statue of Pitt.*" You were better employed. You were fox-hunting, I believe. In the mean while the nation was drunk with joy. Bonfires, bell-ringing, roasting oxen, illuminations, sham-fights, temples of victory, triumphal arches. The country resounded with the boast of our having *gloriously triumphed at last*; of our long perseverance having been *rewarded by a glorious result*.

But, it did not require the return of Napoleon to make the nation feel, that all this boasting was without reason, and that, while the recent events had afforded ground for transient exultation, the perseverance in the war had loaded us with lasting calamities. It did not require the return of Napoleon to convince us of this. The people had been buoyed up with the hope, that PEACE would bring them ease from the burdens which they had so long been compelled to bear. But, they soon discovered, that, *even with the Bourbons on the throne of France*, the taxes in Eng-

land could not be reduced without leaving the government to make loans in time of peace. The war had, to outward appearance, been crowned with success. The Bourbons, the Pope, the Inquisition had been restored, and "*French principles*" had been extinguished. But, in the obtaining of this success, the nation had incurred an *additonal* debt, the interest of which demanded 31 millions of pounds sterling to be raised in taxes every year *for ever*, which, with the 9 millions of taxes annually required before 1793, made 40 millions a year for ever to be raised in taxes. It was soon discovered, that the *reward* which long perseverance in the war was to receive, was never to be received. The nation, no longer amused and buoyed up by the events of war, and the hopes of its final success, began to cry out for *relief* from its burdens. Those who were able to escape from their share of these burdens, sought relief by going to live in France. The land became unable to pay the taxes, necessary to discharge the interest of the debt and to keep up the army, navy, and other establishments. A law was passed to keep out French produce, in order to enable the land in England to pay its taxes. The people cried aloud against such a measure, at a moment when they expected *cheapness* to return, and when trade, commerce, and manufactures were visibly on the decline. A shock was felt from one end of the kingdom to the other. All was now manifestly out of joint; and the government appeared to be more embarrassed than at any period of the war, not excepting even that when the Bank stopped paying its notes in money.

This was the situation of England when Napoleon returned to France. Therefore, in estimating the *Pitt system*, I have no need, unless I choose, to take into view this wonderful event; for, it seems to me, that that system would have produced all the evils that you foreboded, *if this event had never taken place*. This system had, indeed, replaced the Bourbons on the throne, contrary to your expectations and your hopes; but, it had, in doing that, destroyed the prosperity and happiness of England. It had, it was supposed, extinguished "*French principles*;" but, in order to do that, it had made paupers of, perhaps, a million of our people; and it had laid its hands on a great part of the

property and the earnings of the rest of the community. It had closed the contest by making it the interest of English people of fortune to go and live upon that fortune in France, in order to be more at their ease, and to enjoy greater happiness than they could, with the same means, enjoy at home. These were the *permanent effects* which the Pitt system had produced, *before* the return of Napoleon; and, I believe, that few men of any knowledge as to these matters, will be found to say, that we should have been able, *without some very great change at home*, to have gone on for any length of time in peace. It is notorious, that the distresses of the country were never so great as during the last twelve months. That the merchant, the manufacturer, the shop-keeper, the artisan, never experienced so great a degree of distress; and, we have recently heard it declared in the House of Commons, that the *County Jails* are now crowded with the *Cultivators of the Land*. This is what was *never before* known in England. It is a new, and the most conclusive proof, of national distress.

While England was in this state, France afforded to all who went thither, proofs of great internal prosperity. Her agriculture was pouring its super-abundance upon us, and was producing that cheapness which our people wanted, which the necessities of the government could not allow it to permit them to have. The land in France, comparatively, little burdened, was sending forth its products to cause cheapness here, and to carry back the means of fructification in its own bosom. The French loaf was driving our own out of the market, and compelling our government either to exclude it from our country, or to abstain from taking from the land in England the means of paying the interest of the debt, *occasioned by that war*, which had terminated in re-placing the Bourbons on the throne of France, and, as was thought, in extinguishing "*French principles*."

It was manifest to all men, capable of reasoning upon such subjects, that the result, if peace had continued, even with the Bourbons in France, would have been the most deplorable distress in England. It was manifest, that a large part of the rents of land, and of the dividends on stock, would have been drawn from England and expended in France; that the *undiminished* taxes would have fallen wholly

upon those persons who remained, and whose means of paying taxes would have been *diminished daily*; that the demand for labour, in all branches, would have decreased; that the nation would have become more and more languid and feeble; and this, too, while the means of France, from the migration of English of all sorts, not excepting the ablest of manufacturers, would have increased in a like proportion; and while America, our war with whom was the natural consequences of, and, indeed, made a part of, the *Pitt system*, had established manufactories to a great extent, and was coming forth, fresh, vigorous, elated, full of reputation, of hope, and of means, to enter upon a rivalry with us, not only in maritime commerce, but also in naval power.

Such was the result; such were the effects of the *Pitt system*, even as things stood previous to Napoleon's departure from Elba. Such were the effects, upon the supposition that "*French principles*" had really been extinguished in Europe. If any one deny the facts which I have stated, he will, of course, reject the conclusion at which I have been aiming; but if no one can deny these facts, no one can deny, that the Pitt system has been the most fatal that England ever saw; and that, even while the Bourbons were on the throne of France, you were justified in maintaining, that your opposition to the war had been, by the result, proved to have been founded in wisdom: not only in justice and a love of freedom, but in sound policy, having in view solely the prosperity and power of England.

But it may be said, and by some persons it will be said, that though the fact be incontestibly proved, that England has lost greatly by the war against France; though it be proved, that even with the Bourbons on the throne, her prosperity was sapped, her force greatly impaired, her people plunged in distress, and her financial overthrow clearly approaching; though all this be proved, she had *by war avoided a revolution*. If by revolution is meant *a reform in Parliament*, I agree to the assertion. But I will not, at present, contend upon this head. Granted, that we must have had *a revolution*, in the Pitt sense of the word, if we had not had war. And what then? Why, if we had had a revolution, we should, at any rate, not have been *worse off* than the people of

France; and, as we now see, the people of France are better off than they were before the revolution, and, as is agreed on all hands, I think, better off than we now are. This is proved, not by what travellers say only, but by the notorious fact, that hundreds and thousands of families went from England to live in France; and (oh! deep disgrace to the Pitt system!) by the petitions of the English Landholders themselves, who, amongst their grounds for demanding a Corn Bill, stated, with perfect truth, that they were unable to contend with the French corn-growers, because these latter were *so lightly taxed in comparison with us*, and because they were *relieved from tythes*. If, then, the French nation has gained thus by their revolution, what reason have we to say, that we have, in *avoiding a revolution*, received a *compensation* for all the distresses heaped on us by a war carried on to keep off such a revolution?

The sum of our *success*, then, even in February last, when the Bourbons were upon the throne, was, in its utmost extent, that we had preserved the *Church property*, the *Feudal Rights and Titles*, and the *Borough system*. This is the most that the Pitt system can take credit for. But, I now proceed to shew, that, even supposing it to have been most desirable to preserve all these by the extinguishment of "*French principles*," this was *not accomplished*, even if the Bourbons had remained upon the throne. The return of Napoleon has not *created anew* the French principles; it has not even *revived* those principles; it has only proved to the world, that those principles had never, for a moment, ceased to be in a state of activity.

What were these dreaded French principles? That the people ought to be taxed only by their *real representatives*; that there ought to be no *predominant church*; that the people have a right to possess the property *formerly belonging to the offending Noblesse and to the whole of the Church*; that the King, or chief Magistrate, has no right to rule *except by the will of the people*. And, with the exception of a little shuffle as to the last, more in the form than the substance, did not the Bourbons solemnly agree to reign according to these principles? This is so notorious, that no one will venture to deny it; and, what is equally notorious,

and far more important, is, that it was by endeavouring to subvert these principles, that the Bourbons, in a very few months, lost their throne. It is clear, therefore, that even with the Bourbons on the throne of France, we ~~had~~ not been able to extinguish French principles; nay, even at that time, such was the force of the *example*, that our own Landholders began openly to express feelings of *envy* at seeing their neighbours relieved from the burden of *tythes*, the ridding the country of which was one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, achievement of the French revolution. It was, really, a thing to admire: to hear the gentlemen, who had for so many years, been haranguing and marshalling their tenantry against the *sacreligious* principles of the French, telling the Parliament very gravely, that the French were better off than themselves because they had got rid of *tythes*; and, in that word, as you will clearly perceive, is included the Bishops' revenues and the whole of the Church Establishment.

Now, then, in coming towards the *prospect before us*, if the Pitt system had accomplished no one of the objects it contemplated, even supposing the Bourbons to have remained on the throne of France, what hope is there in continuing that same system? It would be very wonderful indeed, if we were by war to succeed in overthrowing Napoleon a second time; but, if he were to die a natural death; to be killed in battle; or, to be assassinated; what *end* would that answer? Is it to be believed, that amongst the Carnots, the Marats, the Fouches, the Caulincourts, and hundreds of others; men capable of writing such papers as we have recently seen from their pens, and which papers put to shame that poverty of talent which we see opposed to them: is it to be believed, that, amongst all these famous men, none would be to be found to carry on the government and to direct its forces, in case Napoleon should lose his life? If, during the heat of the revolution, we saw assembly after assembly dissolved; committee succeed committee; changes in the chiefs; the rise of one faction over another; and still the French armies always faithful to their colours and their country. If we saw this, during so many years of internal commotion and foreign war; amidst all the turmoil of paper money, confiscation, and sometimes famine, what

reason have we to suppose, that the safety of France and the support of her principles depend now solely upon the life of *one man*? the *greatest* man, I allow; great beyond any man that France, or the world, ever before saw. But, I am not disposed to pay him the hyperbolic compliment to admit the supposition, that the safety and freedom of the French nation hang upon his single life,

What, then, will the Pitt system have done for us, even if it should succeed in destroying the life of this wonderful man? The idea, that a nation like England should bear to be told, that its well-being requires the death of a foreign sovereign, is truly disgraceful to the human character. But, as to the fact, how could such an event tend to relieve from their fears those who are so anxious to see "*French principles*" extinguished?

It is impossible to say who might succeed Napoleon as the head of the government; or what form, or title, the executive part of that government might assume. But, if the Chief were called Emperor, King, Consul, or President, what doubt can there be, that the basis of his authority would be the same, that the nature of the government would undergo little change, that the rights and property of the people would remain unshaken? And, if this were the case, nothing would have been gained by war, even in the way of extinguishing "*French principles*." Nay, the matter would be still worse; for, in all human probability, much of the imperial style, now preserved in gratitude to Napoleon, would be withdrawn, and the haters of French principles would have, staring them full in the face, a *Republic* in name, as the French nation now is in principle and essence.

But, the Pitt system proposes, perhaps, and fully expects, to place the Bourbons again upon the throne. It must do this, or, as we have seen, it does worse than nothing at all. It presumes, that it shall be able to do it, *because it has done it before*. But, this is an argument with two edges; for we may say, if you can put up the Bourbons, because you have done it once before, the French nation can drive them out again; *because they have done it twice before*. To prevent this, some of our impudent and foolish writers have openly said, that, "when we have restored the Bourbons again, we must not only

"take care, that they have proper Ministers, but we must compel them to adopt strong measures of government; and we shall have a right so to do, because our own safety and the safety of Europe demand it." So that this war (for it has been going on from the year 1792) which was begun on the alleged ground of the provocation which the Convention had given in a decree for offering assistance to oppressed foreign nations; is, according to these writers, to be wound up by our not only dictating a ruler to France, but in our appointing the ministers of that ruler, and in dictating measures to those ministers! This differs, indeed, very widely from what LALLY TOLENDAL and CHATEAUBRIAND are telling the French people from "the King's Council Chamber" at GHENT. They say: "above all, remember, that the rebellion once put down, the Usurper *once destroyed*, no foreign power will place itself between the legitimate Prince and his faithful people, to interfere with any of the political institutions, of which the proposal, the consideration, and the adoption, will belong exclusively to them." Our Times newspaper has asserted the contrary; and, really, I think the editor of that paper a better authority than Lally Tolendal or the wild old scribe, Chateaubriand, who, I think they say, has been made a Viscount.

The war, we are now told, has begun. The dispatch of Lord Clancarty says, the Allies "ARE AT WAR," and all the world knows, that France has committed no act of hostility, while she still holds out the olive branch to all Europe. In the report of the Earl of Liverpool's speech, during the debate of last Monday night, he dropped, that the object of the war was "to destroy that SYSTEM," which was now existing in France. The Times newspaper of Tuesday last has this passage:—"La Vendee has risen! It may be recollected, that we not long ago noticed the sailing of a secret expedition, consisting of several ships of war. These ships sailed from Falmouth, and were destined to the coast of La Vendee, to supply the loyalists in that country with a quantity of arms of every description, in conformity with their earnest solicitations. According to advices received on Sunday by Government, the landing of the arms had been effected with great

“management and address, and they were
 “received by the people with equal grati-
 “tude. In the course of yesterday this
 “important intelligence was confirmed,
 “by the arrival of the *Cephalus* sloop of
 “war at Portsmouth from the coast of
 “France, which, according to a telegraphic
 “message to the *Admiralty*, did not quit
 “her station until it was known that the
 “*insurrection was general*, the white
 “cockade mounted, and the cause of
 “Louis XVIII. every where proclaimed.
 “Immense numbers trooped to the Royal
 “standard. Report, though probably
 “with some exaggeration, made them al-
 “ready amount to 50,000. Among the
 “leaders are the friends, the relatives,
 “the avengers of those glorious men, who
 “fell in the cause of their country in the
 “field, on the scaffold, and in the dun-
 “geon. There is the son of the truly
 “great *Charlotte*: there are the associates
 “of *Sombreuil*, and *Georges*, and *Frotte*.”

Thus, then, even before war has been
 declared, it is publicly announced, that
 we have sent arms to assist insurgents in
 France. How exactly the present state
 of things resembles the state of things in
 1793 and 1794! The following is pub-
 lished, in the *Times* newspaper of 22d
 instant, as an extract of a Proclamation,
 issued at Petersburg on the 25th of
 April, addressed to the French people:
 “You entered my territories, unprovoked,
 “with fire and sword, you plundered and
 “destroyed wherever you came; you en-
 “tered my capital, which *you laid waste*.
 “I entered your territories, and took
 “your capital, but destroyed nothing.
 “Again, unprovoked, *you raise the*
 “*sword*, and *destroy the peace of nations*.
 “*I will, now enter your territories*, once
 “more, to *conquer peace*; and *wherever*
 “*I meet with resistance, I will UTTERLY*
 “**DESTROY YOU FOR YOUR PER-**
 “**FIDY.**” Whether this be authentic or
 not, as such it has gone forth to the world,
 and, of course, to France. Louis, on his
 part, tells the French, that his *only error*
 was *too much clemency*; but there are
 times, when every thing may be pardoned
 but a *perseverance in crimes*. All this is
 so like the proclamation of the *Duke of*
Brunswick, and the proclamations from
Coblentz, that no one can pretend that it
 has the smallest pretensions to novelty.
 To wind up the whole, England has agreed

to pay subsidies to the invading conti-
 nental armies.

This is the scene of 1793 returned: *all the sovereigns of Europe combined against the French nation and its principles of government*. That this is the true Pitt system no one will deny; and, we shall now see to what it will bring France, the rest of Europe, and ourselves. The preparations on both sides are enormous; all the means of destruction that Europe affords have been collected, or are collecting; all the treasures that Europe affords are ready to pour forth; all the hostile passions are roused. That we shall witness carnage most horrible I have not the least doubt; that we shall again hear of very rigorous proceedings in France is to be expected; popular vengeance will again, perhaps, surpass the bounds of ordinary justice; the bosom of that fine country may again be lacerated by her own children as well as by their enemies; but I do not believe, that, let what else will happen, the Bourbons will ever again be placed on the throne of France; I do not believe, that the French people will ever again submit to their sway.

I grant, that, if once entered into the war, the stimulus to exertion and perseverance, on the part of the coalition of Sovereigns, will be greater than ever it has before been; for, if they be *now* compelled to leave France with her principles, after a war of any duration, they must see that those principles will not be long in making their way over all Europe, even to its utmost bounds. They must see that this is the *last war* on the subject; the *last agitation of the question*. But, on the other hand, the French people must see that their fate depends upon their exertions and perseverance. They will all now be *armed*; the whole of that populous country will be *in motion*; already the old *confederation* appear to be reviving. If there be *no neutrality* allowed out of France, we may be assured, that none will be allowed in it. If the rich be disinclined to bestir themselves, the poor will take the *riches* along with the *office of defending them*. The men who now compose the government of France are not men to stop at the end of a *part* of their means. They will say, “France *must* be defended. Without new *confiscations*; without new seizures of the

"wealth of egotists ; without new committees of surveillance ; without new revolutionary tribunals ; without a new deportation of priests and ex-nobles ; without all, or any of these, if possible ; but, at any rate, France must be defended." I lay little stress, therefore, on the accounts which are given us, of the respectable towns-people, the respectable proprietors, the respectable professional men, being for the King. These respectable people *must* march and fight, or their professions, as in the first war, will serve as a reward for those who will fight and who are without possessions.

Napoleon is very violently abused, in our newspapers, for having put 50,000 muskets into the hands of the artisans and labourers of the suburbs of Paris, who are compared to the inhabitants of Ragfair and St. Giles's. But, these writers tell us, very often, of men charged with crimes being sent by our magistrates to the fleet or the army, instead of being sent to prison as malefactors. If our country were invaded, would not the government accept of the offers of labourers and artisans ? If the rich, in France, should (I do not believe they will) endeavour to remain *neutral*, is there any chance of our seeing them so remain with impunity ? If there be one rich to five poor, and if he does not contribute the means to enable the five to act, himself setting the example, those means will, of course, be taken from him and given, in one shape or another, to the five poor. This was the principle upon which the French nation acted before ; and, if necessity again puts this principle in practice, the consequences will naturally be the same as before.

If my view of the matter be, therefore, at all near the truth, it is not a *holiday* war, on which we are about to enter. Nor is it likely to be a very halcyon time with those, whom we say we have for our friends in France, and of whose punishment, if detected, it is impossible that we can have the face to complain. "A vigour beyond the law" was justified in England at a time when England was not invaded ; when she had all Europe fighting on her side against France ; when there was scarcely a possibility of an enemy setting foot on her shore. We cannot, therefore, be surprised, if Napo-

leon should resort to a *similar* vigour, under the circumstances that are now approaching. Our writers cry aloud against Napoleon's resorting to the levy of a million, or two, of National Guards. They call this a *horrible* tyranny. To be sure, because it is formidable to his enemies, who seek his destruction. CHATEAUBRIAND, from the "Council Chamber" at Ghent, talks of the danger of this *disastrous* conscription. Well he may. But he says, that, *luckily*, the invasion of France, last year, destroyed several manufactories of arms. *Courage !* Monsieur le Viscomte de Chateaubriand ! Armless as they will be, you would not, I imagine, care to face any one of them, even with Lally Tolendal at your back. This calling out of the National Guard, Monsieur le Viscomte calls an "immense haul ; a general proscription ; an extermination of the French people at a blow ; a frightful and monstrous thing."

Turning from this sorry bombast, this ridiculous trash, we may I think, look upon it as certain, that to keep the Bourbons upon the throne of France, if once placed there, would require foreign soldiers stationed in every city, town, village and hamlet, unless those Bourbons governed upon the *present* principles. To conquer, in such a way, such a nation as France, is impossible. Language does not contain the words to describe the means of effecting such subjugation. All the hired troops in all Europe would not take from the people of France their lands, or make them pay tythes, or submit to feudal rights and laws. And yet, if this be not done, "*French principles*" remain, and the Pitt system has accomplished nothing but the distress and degradation of England and the creation of an American navy.

Thus, Sir, I think, I have shewn, that that system, which is still called the *Pitt system*, has completely failed in all that it professed to have in view, and that it is in a fair way of completely succeeding in destroying all that has supported it. But, I must not conclude without clearly protesting against being understood to ascribe this system *exclusively* to one of the two political parties who have so long been striving against each other for the possession of power. The party who are now out of place, did, when they were in place, pursue *precisely the same system*.

Indeed, they defended their measures by asserting that they were *consonant to the principles and system of Pitt*, and that he would have done the same under like circumstances. This the other party used to deny. Both parties pretended that they were, and still pretend that they are, the followers of Pitt. "*Ours is his system*," say one party. "No," say the other, "it is *we* who possess his true system." Like the two convents of monks, who, in their holy zeal, blackguarded each other for four centuries, each of them swearing that they possessed exclusively the real cross on which Christ was crucified. A mutual friend to these ghostly brotherhoods, at one time, interfered, recommending a *miracle* to make *both* real crosses. But this did not suit the brotherhood whose cross happened to be in vogue, as they would thereby have let their rivals in for a share of the offerings.

No miracle is, however, necessary in the case before us. The people of England, long ago cured of party delusions; long ago sickened by the professions of hunters after place; long ago disgusted with the wrangling of the OUTS and the INS, whom they have constantly seen unite and cordially co-operate against reform; the people are quite willing to give them *both* credit for possessing the *real Pitt system*, and to believe, that, if those who are now OUTS were INS, they would do precisely that which is now doing, and that which will be done, by their opponents.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
your faithful and obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

AMERICA AND ALGIERS.

As the war, which has now begun between the "*Democratic Rulers*" of America and the "*Regular Government*" of Algiers, may lead to important consequences, it is proper to insert here the grounds of this war, as far as we can come at them. We have the American official documents only. America has a tell-tale sort of government. It has no state secrets. It blabs out the proceedings in negotiations, while the negotiators are still assembled. Not so the Regular Government of Algiers, which is one of the "*ancient and venerable institutions*" which the Bostonian Noblesse so much admire; one of the "*gems in the crown of ancient glory*,"

of which Mr. Chateaubriand speaks so feelingly and so foolishly; one of the *links* in the *chain* of the "*social system*," which has recently been under the hammers of so many able artisans at Vienna. The Regular Government of Algiers does not make any *prefaces* to war. It observes a dignified silence till it has *actually begun and made some progress in the war*! Till it has made a good haul of the enemy's ships, before he knows that he is looked upon as an enemy. This is the practice of the Regular Government; the "*ancient and venerable institution, in Algiers*." I shall now insert, first, an account of the grounds of war from the *National Intelligencer*, published at Washington; next the Report of Congress upon the subject; and last, the *Act of Congress* declaring war against Algiers. For, the reader will observe, that, in the Irregular Government of America, war cannot be declared by the Chief Magistrate, without the consent of the people's *real* representatives.—I reserve a few remarks to follow the documents.

Grounds of the War.—From the National Intelligencer.

It is probable that many of our readers may not bear in mind the facts on which the recent Declaration of War against Algiers is predicated. We have, therefore, obtained for their information, the Report made on the subject by Mr. Gaston, of the House of Representatives, chairman of the committee, to whom the bill was re-committed in secret sitting.—The documents accompanying the Report, which are too long, and perhaps not proper, for present publication, are so conclusive, as to leave no doubt on the mind of any one who hears or reads them, of the impossibility of re-establishing Peace with the Dey of Algiers, unless by coercive, except under the most base and humiliating condition. Our readers may judge of the inveterate hostility of that barbarian tyrant towards us, growing merely out of the most sordid cupidity and natural ferocity and cruelty of temper, by two or three facts, collected from a momentary glance at the documents accompanying the Report of the committee.—A person was entrusted, as from the American merchants in Spain, with the task of endeavouring to procure the liberation of the eleven or twelve of our citizens captive in

Algiers, for whom he was authorised to give a ransom, not exceeding 3000 dollars per man. To every attempt of this kind, the Dey replied, "that not for two millions of dollars would he sell his American slaves!" — In reply to an application, in the most confidential manner, to one of the Dey's ministers, to know the terms which the Dey expected to extort from the United States (by keeping our citizens slaves) in the event of a treaty with them, it appears, that "it was a settled point with the Dey, from which he could by no means swerve, that in the first place, for the privilege of passing the streights of Gibraltar, two millions of dollars would be required of the American Government, and THEN the stipulations of the late treaty might be renewed (the old tributary treaty) after paying up all arrears of tribute," &c. &c.

THE REPORT.

The committee to whom has been referred the bill "for the protection of the United States against the Algerine cruizers," with instructions to enquire and report in detail the facts upon which the measure contemplated is predicated, report—That in the month of July, 1812, the Dey of Algiers, taking offence, or pretending to take offence, at the quality and quantity of a shipment of military stores made by the United States, in pursuance of the stipulation in the Treaty of 1795, and refusing to receive the stores, extorted from the American Consul General at Algiers, by threats of personal imprisonment, and of reducing to slavery all Americans in his power, a sum of money claimed as the arrearages of Treaty stipulations, and denied by the United States to be due; and then compelled the Consul, and all citizens of the United States at Algiers, abruptly to quit his dominions. — It further appears to the committee, that on the 23th of August following, the American brig *Edwin* of Salem, owned by Nathaniel Silsbee of that place, while on a voyage from Malta to Gibraltar, was taken by an Algerine Corsair, and carried into Algiers as prize. The commander of the brig, Captain George Campbell Smith, and the crew, ten in number, have ever since been detained in captivity, with the exception of two of them, whose release has been effected under circumstances not indicating any change of hostile temper on the part of the Dey. It also appears, that a vessel, sailing under the Spanish flag has been condemned in Algiers, for laying a false claim to that flag,

and concealing her true American character. In this vessel was taken a Mr. Pollard, who claims to be an American citizen, and is believed to be of Norfolk, Virginia, and who, as an American citizen, is kept in captivity. The government, justly sollicitous to relieve these unfortunate captives, caused an agent, (whose connection with the government was not disclosed) to be sent to Algiers, with the means and with instructions to effect their ransom, if it could be done at a price not exceeding three thousand dollars per man. The effort did not succeed, because of the Dey's avowed policy to increase the number of his American slaves, in order to be able to compel a renewal of his treaty with the United States, on terms suited to his rapacity. Captain Smith, Mr. Pollard, and the Master of the *Edwin*, are not confined, nor kept at hard labour; but the rest of the captives are subjected to the well-known horrors of Algerine slavery. The Committee have not been apprised of any other specific outrages upon the persons or property of American citizens besides those stated; and they apprehend, that the fewness of these is attributable to the want of opportunity and not of inclination in the Dey, to prey upon our commerce, and to enslave our citizens. The war with Britain has hitherto shut the Mediterranean against American vessels, which, it may be presumed will now shortly venture upon it. The committee are all of opinion, upon the evidence which has been laid before them, that the Dey of Algiers considers his treaty with the United States as at an end, and is waging war against them. The evidence upon which this is founded, and from which are extracted the facts above stated, accompanies this report, and with it is respectfully submitted—

AN ACT

For the protection of the commerce of the United States against the Algerine cruizers.

WHEREAS, the Dey of Algiers, on the coast of Barbary, has commenced a predatory warfare against the United States—

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be lawful fully to equip, officer, man and employ such of the armed vessels of the United States as may be judged requisite by the President of the United States, for protecting effectually the commerce and seamen thereof on the Atlantic ocean, the Mediterranean and adjoining seas.

SECT. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to instruct the commanders of the respective

public vessels aforesaid, to subdue, seize, and make prize of all vessels, goods, and effects, of or belonging to the Dey of Algiers, or to his subjects, and to bring or send the same into port, to be proceeded against and distributed according to law; and also, to cause to be done, all such other acts of precaution or hostility, as the state of war will justify, and may in his opinion require.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That on the application of the owners of private armed vessels of the United States, the President of the United States may grant them special commissions, in the form which he shall direct under the seal of the United States; and such private armed vessels, when so commissioned, shall have the like authority for subduing, seizing, taking, and bringing into port any Algerine vessels, goods or effects, as the above-mentioned public armed vessels may by law have; and shall therein be subject to the instructions which may be given by the President of the United States, for the regulation of their conduct, and their commissions shall be revocable at his pleasure: Provided, That before any commission shall be granted as aforesaid, the owner or owners of the vessel for which the same may be requested, and the commander thereof for the time being, shall give bond to the United States, with at least two responsible sureties, not interested in such vessels, in the penal sum of seven thousand dollars, or if such vessel be provided with more than one hundred and fifty men, in the penal sum of fourteen thousand dollars, with condition for observing the treaties and laws of the United States, and the instructions which may be given as aforesaid, and also for satisfying all damages and injuries which shall be done contrary to the tenor thereof, by such commissioned vessel, and for delivering up the commission when revoked by the President of the United States.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That any Algerine vessel, goods or effects, which may be so captured and brought into port, by any private armed vessel of the United States, duly commissioned as aforesaid, may be adjudged good prize, and thereupon shall accrue to the owners, and officers, and men of the capturing vessel, and shall be distributed according to the agreement which shall have been made between them; or, in failure of such agreement, according to the discretion of the court having cognizance of the capture.

There is one circumstance connected with this Algerine war, which I think worthy of *particular notice*; and that is, this regular government began, it appears, its depredations on the Americans, just as

these latter were entering upon war with US! some of our modest and honest gentlemen; some of our most *honourable* men, have called America an *assassin*, because she made war against us, while we were at war with Napoleon. What will they say now of the venerable head of this African state? The same *honourable* worthies have said, that because America went to war with us, while we had to fight Napoleon, she was the *slave* of Napoleon. But I hope they will not apply this reasoning to the present war between America and Algiers: I fervently hope, that no one will pretend, that, because Algiers went to war with America while America had to fight us, Algiers was the *slave* of England!—As to the result of the war, I have no doubt, that the Dey will not have to rejoice much at the success of his undertaking. A dry blow instead of millions of dollars are likely to be his portion. As an Englishman, I must wish, that the Algerines may be beaten by those, who have, unfortunately, so often beaten my own countrymen.—The *Times* newspaper has told us, that it is *suspected*, that the Algerine war is, with America, a *PRETEXT* for increasing her navy. Indeed, Doctor! and, in what civilian have you discovered, that America is restrained from augmenting her navy at her *pleasure*? What need has she of *pretexts*? I know, indeed, that, amongst your other follies, you did, during last summer, insist upon it, that, in making peace with America, she should, at last, be compelled to *stipulate not to have any ships of war beyond a certain size and number*. But, the stipulation was not obtained; and now, instead of big menaces, you throw out your *suspectings* for the cogitations of the wise John Bull.—Away driveller! and await a similar fate to your predictions as to the humiliations of France.

OVERTURES OF PEACE FROM THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

LETTER FROM M. GAULAINCOURT TO VISCOUNT
CASTLEREAGH, DATED PARIS, 4th APRIL,
1815,

My Lord—The Emperor was anxious to express directly to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent the sentiments which inspire him, and to make known to him the high value which he places on the maintenance of the peace happily existing between the two countries. I am commanded in consequence, my Lord, to address to

you the annexed letter, and to beg your Excellency to present it to his Royal Highness—The first wish of the Emperor being, that the repose of Europe should remain inviolate, his Majesty has been anxious to manifest this disposition to the Sovereigns who are still assembled at Vienna, and to all other Sovereigns. I have, &c.

(Signed) CAULAINCOURT, Duc de Vicence.

LETTER FROM M. DE CAULAINCOURT TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, DATED PARIS, APRIL 4, 1815.

My Lord—The expectations which induced his Majesty the Emperor, my August Sovereign, to submit to the greatest sacrifices, have not been fulfilled: France has not received the price of the devotion of its Monarch: her hopes have been lamentably deceived. After some months of painful restraint, her sentiments, concealed with regret, have at length manifested themselves in an extraordinary manner: by an universal and spontaneous impulse, she has declared as her deliverer, the man, from whom alone she can expect the guarantee of her liberties and independence. The Emperor has appeared, the Royal Throne has fallen, and the Bourbon family have quitted our territory, without one drop of blood having been shed for their defence. Borne upon the arms of his people, his Majesty has traversed France, from the point of the coast at which he at first touched the ground, as far as the centre of his capital, to that residence which is now again, as are all French hearts, filled with our dearest remembrances. No obstacles have delayed his Majesty's triumphal progress; from the instant of his re-landing upon French ground, he resumed the government of his empire. Scarcely does his first reign appear to have been for an instant interrupted. Every generous passion, every liberal thought, has rallied around him; never did any nation present a spectacle of more awful unanimity. The report of this great event will have reached your Lordship. I am commanded to announce it to you, in the name of the Emperor, and to request you will convey this declaration to the knowledge of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, your August Master. This Restoration of the Emperor to the Throne of France is for him the most brilliant of his triumphs. His Majesty prides himself above all, on the reflection, that he owes it entirely to the love of the French people, and he has no other wish than to repay such affections no longer by the trophies of vain ambition, but by all the advantages of an honourable repose, and by all the blessings of a happy tranquillity. It is to the duration of peace that the Emperor looks forward for the accom-

plishment of his noblest intentions. With a disposition to respect the rights of other nations, his Majesty has the pleasing hope, that those of the French nation will remain inviolate. The maintenance of this precious deposit is the first, as it is the dearest of his duties. The quiet of the world is for a long time assured, if all the other Sovereigns are disposed, as his Majesty is, to make their honour consist in the preservation of peace, by placing peace under the safeguard of honour. Such are, my Lord, the sentiments with which his Majesty is sincerely animated, and which he has commanded me to make known to your Government. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) CAULAINCOURT, Duke of Vicence.
His Excellency Lord Castlereagh, &c.

LETTER FROM VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO M. CAULAINCOURT, DATED, DOWNING-STREET, APRIL 8, 1815.

SIR—I have been honoured with two letters from your excellency bearing date the 4th inst. from Paris, one of them covering a letter addressed to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. I am to acquaint your Excellency, that the Prince Regent has declined receiving the letter addressed by your Excellency to me, to Vienna, for the information and consideration of the Allied Sovereigns and Plenipotentiaries there assembled.
I am, &c. CASTLEREAGH.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO THE EARL OF CLANCARTY, DATED FOREIGN OFFICE, 8TH APRIL, 1815.

MY LORD—I herewith inclose a copy of an Overture this day received from M. de Caulaincourt, with the answer returned. You will communicate the same to the Allied Sovereigns and Plenipotentiaries at Vienna, for their information. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.
Earl of Clancarty, &c.

THE EARL OF CLANCARTY TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, DATED VIENNA, MAY 6, 1815.

MY LORD—Adverting to your Lordship's dispatch, No. 3, and to its several inclosures, conveying a proposal made by the existing Government in France, and your Lordship's answer thereto, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Majesty's Government, that at a conference held on the 3d inst. his Highness Prince Metternich acquainted us, that a M. de Strassant, who had been stopped on his way hither, at Lintz, from not having been furnished with proper passports, had addressed a letter to his Imperial Majesty, and therewith forwarded

some unopened letters which the Emperor had directed him to unseal in the presence of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers. These proved to be a letter from Bonaparte, addressed to his Majesty, professing a desire to continue at peace, to observe the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, &c. and a letter from M. de Caulaincourt to Prince Metternich, containing similar professions. After reading these Papers, it was considered whether any, and what answer should be made thereto, when the general opinion appeared to be, that none should be returned, and no notice whatever taken of the proposal. Upon this, as indeed upon all other occasions subsequent to the resumption of authority by Bonaparte, wherein the present state of the Continental Powers, with regard to France, has come under discussion, but one opinion has appeared to direct the Councils of the several Sovereigns. They adhere, and from the commencement have never ceased to adhere, to their Declaration of the 13th of March, with respect to the actual Ruler of France. They are in a state of hostility with him and his adherents, not from choice, but from necessity, because past experience has shewn, that no faith has been kept by him, and that no reliance can be placed on the professions of one who has hitherto no longer regarded the most solemn compacts than as it may have suited his own convenience to observe them, whose word, the only assurance he can afford for his peaceable disposition, is not less in direct opposition to the tenor of his former life, than it is to the military position in which he is actually placed. They feel that they should neither perform their duty to themselves or to the people committed by Providence to their charge, if they were now to listen to those professions of a desire for peace which have been made, and suffer themselves thus to be lulled into the supposition that they might now relieve their people from the burthen of supporting immense military masses, by diminishing their forces to a peace establishment, convinced as the several Sovereigns are from past experience, that no sooner should they have been disarmed, than advantage would be taken of their want of preparation, to renew those scenes of aggression and bloodshed, from which they had hoped that the peace so gloriously won at Paris, would long have secured them. They are at war, then, for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the re-conquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity, for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less portion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity, but because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever. In this war, they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people; they have no design to oppose the claim of that nation to choose their own form of Government, or intention to trench, in any respect, upon their independence as a great and free people: but they do think they have a right, and that of the highest nature, to contend against the re-establishment

of an individual as the head of the French Government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated, that in such a situation he will not suffer other nations to be at peace—whose restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for the rights and independence of other States, must expose the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation. However general the feelings of the Sovereigns may be in favour of the restoration of the King, they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French in the choice of this or of any other dynasty, or form of Government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe; such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect, as other States have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence, their object will be satisfied; and they shall joyfully return to that state of peace, which will then, and then only, be open to them, and lay down those arms which they have only taken up for the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them on the part of their respective Empires.—Such, my Lord, are the general sentiments of the Sovereigns and of their Ministers here assembled; and it should seem, that the glorious forbearance observed by them, when masters of the French capital in the early part of the last year, ought to prove to the French, that this is not a war against their freedom and independence, or excited by any spirit of ambition, or desire of conquest, but one arising out of necessity, urged on the principles of self-preservation, and founded on that legitimate and incontrovertible right of obtaining reasonable security for their own tranquillity and independence—to which, if France has on her part a claim, other nations have an equal title to claim at the hands of France.—I this day laid before the Plenipotentiaries of the Three Allied Powers in conference, the Note proposed to be delivered upon the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of the 25th March. After the opinions which I have detailed as those with which the Allied Sovereigns are impressed, with respect to the object of the war, it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that the explanation afforded in this Note, as the construction put by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the eighth article of that Treaty, was favourably received. Immediate instructions will consequently be issued to the Ambassadors of the Imperial Courts of Austria and Russia, and to the Minister of his Prussian Majesty, to accept of this Note on the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty in question. An order to be assured that I have advanced nothing in this dispatch, which does not accord with the views of the Cabinets of the Allied Sovereigns, I have acquainted the Plenipotentiaries of the high Allied Powers with the contents thereof, and have the honour to inform you, that the sentiments contained in it entirely coincide with those of their respective Courts. I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) CLANCARTY.

LETTER IX.

TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

On the political Effects Produced in America by the Peace of Ghent.

Botley, 29th May, 1815.

MY LORD—It was frequently observed by me, in former letters, which I had the honour to address to your Lordship, during the war with America; that, if you were, at last, as I foretold you would be, compelled to make peace without *humbling* America, and, indeed, without *subduing* her, or nearly subduing her, the result would be honourable to her, seeing that she would, in a war single-handed against England, have succeeded in *defending* herself. It was clear, that, when once the contest became a *single combat*, to *defend* herself must be to her *triumph* and to us *defeat*. And, if she came out of the war without any, even the smallest concession, her triumph over us must raise her greatly in the estimation of her own people and of all the world. She *did* come out of the war in this way; and the natural consequences have followed.

I do not know, that I have before noticed the fact in print, but it is now time that I should; I mean the curious fact relative to the *proclamation of peace* with America. We know that peace with any power is usually proclaimed by HERALDS, who, starting at St. James's Palace, go into the City, with a grand display of armorial ensigns, and accompanied by troops in gay attire, and by bands of martial music, stopping, from time to time, to read the King's proclamation of the peace. This was done at the *Peace of Amiens* and at the *Peace of Paris*. Indeed, it is the *usual* way in which the cessation of war is proclaimed.

Now, then, how was the peace with America proclaimed? There was no procession at all: there was nothing of the usual ceremony. But, the *COURIER* newspaper, and, I believe, that paper only, informed the public, that "America was proclaimed," who, with

"reading the Proclamation, in the USU-AL WAY, at the door of the office at "Whitehall." This was all, and, I will be bound, that even the people passing in the street did not know what it was that was reading. This is what the *COURIER* calls the *usual* way of proclaiming peace! There was no illuminations; no firing of guns; no ringing of bells; no demonstrations of joy. In short, the country, which had been so eager for the war, and so unanimous for its prosecution, seemed not at all to regret, that it never knew the exact period when peace returned. It felt ashamed of the result of the war, and was glad to be told nothing at all about it.

But, in America! There the full force of public feeling was made manifest.—The country resounded from New Orleans to the utmost borders of the Lakes; from the orange groves to the wheat lands, buried four feet deep in snow, was heard the voice of joy, the boast of success, the shout of victory. I, who had always felt anxious for the freedom of America; I, whose predictions have been so completely fulfilled in the result of this contest; even I cannot keep down all feeling of mortification at these demonstrations of triumph, related in the American prints now before me. Even in me, the Englishman so far gets the better of all other feelings and consideration. What, then, must be the feelings of those, my Lord, who urged on and who prosecuted that fatal war?

An American paper now before me, the Boston "*Yankee*," of the 9th of December last, gives an account, copied from our London papers, of our *Jubilee* last summer, when "old BLUCHER" was so squeezed and hugged, and had his jaws so nastily licked over by the filthy women, who were called "Ladies." This Yankee calls it "*John Bull's great National Jubilee*;" and, I assure you, the famous victory gained by the naval force of England over the American fleet on the *Serpentine River* is not forgotten! But, the editor of the *Yankee* has made a mistake. He thought that the Thames on

some memorable battle was fought. ~~directed him~~ good Mr. Yankee. The *Serpentine River*, as it is called, is a little winding lake in Hyde Park, about the width of a large duck pond, and is fed by a little stream, or rather gutter, and empties itself by the means of another gutter at the other end. It was this quality of lake that made the scene so very apt.

These are mortifying recollections, my Lord, and I do not know that they will be rendered less so to you by the addition of the reflection, that, if you had followed my advice, there never would have been any ground for them.

The political effects in America of such a peace must be wonderful. Indeed, they evidently are so. The men who, in the New England States, were forming open combinations against Mr. Madison, are, as I told you they would be, covered with that sort of disgrace, that deep disgrace, which defeated malice always brings upon its head. They appear, from all I can gather, to have become the butt of ridicule, after having long been the object of serious censure. These men are suspected of treasonable views and acts. At any rate, they are chargeable with a *real attempt* to destroy the liberties of their country, in revenge for their rejection by the people. They were defeated in their grasp at the supreme powers of the union, and they have endeavoured to do as the baboon is said to have done with the fair lady, that is, destroy that which they could not possess.

Mr. PICKERING, to whom the TIMES newspaper looked up as the "*hangman and successor of Mr. Madison*," now talks like a very hearty republican; but the poor gentleman seems to know very little of what is going on here. He says, that you made peace, because so many petitions were poured in against continuing the war; and your Lordship knows, that not one such petition was poured in. He says, that the failure at New Orleans will put you out of place. Poor Gentleman! how little, how very little does he know about you! He says, that the Opposition have clamoured for peace. It was the Opposition who urged on the war, and only found fault with you for not doing the Yankees more mischief than you did. Yet this, this is one of the men, to whom we have looked as capable of overthrowing Mr. Madison.

was to "*re-unite the colonies to the parent state!*"

It is very true, I acknowledge, that a dangerous faction has arisen in the Republic. I see very clearly, that wealth has introduced a taste for what are called honours. Vanity is making a desperate effort to decorate men with titles. The law forbids it; but vanity is at open war with law. The germ of aristocracy, which was discovered in the New England states, and, in a few instances, in some of the others, at the end of the war of independence, has grown out now to full view. There are "*Squires and Honourables in abundance*." There are the "*Honourable the Governor*;" "*His Honour the Judge*;" and so on. These men will soon begin to regret that they have no one to give them permanent titles; that they have no "*fountain of honour*." That which men regret the want of they endeavour to obtain, whenever an occasion offers. The Priests of New England appear to be working hard to procure something in the way of an establishment. Hence the joy of both these at the restoration of the Bourbons, the old French Noblesse, the Pope, and the Jesuits; and hence, they will, I venture to predict, be as abusive of Napoleon, Carnot, Fouché, Roderer, and Merlin, as is our TIMES newspaper.

In the mean while, however, the people are sound republicans; and, it will take some years to overset their government, though the manners and tastes of many may be corrupted. The following letters which I have received from America, will shew you, that the war, and especially the peace, have produced a great change in that country. They will also shew you that, long ago, I had hit upon the true nail, and that you ought to have paid attention to me sooner than you did. The newspapers from America breathe a spirit of resentment, which it should be our object to allay, if possible; but, really, the language of our prostituted press was such, that, added to the "*character of the war*," it is almost impossible, that reconciliation should take place during an age to come.

Before I conclude, I beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to the statements in the American papers, relative to our treatment of the American prisoners of war, where I would call your attention to certain letters of our officers, requested to be forwarded.

lative to *plunder*; and further to call your attention to their charges relative to the *parole*, given by GENERAL PACKENHAM, when he was about to assault, and to take, as he expected, NEW ORLEANS. I dare not copy these. Newgate is not so pleasant as Botley. But, still I do most anxiously wish to see these papers published here; because they might then be met by denial and disproof, if *not true*. This is a serious matter, my Lord. If we dare not publish *here*, they dare do it in America; and there it is that the effect will be produced injurious to us. I dare say, that long before this will reach the press, *all these changes, all these horrid narratives, will have been collected in America, published in a permanent shape, and, perhaps, translated into French*. Thus will they be read by all the civilized world, the people of England excepted; but, thus have I done my duty in pointing these things out to your Lordship, which is all that I dare do in this case.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Boston, 28th March, 1815.

MR. COBBETT—I have read, with great satisfaction, your recent essays relative to this country. You deserve well of your native country, as well as of mine, for trying to open the eyes of your countrymen, that they might see things as they really are. But in Old England and in New, and I am personally acquainted with both, a man need not despair making the people believe any thing but truth.

Both your country and mine have been long suffering under the cause of "*a lying spirit*." The federal papers in Boston, under the direction of the faction, and especially the one edited by "*the Boston Slave*," exert all their powers to spread a delusive fog before the eyes of their stupid readers, and between them and truth. They are worse than your *Courier*, or your *Times*; for with their lies, they have a trait of malignity and stupidity, at which your people must revolt. What must be the state of a community where the people are fed with poisonous food? It would require a revolution of some sort to rid the people of the accumulated corruption. Our Yeomanry are virtuous, brave, and strongly attached to their government; but we have scores of professional men among us, who, with less

learning, and abilities than *Southey*, would damn their country for his salary and a butt of sack.

Your late essays are re-published in all the Republican Papers, and read with great relish; while they are carefully excluded from all the federal papers. Nevertheless I suspect that you do not see many of our Boston Republican Papers. I have therefore requested, the Editors of the *Boston Patriot*, and *Yankee* to put up a series of them for you; and encouraged them with the hope that you will send them your Register. I have also sent you an excellent work by Mr. CAREY, entitled the "*Olive Branch*." We esteem it highly for its *facts*. You will read it with pleasure. This book and Jackson's victory have blasted the *Hartford Convention*; and destroyed the high hopes of the *Pickerings*, the *Otisses*, and the *Sullivans*. The author of that book has a just idea of our Boston *Saints*, of their avarice, of their hypocrisy, and of their thirst after ridiculous titles, and even monarchy.—He has a right idea of our *Junto*, which rises as our country sinks, and sinks as our country rises. After perusing the *Olive Branch*, would it not be well to throw it in the way of the *Edinburgh Reviewers*? (1)

(1) I can find a much better use for it, as the writer shall see. The *Edinburgh Reviewers* are, perhaps, as corrupt a *junto* as the *Hartford Convention*, and of that my correspondent would be well convinced, if he were to read an article upon the *return of Napoleon*, published at the close of the last number of this work; in which article they prepared, in advance, for the war, which they suspected would take place against France, in consequence of that wonderful event. The truth is, that this is a little knot of place-hunting men of talent, who, by the means of this Review, force themselves successively into the receipt of emoluments derived from the public. I do not know any set of men so much like another, as these Reviewers are like the Federal Noblesse. Mr. WALSH, of Philadelphia, who wrote a book on the state of France, full of falsehoods and of ignorance, and who, it was confidently reported here, was to have had the honour of being introduced to a Lord, and would, in all probability, have enjoyed that blessing, if the said Lord had not been unexpectedly engaged with his tailor, or somebody else: this Mr. WALSH, with the exception of talent, is a tolerably good specimen of an *Edinburgh reviewer*.

WM. COBBETT.

I have read with surprise and disgust the official accounts of General Drummond and some others, of the battle of Chippewa and Bridgewater. I have been informed by the brave and modest Colonel (now General) Miller, as well as by a number of his officers, his non-commissioned officers, and privates, that the British cannon were *many hours* in their possession, and that they would have brought them off, had not the British taken the precaution to carry off the limbers, and all the harness, which Miller could not supply in the night. I firmly believe that all our official accounts may be relied on. I have reason for believing it.

Jackson's *wonderful* victory is a greater thing to us, that is, of more beneficial consequences to America, than the victory of Wolfe; the capture of Burgoine, or Cornwallis. The British were *sure* of New Orleans, and they meant to leave it an *ugly bone of contention* between the U. S. and Spain. But Providence forbade it. We say *Providence*, for the great destruction on one side, and the unparalleled *salvation* on the other, prove that it could hardly be owing to the contingent powers of men. It gives strength to the opinion imbibed by people in every period of the world, and in every stage of society, that there is a power above us, which "shapes things to an end, rough hew them how we will." This extraordinary victory has broken down the spirits of the invaders; they say there is a fatality in this American war; and that it is adverse to them. Your countrymen fought bravely at New Orleans, *very bravely*. Jackson, and his inspired militia had coolness enough, in the midst of the fight, to observe and admire the discipline and steady bravery of the English, and the valour of their officers; but who could stand before our cool and accurate riflemen, and equally cool and accurate cannoniers!! Jackson, (a *village-lavender*) has far surpassed any General we ever had, at any period.

While we admire Jackson, and his militia, let us not withhold our admiration of James Madison! who amidst the most virulent, and most obstinate of oppositions (see "the Olive Branch,") has triumphed over both internal and external enemies, and planted the proud stripes and stars of his nation in the sight of the universe.

Considering the New England opposition and the nature of our government, and the state of our finances, and the villany of the faction, and this Virginia-man, may well be called the *Matchless* Madison.

Although we are priest-ridden, and debased in Massachusetts, I hope we are not sunk below redemption. The better half of Massachusetts have not bowed the knee to the effigy of monarchy, set up by the contemptible *noblesse* of Boston. It is the yeomanry, the *nerve*, the *bone*, and the *sinew* of the republic, who have fought our battles, while it is the parpered, and corrupted flesh, and gormandizing stomach, who preach, pray, and write in federal newspapers, and who continually deceive the people.

After the present delusion is past, I hope to see both your country and mine shine forth in their native purity. Our country is rising rapidly to greatness, and to glory; and when we have put down *faction*, we shall yet see our species, the descendants of Englishmen, shine forth to the greatest advantage, in ability, courage, and integrity; and here we may see displayed the utmost range of the human powers.

Thirty years ago, I knew London, and her leading men, including Mr. Fox, and some others. They are now nearly all dead; and I have scarcely a correspondent left. I wish Old England well; for there are the sepulchres of my ancestors: and there I resided several years. I have a considerable respect for *John Bull*; but a greater affection for,

JONATHAN,

For he is destined to return the tide of glory to the source whence it sprung.

Boston, March 30th, 1815.

MR. COBBETT,—A snow-storm having prevented the ship Galen from sailing this morning, I seize the opportunity her detention affords, to add a few strips from some of our late newspapers. I do it by way of recompensing you for your excellent essays, under the form of letters to your great men in England, in which you tell them important truths relative to this country, which, I believe, they can obtain through no other channel.

We admire greatly your accurate picture of the two parties in this bewitched state. What the witches promised Macbeth, has been whispered to our little-big-

There he cannot be so well known; and, his book, or, at least, the facts contained in it, being now the property of mankind, it is just that it should go into other countries, accompanied with all that fairly belongs to it.

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER IV.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the Debates relative to the commencement of the War against the French.

Botley. 1st June, 1815.

MY LORD,—At last, then, you appear to have stricken the first blow; for, we are now told, by the public prints, that our fleets have taken a French frigate in the Mediterranean. But, this is of no consequence as to the grand question. We have long been in a state, which would have justified France in attacking us openly; and, indeed, it has now been officially stated, that we, have for some time past, been *at war*, though to this very day, or, at least, till *yesterday*, French vessels have freely come into our ports, and have landed and sold their goods; and then sailed quietly for France. However, the fact is, that you and your colleagues have now distinctly asserted, that *we are at war*, and have been at war for some time.

Here you start, then; and, here I start with you, as I did with your worthy colleague in the American war; that is to say, in that war which, as we are told, was to *depose* Mr. MADISON. I mean to accompany you through this war. I have been hesitating who I should go along with; but, after due consideration, I have preferred your Lordship to every body else; not merely because you were the aptest of all Pitt's disciples; not because you have been the grand actor at the Congress; not because you have, in point of character, more at stake on this war than any other man, excepting only Napoleon; but because the *times are likely to be ticklish*, and because the mere sound of your well-known name is enough to fill any man living with
. *prudence*, my Lord. Doubtless we shall see times different from these; and I am not at all afraid, that I shall have to address you in those times; but we must, in this world, take things as we find them, and fashion ourselves a little to

what the Whitehall people denominate "*existing circumstances*."

Therefore, my noble companion, before we start upon our journey, it is my intention, in this letter, to *put upon record* the substance of what has now been published to the nation, in the report of the *debates in Parliament*, upon the following subjects: 1st, of the *character of Napoleon*; 2d, of the *French system of Government*; 3rd, of our *present situation with regard to France*; 4th, of the *Pitt System*; 5th, of the *great means of the Allies against France*, including subsidies; 6th, of the *small means of the French to defend themselves*; 7th, *Morality of the subsidies*. Who that sets out on a voyage does not wish to understand something about the road that he has to go? This, however, it is not always in his power to arrive at; but, he must be a fool indeed, if he undertakes (if he can avoid it) a journey without knowing *why* he undertakes it. The *causes* of the two former wars against the French were lost sight of, long before the wars were half over. This was a very great evil. It was not so with the late American war. I myself *took charge* of the cause of that war; and, in spite of all that falsehood and hypocrisy have been able to do, on both sides of the Atlantic, the *cause*, the *character*, the *result*, the *effects*, of that war are all clearly understood. So shall they all, in *this case*, unless I am deprived very speedily of all my bodily or all my mental powers. Give me life and health for only three months longer, and I defy all the ingenuity and all the impudence of all the corrupt hirelings in England (and their number is not small) to cause *ignorance* to prevail in this country as to the *real cause*, or causes, of the war, on which we are about to enter.

From the time of Napoleon's return being announced, our hirelings of the press cried *war*! I cried, *peace! peace!* Between the 11th of March last and the present time, I have published 1st, Two articles at the head of the Register; 2nd, My first Letter to you; 3rd, A Letter to Louis; 4th, My second Letter to you; 5th, A Letter to the Merchants; 6th, A Letter to the excellent people of Nottingham; 7th, A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, (called the VII.); 8th, A Letter to the Fundholders; 9th, My

third Letter to you; 10th, A Letter to Sir Francis Burdett. In these ten papers, accompanied with the official documents, all to be found in the Register, I flatter myself, that we shall *hereafter* be able to see (without hunting through volumes of verbose, stupid stuff, in one shape or another) a complete history not only in point of fact, but of argument, of the beginning of this war. These articles contain, too, the *political economy* of the question, which you and your colleagues, and even your opponents, take little or no notice of. Thus far, then, I have *made all safe*; but, before we actually enter upon the work of blood, I mean, further, to put upon record the fair substance of what has been published as the reasons for the war, stated in the *House of Commons*, during the debate upon the question of war itself; because, the time is to come when we shall have to refer to, and to cite, these opinions and declarations. I should, perhaps, take notice of a reported debate of the *Lords*; but, it would be but repetition. I shall now proceed, point by point, to notice the report, and particularly to put its substance upon record.

I. *Of the character of Napoleon.* “I shall be very short upon this head, “*Lions are not painters*; if they were,” said the Lion in the fable, “you would not see a man painted in the attitude of “crushing a Lion.” I totally disagree with all those, who drew hideous pictures of Napoleon’s character; I could, even with safety, triumphantly answer what was said; but, *justice* would demand a full exhibition of the *contrast* that might be presented; and, as this cannot be made with perfect freedom, the answer ought not to be entered on. It would be the height of injustice to enter on the defence of any man without being *free* to produce *all* that can be produced in his justification; what, then, would it be to enter on such defence without being able to produce *hardly any of the main facts*, calculated to put the character of Napoleon in its true light? Let it be declared, that *truth* shall never more be a *libel*; and, then, the character of Napoleon will have its fair chance; then, and not till then, will his abusers have a right to expect, that until *contradicted*, their assertions ought to *pass for truth*. But, there are Aristocrats and Cossack Priests enough in *New England*. There are men

enough there, who assail Napoleon; or, at least, who used to do it. Now, I hereby *challenge* any one of these upon the subject. Let him, like a man, publish in the Boston federal papers the *Daily Advertiser*, a regular attack upon the character and conduct of Napoleon, embracing all parts, public and private, of that character and conduct. Let any one do this; let the paper be sent to me; and I pledge myself to *answer it*, in a Letter sent in *manuscript* to that same paper. If the assailant puts his *name*, he will act more like a man; but, I will not stand upon that point. He must take this along with him, however; that I shall not admit of any *fact* being *true*, merely upon the assertion of any body; and when such assertion has been *often repeated without any attempt at PROOF*, I shall always regard that circumstance as a presumptive proof of its *falsehood*.—But, though I, for the reasons here stated, decline entering into what I call an *answer* upon the subject of the character of Napoleon, there is a passage in the report of Mr. GRATTAN’S speech that I ought to put upon record, at least.—It is this: “He had “made his brother King of Holland— “he had banished the Prince Regent “of Portugal from his native land—he “had imprisoned the King of Spain— “he had raised an army of 60,000 men, “which he meant to employ solely for the “purpose of conferring the *same favour* “on the King of England; and had the “space between the two countries been “wholly composed of land—*had not that* “channel intervened which gave full scope “to the power of the British navy, he “would long ago have put his design “into execution. When he conceived the “wild and extravagant idea of conquering Europe, he acknowledged he must “first conquer England, and complained “bitterly of the power of her marine, the “subversion of which he was determined “to attempt by the destruction of her “commerce. For the attainment of this “object he put in motion all his political “engines; and after subjugating the “whole continent of Europe to his sway, “he contrived to place you between two “fires—that is, between the Continent in “Europe, in which was the army of “France, and another Continent in America, which was our great rival for the “palm of commercial greatness, and by

“*these means* endeavoured to effect our
 “*utter destruction.* He *deluded the Empe-*
 “*ror of Russia* into a treaty with him, by
 “*which* he put an end to all commercial
 “*relations* between Russia and England;
 “*and* because the Emperor of that vast
 “*empire* did not adhere to the prohibi-
 “*tions* which he (Bonaparte) *was conti-*
 “*nually dictating*, he would if he could,
 “*have driven* him and his people into the
 “*frozen ocean.* After having received
 “*the most signal favours* from the King
 “*of Prussia*, he avowed the intention of
 “*putting* him out of the list of *crowned*
 “*heads*; and after all these acts of feroci-
 “*ous enmity* and malignant hostility, the
 “*Allies* when they arrived at the gates of
 “*Paris*, did an act which reflected on
 “*them* the highest honour—an act which
 “*posterity* should never forget—the Al-
 “*lies* had *magnanimously* given to France
 “*liberty*; and to Bonaparte *life* and the
 “*Island of Elba.*”—He had made his
 “*brother* King of Holland; Well? and
 “*what* was that more than making his *bro-*
 “*ther-in-law* King of Sweden, or, at least,
 “*her* apparent to the Crown? And, Mr.
 “*Grattan* ought to bear in mind, that *we*
 “*have confirmed* that act by a solemn trea-
 “*ty.*—I do not know that he banished the
 “*Prince Regent* of Portugal, or that he im-
 “*prisoned* the King of Spain; but, I know
 “*very well*, that he had as great right to
 “*both*, as Charles V. had to imprison
 “*Francis I.*—And, what if he did intend to
 “*take* England, and capture the King of
 “*England*? Did not a King of England once
 “*do that* in France? If he did not, our his-
 “*torians* are shocking liars.—But, my Lord,
 “*mind*, Mr. Grattan says, that, if there had
 “*been no water* between, Napoleon would
 “*have had* our king in prison. I know, that
 “*the French* used to say this; but, I always
 “*used to believe*, that England could have
 “*defended itself without the aid of the water.*
 “*However*, since this second Burke tells us
 “*the contrary*, we must not hesitate any lon-
 “*ger.* Napoleon “*contrived*” to place us be-
 “*tween two fires*; he contrived to *bring the*
 “*Americans upon us*; he *deluded* the Emperor
 “*of Russia* into a *treaty* hostile to our com-
 “*merce*, and then, because the Emperor
 “*would not adhere* to the prohibitions
 “*which Napoleon was dictating*, he went
 “*to war* with the Emperor and his polite
 “*people.*—But, my Lord, is it true, that an
 “*Emperor*, our ally, can be *deluded*; and,
 “*more especially* into a *treaty*; and, a

treaty, too, hostile to English commerce?
 I am very anxious upon this point, my
 Lord; because, if an Emperor really has
 been *deluded* into one treaty, it is possible
 that he may be *deluded* into another. Be-
 sides, if I mistake not, our maguanimously
 had had, at the time alluded to, ample op-
 portunity of knowing Napoleon's views as
 well as character. It was in 1808, I be-
 lieve, when Napoleon's army was in Spain
 and when his brother was on the throne
 of the country. If I do not mistake, too,
 the Emperor, at that time, recognized as
 valid what had been done in Spain. Grant
 that this was *delusion*, however, it is very
 perilous to have to do with such a man; a
 man, who was able to delude the two
 Kings of Spain to abdicate in his favour;
 to delude the Pope to marry him to a se-
 cond wife while the first was alive; to de-
 lude the Emperor of Austria to give him
 his daughter in marriage; to delude Rus-
 sia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Holland,
 to declare war against England; to de-
 lude Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony,
 to join him in a war to invade Russia.
 Really, this is *delusion* upon a grand scale
 indeed! But, if he did so delude all these
 powers before, and even contrived to *bring*
 “*America upon us*, is there not a *possibility*,
 at any rate, that he may be successful in
 his delusive acts again?—Mr. Grattan's re-
 porter tells us, that Napoleon, after hav-
 ing “*received the most signal favours*
 “*from the King of Prussia*, he avowed his
 “*intention* “*of putting* him out of the list
 “*of crowned heads.*” I never heard of
 these *favours* before. I knew, that, on
 the other side, Napoleon was *twice in pos-*
 “*session of Berlin*; that the Royal Family
 “*twice fled*; and that, to the infinite mor-
 “*tification* of the Republicans all over the
 “*world*, Napoleon replaced the King of
 “*Prussia* in his dominions and authority.
 “*I knew*, too, that a Prussian army marched
 “*with Napoleon* against Russia; and that
 “*the King of Prussia* issued a proclamation,
 “*severely condemning* D'Yorck for his
 “*going over* and leaving Napoleon. But,
 “*really*, I never heard of any *favours*, re-
 “*ceived by Napoleon* from the King of Prus-
 “*sia.*—The allies, Mr. Grattan says, mag-
 “*nanimously gave* Napoleon *life* and the
 “*island of Elba.* You have *denied* this,
 “*several times*, in the most positive terms.
 “*You have asserted*, that the treaty of Fon-
 “*tainebleau* was a treaty of policy; you
 “*have asserted*, that the allies were by no

means *sure* of success by the way of arms. There was, then, no *magnanimity* here, even if we could forget how the crowned allies had been treated by Napoleon when he *really* had them in *his* power. The allies had been accused of magnanimity at Fontenbleau; the nation were bellowing very loudly about it; they began to be very much out of humour that Napoleon had not been *put out of the way completely*; when your Lordship, in justice to the allies, stepped forward and very clearly showed, that *they had by no means been guilty of any thing like magnanimity*; that they had made the *best* bargain that they were able to make for themselves; and, that the English nation might be satisfied, that the allies would have dealt harder by Napoleon if they had been in a situation to do it without danger to themselves.—Mr. Grattan seems very bitterly provoked, that Napoleon should have prepared 60,000 men for the invasion of England. But, does not this gentleman allow, that the French have as great a right to invade England, as the English have to invade France? We made landings at *Toulon*, at *Quiberon*; and we even *now* are, if the public papers speak truth, sending all sorts of implements for killing men; for enabling the people to shed each others blood, in the West of France. I hope that this is not true; but, while our newspapers are *boasting of this*, it is likely, that we shall excite much shame in the French nation for their having been led to make preparations for the *invasion of England?*

The other topics I reserve for my next.
—I am, &c. WM. CORBETT.

TO THE RIGHT HON. H. GRATTAN.

SIR—From the parliamentary debates, as given in the Morning Chronicle of the 26th inst. it appears that you have chosen this critical juncture to commence a course of oratory in *opposition* to those principles in the support of which you have acquired a celebrity, which, I fear, will give undue importance to your new character. Like your countryman, and predecessor in the same course, you have adopted a style in which Antithesis holds the place of argument, and metaphor of facts; a style of which deception is the essence, which aggravates on the one hand, and extenuates on the other, until the objects

you are describing present themselves to your own imagination, and to that of your hearers, in monstrous caricature. There is also a marvellous coincidence in the occasions which excited in Mr. Burke a frantic fear of liberty, and that which seems to be producing a similar abhorration in you. Here I trust the parallel will fail. The influence of his name and of a mind still powerful, had no small share in giving real existence to the horrors of his disordered fancy; and the prophecies for which he obtained so much credit, were greatly accessory to their own fulfilment. It is the recollection of that epoch which I hope may yet preserve us. Then we had no such example for our instruction. Europe is yet at peace, and you, Sir, are doing your part to rekindle a war, of which the dreadful experience of the last twenty-three years enables us, beforehand, to estimate the character. This is a subject for severe deliberation and not for a display of rhetoric. "Peace without security and war without allies." This Antithesis, we are told, drew forth the applause of the honorable assembly to whom you addressed your first philippic! But did you attempt to inform them, how many campaigns it may require to replace France in a situation capable of holding out the security which she *now* offers? Her limits determined and acknowledged: men of tried integrity, the friends of peace and moderation, at the head of her councils: her people, and even her army, unless indeed the late excitements have stimulated it to fury, languishing for repose. And as to our wanting allies at a future period, did you stop to say that we *purchase* them now, and that we shall speedily fail in the means of purchasing? That to obtain such allies, *subsidies* alone are needed; and that to continue even this miserable traffic in accomplices, peace is indispensable? The Government of France is, you say, a *stratocracy*: did you explain how it became such? and why she adopted that system of subjugation you censure so bitterly? She had to fight with Europe single handed: she *conquered* alliances, whilst we *purchased* them. The General who led her to victory became, mischievously, I allow, but most naturally, her ruler. At length the tide of victory turned; the conquered allies proved faithless, as though they had been purchased; and this very General was given up, that

men in Massachusetts “*ye shall be all Thanes!!*”

The public feeling is not a little excited by the recital of our officers and men, who have just returned to Boston and New York, from their captivity in Nova Scotia, and Canada. You will see the narrative in the *Boston Patriot* of yesterday. The British prisoners have been uniformly treated with kindness by the Americans. Humanity is a conspicuous trait in our character.

We look up to the acute editor of the *Political Register* to lay this grievous thing properly before the British public. If what is related be not facts, let them be contradicted; and, if they be true, let the perpetrators be exposed, and the robes of the nation wiped clean from the stain (2).

[*I leave out a passage here, which though complimentary to the poet of this kingdom, in which I was born, is rather too GENERAL in its application. But, my chief reason for leaving it out is, that it would, in my opinion, TEND TO DO HARM.—W. C.*]

Colonel Scott, (now our valiant *General Scott*) was early in the war carried prisoner to Montreal and Quebec; and received a treatment, which he never can, or ought to forget. I had it from his own mouth. Scott is a man of talents, education and a gentleman; but those high officers in Canada, who heaped every kindness and attention on the infamous HULL, could not find it in their hearts to treat with ordinary attention and humanity the accomplished Scott.

As nations, we may be at peace; but as a people we never shall, so long as we remember personal insults and cruel deprivations, especially during sickness. Your ships of war have generally treated our sailors whom they captured, well; but it is the treatment on board prison-ships, and in Canada of which our men com-

plain, and at the thoughts of which they regret the termination of war.

We are much pleased with your very accurate account of *Federalists* and *Republicans*. The papers you now receive will help you to finish the picture you have sketched.

This short war has wrought a wonderful change in the United States. It has taught the traders and shopkeepers of Boston; that if their sea-ports were destroyed, the nation even then; could exist. It has peopled our interior, created innumerable manufactures, and taught us all that it is to the *yeomanry* we must look, at last, for the support and defence of the nation. With them is the brain, the nerve, the bone and sinew; for the merchant is blown about by every wind of commerce. He scarcely feels that he has got a country. The French justly estimate these descendants of Esau.

The time was, when these colonies, or states, might, in their physical and mental force, be compared to a wedge, (the most forcible of the mechanical powers) the butt, or thick edge of which was here in Massachusetts, and it went tapering away until its thin edge ended in Georgia, and on the Mississippi. But *Andrew Jackson*, a village lawyer, has turned this wedge “end for end,” and we now feel the force pressing to us, instead of from us. Mr. MATTHEW CAREY has explained all this in “*the olive branch!!*”

The young and spirited men of Massachusetts feeling the effects of the miserable policy of their governor, and of the Legislature, are fast leaving their homes, and emigrating Westward. Even the sons of some of the Essex Junto are following where interest leads. They are flying from the sterile soil, and bigotted region of Boston to more fertile and liberal regions; and yet our basotted government of Massachusetts, and their stupid governor, seem unconscious that we are bleeding to death; by this alarming emigration. Instead of a liberal policy, our miserable politicians are trying to retain their discontented young men by “*Washington Benevolent Societies*; a sort of hypocritical *Jacobin-club*; or humble imitations of the *Orange Societies* of Ireland; who drew their origin from “*the peep-of-day boys*.” Jonathan sees through this clumsy trick, and their gorgeous parades, painted banners, and hy-

(2) I have not thought it right, and indeed, I do not know that it would be safe, to send to the press the papers here referred to, which exhibit a picture that strikes one with horror, and which, for the honour of my country and of human nature, I hope is not a true picture.—I have, however, made use of these papers in the way that appears to me most likely to answer a good purpose.

WM. COBBETT.

poetical orations, prayers, and hymns, which have become objects of ridicule, and are fast sinking into contempt. *Common-sense* begins to draw comparisons between our fine, dancing soldiers, who seldom make an excursion beyond a mile from their fire-sides, and hardly ever march off the pavements of our sea-ports, and the brave heroes, who conquered at Chippewa, Bridgewater, Erie, Baltimore, and NEW ORLEANS.

One great and powerful source of influence, is *literary and clerical patronage*. The Junta have managed that matter admirably. They have contrived to get almost all the learned professions under their thumbs. This has greatly increased their number of slaves. They took the *Jesuits* for their example, and have imitated with considerable success. They, like the *Jesuits*, make sure of every young man of brilliant talents, and fix him in a *pulpit*, or at the bar; or in practice, as a physician, or in their *Benevolent Society*, or by some means or other, impair his independence, and secure his subserviency to their views, which views are to establish AN UPPER CLASS, who shall shine and think for all the rest. These are the *glow-worms*, or *fire-flies*, or *lightening bugs*, that give you and me so much amusement and food for ridicule. These buzz and flutter around the nose of honest *Jonathan*, while he is cultivating the ground, shooting invaders, and pouring a stream of republicanism on the wheels of the national governments, which these base creatures are trying to clog (3).

(3) My Correspondent will smile, when he sees, that I had anticipated this 'trick of literary enlistments and benevolent societies.—It he will look into the Register of the 13th of this month, at page 591, he will find, under the head of "*Literary Fund*" and "*Washington Benevolent Societies*," that I had hit the case in the eye before I received his letter.—As to the *Clergy*, the case is more serious.—As long as men continue to die, there will, in all probability, be some who will be willing to pay people to instruct them as to a future life; and, as long as men prefer eating the earnings of others to eating their own earnings, such instructors will never be wanting. Besides, I find no fault with one party or the other, both may be perfectly sincere; and both right in their opinions and views. All that I blame in matters of religion, is, the use of force of any kind. There

You may tell Sir Joseph Yorke, whose father I once knew, that Mr. *Madison*, has concluded (before he "goes to the *Island of ELBA*,") to pay a visit to the Eastern States, in which case, it is more than probable that the Saints of Massachusetts will pay him all possible marks.

is no established church in America; no compulsion to pay priests of any sort. But, if men are persecuted, no matter in what way, for their opinions about religion; if a book, or an essay, is to be condemned in a lump, on the charge of being blasphemous, without any reference to its facts or its reasonings; if this be the case, *priestcraft*, say what you will, is still powerful in America. The way, and the only way, to give priestcraft its final blow, is to inculcate, in all possible ways, the liberty of opinions on religion. The law of America does this; but the friends of freedom should jealously watch, that *cant* does not, in this respect, triumph over the law. Can any man say, in the face of the world, that TRUTH ought not to prevail? No man will say this. And if the religious opinions of any sect be founded in truth, what fear is there that they will be injured by *unreserved discussion*? Did it ever happen to any individual to protest against the discussing of a question, as to which he was sure that he was in the right?—Let the honest man; let the sincere Christian, be upon his guard against every one, whom he hears abuse any book as blasphemous, without first showing it to be false. Let him be upon his guard against the *Crafty Crew* (in America, I mean), who eat and drink comfortably upon the fruits of other men's labours; or, if he does think it right to pay them as teachers of religion, let him, at any rate, call upon them to ANSWER, instead of ABUSING, those who attack their systems. As to the conduct of the Federal priesthood of Massachusetts, it is such as defies all description. Such a prostitution of the priests' office never was before seen, except amongst some of the most wicked of the regular clergy of the Romish church, in the very worst times of that church. A string of passages, which Mr. CAREY has collected and published in the "*Olive Branch*," would not have disgraced the lips of those, whose exhortations armed the hands and hardened the hearts of *Clement*, *Racillac*, or any of that numerous horde of assassins, who have, at various periods, undertaken to shed the blood of Napoleon. Can those he virtuous men, who, with patience, and even with applause, listened to these bloody exhortations?—I put this question to the bosoms of the worthy part of the Federalists,—W. M. COBBETT.

of homage and respect; for the Presbyterians of New England are very like the Presbyterians of Scotland, who are all things to all men, just as it suits their whim, or interest. In the newspapers of this day, you will see some traits of the genuine character of your friend,

JONATHAN.

Boston, 4th April, 1815,

MR. COBBETT,—The following instance of unfair conduct is worthy your attention. The frigate *President*, Captain Decatur, after running a-ground, and, in consequence of it, losing her trim, fell in with Admiral Hotham's detachment, who chased her. The *Endymion* (the same that suffered so severely from the *Neuf-chatel* privateer) was nearest to her in the chase. This ship the *President* silenced, and would certainly have taken her, had not the *Pomone* come to her assistance, and soon after that the *Tenados*, and an armed brig, and a rasee 74, but a little way astern of them. In this situation, Decatur, after doing all that any man in his situation could do, struck his colours, and delivered his sword to the commander of the 74.

Admiral Hotham says officially, that the *President* was captured by a detachment of his fleet; and when Decatur arrived in New London, the populace took the horses from his coach, and dragged him in triumph through the streets, and the applause was universal.

But what have the officers of the *Endymion* done? They give out that the *President* was taken by the *Endymion*; and this frigate has lately sailed from Bermuda for England with the *President* as *MER PRIZE*, having the English colours hoisted over the American flag, signifying to all they meet—"We of the *Endymion* ALONE took the American frigate *President*." This deserves to be gazetted throughout Europe, as it will be throughout America. Such miserable tricks are unworthy the people whence we sprang. It is furnishing Johnny Bull with a cork jacket at the expence of honour. If he cannot hold his head up above the waves, without such a dishonourable apparatus, let him sink.—"FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CÆLUM."

JONATHAN.

P. S. By the return of votes yesterday, we find that the federal party have lost ground since the last April, to a degree

that must excite their alarm, if not despair. In spite of their "*benevolent societies*," they are going down the stream and over the dam.

By consulting the Boston papers of last Autumn, you will find that the *volunteer services*, in the defence of Boston and the sea coast, far exceeded those of Philadelphia, and were only surpassed by New York. The Federalists were as eager as the Republicans "*to meet the enemy at the water's edge*." The only contest would have been, *who shall close with the enemy first?* Lord Liverpool's ignorance of the individual feeling proves him not fit for his station (4).

(4) No; but, it proves, that he never heard the truth, any more than his predecessors had done before him. I told it him; but I was not in the pay of government. It is the interest of those who supply our government with intelligence from America to deceive the ministers. Good news is pleasanter than bad; and, since conclusions drawn in favour of the effects of the principles of freedom, have been looked upon as a proof of Jacobinism in the party drawing such conclusions, persons under the government cannot be expected to be very forward in performing such an office. The evil, however, is very great. I verily believe, that PERCEVAL entered on the war, and that it was afterwards continued, under the impression, that the States were ready to divide, and that a part of them was anxious to join this country against the Federal Government. That such was the general belief in this country is notorious. Nay, ninety-nine out of a hundred of the readers of the Register believed it. The mischievous falsehood had its rise in the disappointment and malice of the Massachusetts Noblesse, who are, by both countries, to be fairly charged with being the chief cause of the war. This nest of vipers cannot be too soon crushed. The people of America must clap their foot upon it, or the brood will, some time or other, sting them to death. This is a race of reptiles not to be trifled with. As America grows rich this race will raise their heads, unless they be extirpated. The little beginnings ought to be watched with infinite care. "The Honorable Gentleman," and "my Honorable Friend," are appellations of more practical consequence than the Americans seem to be aware of. I see with pleasure, that the *President* keeps to his good plain address of "*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives*." When the French Assembly

TO CORRESPONDENTS,
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Botley, near Southampton, 30th May, 1815.

In my last Number, dated May 27th, 1815, I pointed out very fully how persons in America might *write* to me, or send papers, or pamphlets to me.—I shall be obliged to the American Printers of newspapers to give insertion to that notification, as it may lead to a communication equally beneficial to both countries.—I have, in the article just mentioned, acknowledged my obligations to Mr. CAREY for his “*CALM ADDRESS*.” I have now to thank a Friend at Boston for a copy of “*the Olive Branch*” by the same author; a work which deserves all the praise and all the success that it has met with.—I have also received newspapers from Boston, and will use my best endeavours to repay these acts of civility in kind.—I perceive that a letter which I wrote in December, or November last, addressed “*to a Correspondent in America*,” containing a comparative view of the Taxes, Debt, &c. of England and America, has been re-published there.—I should be obliged to any one who would take the trouble to give me information about America on all the heads that I have there touched on with regard to England.—The best way would be to do this *in print* in some American newspaper, in a letter addressed to me, with the writer’s real name at the bottom. Men are more careful about *facts* when they publish in the face of those amongst whom they live, and are to live, and when they sign with their names that which they publish.—In any thing *intended for re-publication here*, the writer must remember what sort of *libel-laws* we live under. He must abstain from much that he might be disposed to say. My letter, last-mentioned, may serve him as a model. He will there see a notable specimen of the spirits’ sacrificing to the safety of the flesh.—And, after all, it is not to

abolished titles, we laughed at their attachment to forms; but, in fact, they were substances.—The war, now about to be entered on, will, perhaps, bring them back again to the spot whence they started. At any rate, if America wishes to continue a Republic, she must resolutely set her face against these nick-names.

WM. COBBETT.

words, it is not to *hard names*; it is to *thumping facts* clearly stated, and to *sound argument* closely packed and strongly pressed upon the mind, that we must look for the producing of conviction. But, principally *facts* are the things. “Bricks! mortar!” I hear the fellow cry, when they are building houses. So, when men read, they keep crying out for facts.—If any new writer should be disposed to give me the information I seek, I cannot tell him what sort of style I like in any way so well as by telling him, that it is precisely the opposite of that of a letter, which I see in the Boston *Yankee* of the 6th Jan. 1815, signed “JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke,” the feelings arising from the reading of which really resemble those which would succeed the swallowing of a quid of the tobacco grown on the borders of that delightful river. If this gentleman be not deemed insane, it must be allowed, I think, that his letter is a practical proof, that sanity may, at times, perform the functions of madness.—I shall send, in a few days, or, rather, cause to be sent, a copy of a small work, lately published here, by Mr. MORRIS BIRKBECK, on the *internal state of France*. As Mr. CAREY, or some one else, in America, may *republish this work*, a work of great consequence to the cause of freedom, it may be useful for such re-publisher to know something of the AUTHOR of the work; because when the work is a statement of facts, and when these rest upon the writer’s *assertion*, as being the fruit of his *own observation*, the value of the work must depend on the *veracity* and *judgment* of the author. Now, the author of this work is a most respectable man; he is a great farmer, occupying one whole parish and part of another; he is celebrated for his agricultural experience and skill; he was one of the persons whose evidence upon the abstruse subject of the Corn Bill was taken by and printed by order of the Committee of the House of Lords last year; he was chosen as one of the judges at the last prize show of Merino sheep in London.—Perhaps, in all England, there is not a man of fairer reputation; not one man, less to be suspected of straining facts to meet his own prejudices.—I much question if he will be pleased with me for undertaking to *give him a character*. But, though nothing that I can say would have any such effect in England, it is different as to America,

the people of France might escape from a state of war, of which they had good cause to be weary. We, however, gave them a king with old notions, and with the old nobility and priesthood at his heels: these proved still less tolerable than war, and they recalled their Emperor. He remembered their sacrifice of himself for peace, and knew that the promise of peace would be the pledge of their attachment. He, therefore, abjured his schemes of conquest, and submitted himself to moderate councils. Yet you would again urge, nay compel, to war that nation, headed by the same General, and with the same breath in which you detail his triumphs! He made his brother King of Holland; he called his son King of Rome; and it is Alexander *King of Poland*, Frederick William *King of Saxony*, and the immaculate cabinet of Great Britain (which appointed the *King of Belgium* by an armed force,) together with his father-in-law, the equally legitimate sovereign of half Italy; these are the *pure and honourable avengers of political morality and the faith of treaties!!!* The most unpardonable offence of Napoleon was quitting Elba, just before those *righteous* observers of treaties had fixed on the place of his final seclusion. "*Voila le congrès dessous*" are words that can never be forgiven by the confederacy of Monarchs. "*Imperial Europe*" sickened at the sound; but it was music to the *people*;—to thousands in this island who would not yield, in real attachment to the Constitution, to your former professions. Napoleon takes possession of an offered throne:—This, upon your *new* scale, is "*gigantic wickedness*."—Assumption by force, of the government of an unwilling people, is "*vice in moderation*," and "*has displeased you*." He intended to take possession of England: he intends to take possession of Belgium: he intends to enslave Europe: on these presumptions Great Britain must be taxed to destruction; the wretched subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, must be led to slaughter;—France must be laid waste by *fire and sword*!—If no intelligence had reached us, you could not have believed that Louis the Desired, having administered with wisdom an excellent constitution, should not have collected even a small band of faithful adherents to grace his exit. And now that we have heard

of his silent departure, you talk of the beneficence of his *reign*; and the Constitution, agreed to, but not observed, was only not *too good* for these poor Frenchmen!—The one descends from the throne unnoticed; the other is received with acclamation. Yet in our Senate it is declared, and more wonderful, is believed, that the former was the choice, and the latter is the abhorrence of his subjects!

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

M. BIRKBECK.

Wanborough, May 29, 1815.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF CONFERENCE OF THE POWERS WHO SIGNED THE TREATY OF PARIS.

Conference of the 12th May, 1815.

The Committee appointed on 9th instant, and charged to examine, whether, after the events which have passed since the return of Napoleon Bonaparte to France, and in consequence of the documents published at Paris on the Declaration which the Powers issued against him on the 13th of March last, it would be necessary to proceed to a new Declaration, presented at the sitting of this day the following Report:—

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Declaration published on the 13th of March last against Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents, by the Powers who signed the treaty of Paris, having, since his return to Paris, been discussed in various shapes by those whom he has employed for that purpose; these discussions having acquired great publicity, and a letter addressed by him to all the Sovereigns, as well as a note addressed by the Duke of Vercenza to the heads of the Cabinets of Europe, having been also published by him with the manifest intention of influencing and misleading public opinion, the Committee appointed in the sitting of the 9th inst. was charged to present a report on these topics; and considering that in the above-mentioned publications, it has been attempted to invalidate the Declaration of the 13th of March, by laying it down,—1. That that Declaration, directed against Bonaparte, at the period of his landing on the coast of France, was without application now that he had laid hold of the reins of government without open resistance, and that this fact sufficiently proving the wishes of the nation, he had not only re-entered into possession of his old rights in regard to France, but that the question even of the legitimacy of his government had ceased to be within the jurisdiction of the powers;—2. That by offering to ratify the Treaty of Paris, he removed every ground of war against

him;—The Committee has been especially charged to take into consideration—1. Whether the position of Bonaparte in regard to the Powers of Europe has changed by the fact of his arrival at Paris, and by the circumstances that accompanied the first success of his attempt on the throne of France;—Whether the offer to sanction the Treaty of Paris, of the 31st of May, 1814. can determine the Powers to adopt a system different from that which they announced in the Declaration of the 13th of March;—3. Whether it be necessary or proper to publish a new declaration to confirm or modify that of the 13th of March? The Committee having maturely examined these questions, submits to the assembly of Plenipotentiaries the following account of the result of its deliberations:—

FIRST QUESTION.

Is the position of Bonaparte in regard to the Powers of Europe altered by the first success of his enterprise, or by the events which have passed since his arrival in Paris.

The Powers, informed of the landing of Bonaparte in France, could see in him only a man who, by advancing on the French territory, with force and arms, and with the avowed project of overturning the established Government, by exciting the people and the army to revolt against their lawful Sovereign, and by usurping the title of Emperor of the French, (1) had incurred the penalties which all legislations pronounce against such outrages,—a man who, by abusing the good faith of the sovereigns, had broken a solemn treaty,—a man, in fine, who, by recalling upon France, happy and tranquil, all the scourges of internal and external war, and upon Europe, at a moment when the blessings of peace must have consoled her for her long sufferings, the sad necessity of a new general armament, was justly regarded as the implacable enemy of public welfare. Such was the origin, such were the grounds of the Declaration of the 13th of March;—a Declaration of which the justice and necessity have been universally acknowledged, and which general opinion has sanctioned. The events which

conducted Bonaparte to Paris, and restored to him for the moment the exercise of supreme power, have, doubtless, *in fact*, altered the position in which he was at the period of his entering France; but these events, brought on by criminal collusion, by military conspiracies, by revolting treasons, can create no right; they are absolutely null in a legal point of view; and in order to the position of Bonaparte being essentially and legitimately altered, it would be necessary that the steps which he has taken to establish himself on the ruins of the government overturned by him, should have been confirmed by some legal title. Bonaparte lays it down in his publications, that the wishes of the French nation in favour of his re-establishment on the throne suffice to constitute this legal title. The question for the powers to examine may be stated as follows:—Can the consent, real or fictitious, explicit or tacit, of the French nation to the re-establishment of Bonaparte's power, operate a legal change in the position of the latter in regard to foreign powers, and form a title obligatory on these powers?—The Committee are of opinion that such cannot by any means be the effect of such consent; and the following are their reasons:—The Powers know too well the principles which ought to guide them in their relations with an independent country, to attempt (as it is endeavoured to accuse them) "to impose upon it laws, to interfere in its internal affairs, to prescribe to it a form of government, to give it masters according to the interests or passions of its neighbours (2). But they also know that the liberty of a nation to change its system of government must have its just limits, and that if foreign Powers have not the right to prescribe to it the exercise which it shall make of that liberty, they have at least indubitably the right of protesting against the abuse which it may make of it at their expense. Impressed with this principle, the Powers do not deem themselves authorised to impose a government on France; but they will never renounce the right of preventing the establishment in France of a focus of disorders and of subversions to other States, under the title of a Government. They will respect the liberty of France in every way in which it shall not be incompatible with their own security and the general tranquillity of Europe. In the existing case, the right of the Allied Sovereigns to interfere in the question of the internal government of France, is the more incontestable, inasmuch as the abolition of the power which now claims to

(1) The 1st Article of the Convention of the 11th of April, 1814, is as follows; "The Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all rights of sovereignty and of power, not only over the French empire and the Kingdom of Italy, but also over every other country." Notwithstanding this formal renunciation, Bonaparte in his different proclamations from the Gulf of Juan, from Gap, Grenoble and Lyons, entitled himself "by the Grace of God and the constitutions of the empire Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c. See *Moniteur* of March 21, 1815.

(2) It is thus that Bonaparte's Council of State express themselves in their Report on the intentions of the Powers. See *Moniteur* of the 13th of April.

be re-established there, was the fundamental condition of a treaty of peace, on which rested all the relations which, up to the return of Bonaparte to Paris, subsisted between France and the rest of Europe. On the day of their entrance into Paris, the Sovereigns declared that they would never treat of peace with Bonaparte (3). This declaration, loudly applauded by France and by Europe, produced the abdication of Napoleon and the convention of the 11th of April; it formed the principal basis of the negotiation; it was explicitly pronounced in the preamble of the treaty of Paris. The French nation, even supposing it perfectly free and united, cannot withdraw itself from this fundamental condition without abrogating the treaty of Paris and all its existing relations with the European system. The allied Powers, on the other hand, by insisting on this very condition, only exercise a right which it is impossible to contest to them, unless it be maintained that the most sacred compacts can be perverted as suits the convenience of either of the contracting parties. It hence follows, that the will of the people of France is by no means sufficient to re-establish, in a legal sense, a Government proscribed by solemn engagements, which that very people entered into with all the Powers of Europe; and that they cannot, under any pretext, give validity as against these Powers to the right of recalling to the throne, him, whose exclusion was a condition preliminary to every pacific arrangement with France: the wish of the French people, even if it were fully ascertained, would not be the less null and of no effect in regard to Europe towards re-establishing a power, against which all Europe has been in a state of permanent protest from the 31st of March, 1814, up to the 13th of March, 1815; and in this view, the position of Bonaparte is precisely at this day what it was at these last mentioned periods.

SECOND QUESTION.

Should the offer to sanction the Treaty of Paris change the dispositions of the Powers?

France has had no reason to complain of the Treaty of Paris. This Treaty reconciled France with Europe; it satisfied all her true interests, secured all her real advantages, all the elements of prosperity and glory, which a people called to one of the first places in the European system could reasonably desire, and only took from her that which was to her, under the deceitful exterior of great national eclat, an inexhaustible source of sufferings, of ruin, and of misery: This Treaty was even an immense benefit for a country, reduced by the madness of its chief to the most disastrous situation (4). The Allied Powers would have betrayed their interests and their duties, if, as the price of so much moderation and generosity, they had not, on signing the treaty, obtained some solid advantage; but the sole object of their ambition was the peace of

Europe and the happiness of France. Never, in treating with Bonaparte, would they have consented to the conditions which they granted to a government, which, "while offering to Europe a pledge of security and stability, relieved them from requiring from France the guarantees which they had demanded under its former government." (5) This clause is inseparable from the treaty of Paris; to abolish it, is to break this treaty. The formal consent of the French nation to the return of Bonaparte to the throne would be equivalent to a declaration of war against Europe: for the state of peace did not exist between Europe and France, except by the treaty of Paris, and the treaty of Paris is incompatible with the power of Bonaparte. If this reasoning had need of further support, it might be found in the very offer of Bonaparte to ratify the treaty of Paris. This treaty had been scrupulously observed and executed: the transactions of the Congress of Vienna were only its supplements and developments; and without the new attempt of Bonaparte, it would have been for a long series of years one of the bases of the public right of Europe: but this order of things has given place to a new revolution; and the agents of this revolution, although they proclaim incessantly "that (6) nothing has been changed," conceive and feel themselves that all is changed around them. The question is no longer the maintenance of the treaty of Paris, but the *making of it afresh*. The Powers find themselves, with respect to France, in the condition in which they were on the 31st of March, 1814. It is not to prevent war, for France has in fact rekindled it, it is to terminate it that there now offers itself to Europe a state of things essentially different from that on which the peace of 1814 was founded. The question, then, has ceased to be a question of right: it is no more than a question of political calculation and foresight, in which the powers have only to consult the real interests of their people and the common interest of Europe. The Committee thinks it may dispense with entering here into an exposition of the considerations which, under this last view, have directed the measures of the governments. It will be sufficient to recall to notice, that the man, who, in now offering to sanction the treaty of Paris, pretends to substitute his guarantee for that of a Sovereign, whose loyalty was without stain, and benevolence without measure, is the same who during 15 years ravaged and laid waste the earth, to find means of satisfying his ambition, who sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of an entire generation, to a system of conquests, whom truces, little worthy of the name of peace, have only rendered more oppressive and more odious; (7) who, after having by mad enterprises

(5) Preamble of the Treaty of Paris.

(6) This idea recurs perpetually in the report of the Council of State of Bonaparte, published in the *Moniteur*, April 13, 1815.

(7) The Committee here think it right to add the important observation, that the greater part of the invasions, and forced unions, of which Bonaparte formed successively what he called the *Great Empire*, took place during those perfidious intervals of peace, more destructive to

(3) Declaration of the 31st of March, 1814.

(4) The Emperor, convinced of the critical situation in which he has placed France, and of the impossibility of saving it himself, appeared to resign himself and consent to an entire and unconditional abdication.—Letter of Marshal Ney to the Prince of Benevent.

tired fortune, armed all Europe against him, and exhausted all the means of France, was forced to abandon his projects, and abdicated power to save some relics of existence; who, at the moment when the nations of Europe were giving themselves up to the hope of a durable tranquillity, meditated new catastrophes, and by a double perfidy, towards the powers who had too generously spared him, and towards a government which he could not attack without the blackest treason, usurped a throne which he had renounced; and which he never occupied except for the misery of France and the world. This man has no other guarantee to propose to Europe than his word. After the cruel experience of 15 years, who would have the courage to accept this guarantee? and if the French nation has really embraced his cause, who could any longer respect the security which it could offer? Peace with a government placed in such hands, and composed of such elements, would only prove a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger. No power could really disarm: nations would not only enjoy any of the advantages of a true pacification; they would be crushed by charges of all kinds; as confidence would no where revive, industry and commerce would every where languish; there would be no stability in political relations; gloomy discontent would sit brooding on every country, and at a day's notice, alarmed Europe would expect fresh explosions. The Sovereigns have certainly not mistaken the interests of their subjects, when they have thought that open war, with all its inconveniences, and all its sacrifices, preferable to such a state; and the measures which they have adopted, have met with general approbation.—The opinion of Europe on this great occasion is pronounced in a manner very positive and very solemn; never could the real sentiments of nations have been more accurately known and more faithfully interpreted than at a moment when the representatives of all the Powers were assembled to consolidate the peace of the world.

THIRD QUESTION.

Is it necessary to publish a new Declaration?

The observations which the Committee have just presented, furnish the answer to the last question which remains to be examined. It considers,—1. That the Declaration of the 13th of March was dictated to the Powers by reasons of such evident justice and such decisive weight, that

Europe than even the wars with which it was tormented. It was thus that he took possession of Piedmont, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, or the States of Rome, of Holland, of the countries composing the 3d Military Division. It was thus at a period of peace (at least with all the Continent), that he struck the first blow against Portugal and Spain, and he thought to have finished the conquest of those countries by cunning and audacity, when the patriotism and energy of the people of the Peninsula drew him into a sanguinary war, the commencement of his own downfall, and of the salvation of Europe.

none of the sophistries by which it is pretended to be attacked can at all affect it:—2. That these reasons remain in all their force, and that the changes which have in fact occurred since the Declaration of the 13th of March, have produced no alteration in the position of Bonaparte and of France with regard to the Allies.—3. That the offer to ratify the Treaty of Paris cannot on any account alter the disposition of the Allies.—Therefore, the Committee is of opinion that it would be useless to publish a fresh declaration. The Plenipotentiaries of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, and who as such are responsible for its execution with regard to the acceding Powers, having taken into consideration, and sanctioned by their approbation the preceding report, have resolved, that there shall be made to the Plenipotentiaries of the other Royal Courts a communication of the minutes of this day. They have further ordered that an extract of the said minutes shall be made public.—Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the Courts:—

AUSTRIA.—Prince METTERNICH,
Prince WESSENBURG.

SPAIN (Espagne).—P. GÓMEZ LABRADOR.

FRANCE.—Prince TALLEYRAND,
Duke of DALBERG,
Count ALEX DE NOAILLES,

GREAT BRITAIN.—CLANCARTY,
CATHCART,
STEWART.

PORTUGAL.—The Count DE PALMELLA,
SALDANHA,
LOBO.

PRUSSIA.—Prince HARDENBERG,
Baron HUMHOLDT.

RUSSIA.—Count RASOUMOVSKY,
Count STAKELBERG,
Count NESSELRÖDE.

SWEDEN.—Count LOEWENHJELM.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, approving the whole of the principles contained in the present extract from the minutes, have affixed to it their signatures.

Vienna, May 12, 1815.

BAVARIA.—Count RECHBERG.

DENMARK.—C. BERNSTORFF,
I. BERNSTORFF.

HANOVER.—Count MUNSTER,
Count HARDENBURGH.

NETHERLANDS.—Baron SPAEN,
Baron GAGERN,

SARDINIA.—The Marquis de ST. MARCAN.
Count ROSSI.

SAXONY.—Count SCHULEMBURG.

TWO SICILIES.—The Commander RUFFO,
WURTEMBERG.—Count WINZINGERBACH,
Baron LINDEN.

"The revolutionary ideas of France have already made but too great a progress in the hearts of men in all countries; and even in the very centre of every capital. If crime be crowned with reward in France, every individual may hope that the subversion of order in his own country will procure him a situation, if not honourable, at least honoured. IT IS NOT BUNAPARIE THAT AT PRESENT FORMS THE DANGER OF EUROPE: he is unmasked. IT IS THE NEW OPINIONS; it is the disorganisation of men's minds; it is the making revolt a calculation of private interest; it is the most deadly of all contagions, the contagion of immorality, of false philanthropy, of a perfidious self-styled philosophy; from all which the world requires to be protected. THIS IS THE TRUE HYDRA which must be DESTROYED, or it will destroy all Europe. The cause of morality is the cause of GOD; it is the cause of all men, of all nations, of all thrones!"—*Times Newspaper*, 6 June, 1815.

LETTER V.

To LORD CASLBERG.

On the Debates relative to the Commencement of the War against France.

MY LORD,

II. *Of the French system of Government.*

—For a long while it was pretended, that it was merely Napoleon who was the object of dread with the Allies. They would not interfere in the domestic affairs of France. They would not presume to say what sort of government the French should have. They did not pretend to deny, that they had no right to forbid the French to have whatever kind of government they might choose. But, Napoleon; it was merely Napoleon, that they wished to put down, because he had broken his treaties with them, and because his ambition was such, that he would never suffer Europe to be at rest. This was the language for a long while. But, by degrees, it has changed; and, it is the French SYSTEM,

which we now hear the warriors most bitterly complain of. They have disguised this for a good while; because, the letting it be seen, that they were at war against the kind of government existing in France, was to give their opponents a powerful handle against them. At last, however, they have been driven to suffer this to take place. They were beaten upon the personal question, and were compelled to fly to the system. In the published report of the Debate in the House of Lords, it is stated, that the EARL of LIVERPOOL said, that we were "compelled again to have recourse to arms, and to renew the contest against that power, and that system, which had been the parent of such tremendous calamities: that the state of things in France afforded no security for peace without the most imminent danger to other nations: that, with such a government as that of France, animated with such a spirit, and acting upon such principles, it was impossible to expect with safety to remain in a state of peace that he himself was desirous that France should have a limited government, founded on principles of a nature similar to those which prevailed in THIS COUNTRY. He knew that it had been a matter of speculation how far a free constitution could be maintained in France, together with that large military force, which, on account of her extensive frontier, numerous fortresses, and from other causes, it might be necessary for that country to keep up even in time of peace. It had been contended by some, that so large a military establishment was incompatible with a limited government; but whether that opinion was well or ill founded, this at least was clear, that under such circumstances, it was impossible that a free Constitution could exist where the head of the government was a military chief, who owed his situation to the sword, and whose title arose from, and was founded on the sword. There was no individual under

“ whose sway it was so totally impossible
 “ that any thing like a limited government
 “ could exist, as that individual whose
 “ title depended on the sword, whose
 “ fame, whose power, and all that rendered him distinguished, arose from,
 “ and was connected with war and conquest. At the period of the invasion
 “ of France, the general impression in
 “ that country was, that under him there
 “ was no hope of a permanent limited government; and the common opinion
 “ was, that so desirable an object would
 “ be best secured under the sway of the
 “ old family. There was, in the very circumstance of the Government being in
 “ the hands of the old and legitimate family, which formed the best security
 “ for the permanence and support of a
 “ limited system. If the restoration of the old family, therefore, would be beneficial to the whole of the rest of Europe,
 “ it would be in the highest degree
 “ favourable to France. Then could any
 “ one so completely shut his eyes to all
 “ that happened during the last 14 or 15
 “ years, as to believe that this country or
 “ Europe could with safety enjoy a state
 “ of repose, while the PLAN and SYSTEM of Government remained as it was
 “ at present? : that in the whole of
 “ Europe there was only one sentiment, and
 “ the Sovereigns had the means and the will
 “ to resist a system, the existence of which
 “ must be destructive of all hopes of secure
 “ and permanent tranquillity. That
 “ the Allies wished not to see France abandoned to the ravages of war, her provinces or her resources curtailed, but
 “ only such a government existing in that
 “ country as would afford security to the
 “ rest of Europe. In this view he thought
 “ it would be generally admitted, that the
 “ restoration of Louis XVIII. to his
 “ throne was an object dear to the heart,
 “ not only from feelings of SYMPATHY,
 “ but from a principle of general expediency. That the argument, then,
 “ was this : in the first place, you clearly
 “ had a just cause of war against THAT
 “ SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN
 “ FRANCE, which experience had decidedly
 “ proved to be incompatible with the
 “ peace and independence of the nations of
 “ Europe : next, you had, at present,
 “ means of opposing that system which
 “ you could not reasonably hope to possess at a future time; and the question

“ was, whether, under these circumstances,
 “ it was not incumbent upon you to take
 “ advantage of this state of things, and
 “ oppose so PERNICIOUS A SYSTEM, whilst the amplest means of
 “ resistance were in your power.
 “ That we had a right to say, that France
 “ shall not have a Government which threatens the repose of other nations.
 “ that we ought not to refuse to join in
 “ crushing one of the greatest evils that
 “ ever existed.”—Thus far the PRIME MINISTER. Nothing can be more full to the point. It is the SYSTEM, the sort of Government. This is what the Allies are at war with; and, they are at war with Napoleon because he is the Chief of the nation, who have adopted that system.—The report gives to LORD GRENVILLE the following expressions upon this point :
 “ Was it nothing now to be desired to
 “ sanction a system under which Europe
 “ had so long groaned, with such an army
 “ and such a chief at its head? If his position was said to have undergone
 “ some change, his situation again was
 “ now changed; and as the army was formerly upheld by spoliation and plunder,
 “ so now, for the same objects, he was recalled by his former instruments, who
 “ alone could maintain him in his regained power. As to new constitutions, he was
 “ firmly of opinion, that a good constitution could only be formed by the adaptation of remedies from time to time, under the circumstances which required them. That seemed the only means of
 “ accomplishing that difficult work. The
 “ only instance of exception mentioned
 “ was that of America: but that did not
 “ apply. The founders of that constitution acted with great wisdom. It was
 “ framed so as to produce as little change
 “ as possible in the existing laws and manners under the altered form of government, which, though a republic, was
 “ constructed as nearly as the difference
 “ would admit, on the monarchical form
 “ of our OWN CONSTITUTION.”—How odd it is, my Lord, that we should always be wanting other people to initiate our “ invaluable Constitution!” However, this is another man’s matter, as the saying is. It shall be my business, in a separate address to Lord Grenville, to shew him how “ nearly” the Americans have constructed their Government upon our plan: that shall be my

business, and shall be fully discharged in the next number of the Register.—But, to return to the French SYSTEM; the reporter makes your Lordship say: “that in this case it is impossible to separate the Government from the nation.”—Mr. J. SMITH is reported as having called the French system a system of Plunder and to have called the French army *banditti*. Did the gentleman never hear of any other plunderers? I have a great mind to send him a file of American newspapers! The truth is, that we do take the liberty to look upon ourselves as exempt from all the moral obligations which we apply to the conduct of others. We are like Butler’s Saints, who insisted, that fiddles, race-horses, whores, and dice were their exclusive property, and were, in part, unjustly detained from them by the wicked.—Mr. GRATTAN’S words are next given by the reporter, who makes that gentleman say: “that the French Government is a stateocracy: that the French Constitution was war, and that Bonaparte was the man best calculated to support it: . . . that with Mr. Burke’s authority, with Mr. Fox’s practice, and with the opinions and conduct of others whom it would wear out a day to name, he was against a treaty founded on the chances of Bonaparte’s giving liberty to France, at the certain hazard of the independence of Europe. If we had no right to dictate a Government to France, we had a right to say to France, ‘You shall not choose a Government, the object of which is to raise all your strength against Europe.’ As to the Government of Louis the Eighteenth, which he should rather speak of as interrupted than subverted, it was mildness itself compared to that of Bonaparte. It was free under it to discuss all questions of church or ministry, or political or religious intolerance, and the science of Government and philosophy, and intolerance advanced under it, and there was at least an amenity in France that rendered a great nation amiable. It was now proposed to subject that race of people to a pure oriental despotism. There was a sort of monstrous unreality in the received system of Government, that stated nothing as it is; and every thing as it was not. (Hear.) The whole state was corrupted. He would ask whether by treaty they would con-

firm in the heart of Europe a military domination founded on triumph over civil rights, and which had made the experiment of governing a great nation without any religion, and which aimed at governing Europe by means of breaking oaths and deposing Kings? (Hear) If they would agree to confirm that system,—if they would degrade the honour of England—if they would forget the value of morals, and despise the obligations of religion,—if they would astonish all our allies by such a confirmation, would not Europe exclaim against us, and say, ‘You have kindly assisted and generously contributed to our deliverance; and do you at the most urgent moment fall back? In vain have you so long opposed and born up against the flying fortunes of the world, in vain have you taken the eagles from the hands of the invaders, in vain have you snatched invincibility from the standards of the foe! Now, when all Europe is ready to march, are you, who were in the front before, the foremost to take the lead in desertion?’ . . . MR. C. WYNNE quoted a number of historical facts, to shew that it had always been necessary to curb the ambition of FRANCE, and contrasted the approaching meeting in Paris, to accept the new constitution, under the influence of a military despotism, with the FREEDOM OF ELECTION IN ENGLAND, where all the troops were removed from the spot at which it took place.”—This is very true, my Lord. I dare say there were no army present at the election of Mr. QUENTIN DICK; nor did I ever hear of any being employed at Sarum, Gatton, Reggate, Appleby, Bamber, Queenborough, Newton, and a long list of fine places in Cornwall, Scotland, Ireland, and, indeed all over the kingdom; though I do recollect, I think, something about soldiers being employed at Bristol:—Here, my Lord, I conclude as to this point; and, I think, that it will never, after this, be denied, that the war is now, as it was in 1791, 1792, 1793, and the succeeding years, till 1814, a struggle between republican principles, or, as they are sometimes called jacobin principles, and the principles of aristocracy and monarchy. Which are the best and which the worst of these principles, we are not now dis-

cussing. It is the *fact*, that I am anxious to record the proof of: namely, That the war is a war against the *system of government*, which the French have adopted; a system, of government, which recognizes the right of the people to choose their own Chief Magistrate; which acknowledges no feudal titles or privileges; which knows of no tithes, no predominant Church, Clergy, or Religion; which takes *taxation* as the basis of representation; which knows nothing of Boroughs or their patrons.—Pray, my Lord, look at the motto to this Letter.

III. *Of our present situation with regard to France.*—This, my Lord, is a great point. Because, we have been about 22 years at war; and, if we find the members of both houses of parliament insisting, that **WE ARE NOW IN SUCH A STATE** with regard to France; that another war is absolutely necessary to save us from destruction, is it not time for us to begin to ask *what we have had 22 years of war for?* The whole of this thinking, “this most thinking people” were drunk; they were mad with joy, last year. They boasted, and were applauded for boasting, that they had, by their perseverance in submitting to taxation, at last, won *peace and safety for themselves and for their children.*—Now, then, let us hear what the members of the two houses of parliament are reported to have said upon the subject of our present situation, that is to say, our situation at the end of about eleven months from the time when that boasting took place.—It was said

By the EARL OF LIVERPOOL: “Indeed, “what other alternative was left but “war, or an armed peace almost “equivalent to war in point of expense, and leaving the country in “a feverish state of anxiety as to “defence? Supposing a treaty with “Bonaparte, could any man contemplate a *peace establishment in the old sense of that phrase?* The “country could only have a *feverish and disturbed repose.* The system “of armed defence was calamitous in “itself, and one of which the country “had had no experience. He admitted that circumstances might exist “in which an armed peace might be “preferable to war;—if for instance “the powers of Europe had not been

“prepared, or were indisposed to the “contest, in that case an armed peace “would be preferable, though it “would still be an **ALTERNATIVE** “OF EXCESSIVE EVIL.

By LORD BATHURST, “that it was not “possible for us to avoid war *sooner* “or later; that, next year, Bonaparte’s power would be more *formidable than this year*; that we “went to war to secure ourselves “against alarming danger.

By LORD GRENVILLE, that we were “under the *fatal necessity* of going to “war; that war was not only necessary but *unavoidable*; that there “was no option left us, nor any long “time for *deliberation*; that we “were placed by an *imperious necessity* in a state to do what could “not be avoided; that in *this situation* we were called on to adopt the “means calculated to avert the *greatest dangers.* No words of which “he was master; nothing that the “page of history recorded, appeared “adequate to impress on their Lordships’ minds the situation in which “we were now placed. If such “means were required from any, to “place in full view the dangers of “removing the barriers against “French ambition and aggression, “and the necessity that must exist if “they were not removed, *he should despair.*”

By MR. GRATTAN, “that, as to the ability “of opposing aggression, he hoped “none would live to see the time “when England, together with the “rest of Europe, would be obliged “to truckle before France, and when “these islands should seek an *humble situation under the French Imperial Eagle.* What would be our “situation if we abandoned our alliance? State it as you please, it “must be first of all an *armed peace.* “No Minister would venture to “disarm the country in such a case. “This armed peace would be followed by the evils of a *corruption of manners*, and a vastly increased “expenditure; and that would be “followed by a renewal of war. “You might then have no alliance, “certainly not so strong an alliance “as you have; while your enemy

“ would be confirmed in his title, and
 “ have full opportunity to arm him-
 “ self. Instead of fighting for the
 “ French crown, you would give him
 “ the chance of *fighting for the Eng-
 “ lish crown.* You are
 “ not to consider about what money
 “ you must spend, BUT WHAT FOR-
 “ TUNES YOU MAY BE ABLE TO KEEP.
 “ On the very principle of *economy*,
 “ you are to consider that you will
 “ not expend more by war than by
 “ remaining at peace, with the de-
 “ mands of a war establishment.”

By MR. PLUNKETT, that “ he considered
 “ that we had, in fact, *no option be-
 “ tween peace and war.* As for peace,
 “ we could have no more than a fever-
 “ ish, *unrefreshing dream of peace*
 “ *still haunted by the spectre of war.*
 “ In point of finances we should find
 “ a peace with a war establishment
 “ would be much greater than war.
 “ If we did now go to war in con-
 “ junction with all the great powers
 “ of Europe, we would *soon be re-
 “ duced to a war single-handed against*
 “ *France.* If we did not now in-
 “ vade France, and carry on the war
 “ upon her territories, the time might
 “ come when our country would be-
 “ come the seat of war, and we would
 “ fall unpitied and despised. If we
 “ were now to turn our back upon
 “ the great powers that were our
 “ Allies, we would deserve that all
 “ nations should turn their backs
 “ upon us, when we began to feel
 “ the consequences of our impolicy.
 “ Mr. Plunkett's speech was received
 “ by the House with *great applause*,
 “ and he was *loudly cheered for se-
 “ veral minutes* after he had sat down.”

By LORD MILTON, that “ it was better to
 “ *have war with the advantages of war,*
 “ *than peace without the advantages*
 “ *of peace;* and considering, as he
 “ did, that no faith could be placed
 “ in the present Ruler of France, he
 “ thought the only *real security* we
 “ *could have, was to be found in a*
 “ *vigorous war.*”

IV. *Of the Pitt system.*—This is the
 most important point of all; for, in fact,
 the question is *now to be decided*, whether
 the system of this man was good or bad.
 Not to be decided for the *intelligent* part
 of the nation; but for the herd, who have

no mind of their own; who never think;
 who take up the thoughts of others; who
 are, in reality, no more members of civil
 society than are dogs and horses, whom
 they imitate in subserviency, and whom
 they hardly surpass in the powers of rea-
 soning. For these persons, if persons they
 ought to be called; for those who are not
 to be convinced by the weight of taxes
 which they bear; by the disappearance of
 the real money of the country; by the
 sale of *light guineas* at 28 shillings each
 in Bank of England paper; by the law
 protecting that Bank against the demand
 of payment of its notes in cash; by the
 law making those notes a legal tender for
 rent; by the tripling of the poor-rates
 and the paupers; by the law relative to
 the importation of Corn; by all the laws
 laying restraint upon the press; by the
 suspension of the *habeas corpus* act for
 seven years at one time; by the keeping
 up, for many years, and still now keeping
 up, a foreign army, an army of Germans,
 of *Hanoverians*, in England, in time of
 peace as well as in time of war: for those,
 who are not to be convinced by all these
 things, the question is *now to be decided*,
 whether the Pitt system be a good one or
 a bad one.—One would have thought,
 however, after having heard the *above*
description of our perilous state at this
 time; after hearing the country described
 as having no alternative but *war* or an
armed peace; after having it positively as-
 serted, and hearing the assertion *cheered*
 from all quarters, that we are now under
 the fatal necessity of renewing the war and
 of paying subsidies, and that this gives us
 the *only chance of salvation*: after hear-
 ing this, had we, my good Lord, to ex-
 pect, that, in the same place, and upon
 the same occasion, that *system* which had
 brought us into this state, would be ex-
 tolled to the skies?—Yet, such is the
 fact, which I now have to record.—In
 the published report of your Lordship's
 speech of the 25th of May, I find the fol-
 lowing passage. After speaking in a high
 strain of the *justice* and *wisdom* of the
 Congress at Vienna, and of the *treaties*
 made there, you are reported to have pro-
 ceeded as follows:—“ When the proper
 “ period arrived, he was prepared to jas-
 “ tify them as carrying into execu-
 “ tion, not only in substance, but almost
 “ in all the details, *that plan which had*
 “ *been formed by a statesman, from whom*

“he, and those who acted with him, must ever feel the highest deference and admiration—Mr. Pitt. He (Mr. Pitt) when contemplating the possible success of a great confederation against France, had considered that general arrangement which had been in a great measure carried into effect, to be that which would prove most conducive to the happiness of Europe. He (Lord Castlereagh) was prepared to shew when the question came before the House, that the decisions which had been made with respect to the immediate interests of this country, *were more advantageous than those fondly contemplated by Mr. Pitt, as the consequences of successful war.*—He had not hoped that such good conditions could be obtained for Holland as had been secured at the Congress. Mr. Pitt had considered it necessary to extend the power of Prussia beyond the Rhine, and the annexation of Genoa with Piedmont was *a part of his plan*, much as that arrangement had of late been censured by those in opposition to the present Government. At an early period of the late war, at least when the successes of the Allies had first given a prospect of a successful termination of the struggle against France, soon after the Russian army had crossed the Vistula, he (Lord Castlereagh) had transmitted a copy of the dispatch of Mr. Pitt to the Ambassador of the Emperor Alexander, and desired to be apprized if any, and what alteration had taken place in the views of Russia with respect to that plan in the event of the contest being brought to a successful issue. The answer to this communication informed him, that ‘the Emperor of Russia had nothing to state in departure from the principles of the arrangement *laid down by Mr. Pitt in 1805.*’ This was *some proof of their solidity*, and on these principles England had gone into the contest closely united in the views with her Allies. *Acting on these feelings* which had regulated his conduct, however he might be sensible that it was not possible an arrangement with any particular power could fix the relations of all Europe; and feeling as he did, that as all Europe must co-operate in the great work, it could only be effected in a spirit of compromise; yet was it no small satisfaction to him, and

“to all who revered the politics of that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, as he did, that *they had lived to see that reduced to practice which his great mind, when given to the consideration of this important question, had fondly imagined in the abstract as the utmost of his wishes.*—Lived to see *what reduced to practice*, my Lord? *To practice!* Why, there is no part of the plan yet reduced to practice. *Treaties* have, indeed, been made; but, there is a battle to be fought to decide whether those treaties are to have effect. I know nothing of Pitt’s schemes that has yet succeeded. He told the nation in 1793, that it had to fight for its existence; and so you and your colleagues and supporters tell the nation now. It is, at any rate, a little premature to boast of your great statesman’s success. He had a plan for paying off the National Debt; and the Debt has become more than four times as great as it was when he adopted his plan. He had a plan for ruining the finances of France; and, at the end of four years from that time, he passed a bill to authorize the Bank of England to refuse payment of their notes in cash. He had a plan for inducing the people of England to arm for their country’s defence, and he passed a Bill to authorize the keeping up of Hanoverian Regiments in England. He had a plan for reducing the French by the means of famine; and we have now a Corn Bill to prevent the French from pouring in upon us the superabundance of their provisions.—But, you will say, “allow, at any rate, that his plan for destroying French principles succeeded.” No: for they are *not destroyed*; and, all the speakers in favour of war insist, that we shall now be devoured by these same French principles, unless we *destroy them by war.* The passage, which I have taken for my motto, expresses the sentiments of the whole of the war party. It is, indeed, in the mouths of them all, that war, and war only, can save us from French principles.—Therefore, we are, in this respect, just where your great statesman set out with us; but, we have added to our debt and taxes fourfold, and we have found, that, with the Bourbons on the throne, we cannot live in peace, without greater distress even than that occasioned by war.—The “Pitt Club” may toast as long as they please; but, I am of opinion, that, whether in peace or war, the Pitt System

will very soon have produced consequences that will defy longer disguise.

V. Of the great means of the Allies against France, including subsidies.—

Your Lordship said, upon this point, that you had, thus, “endeavoured to open the general ground of the war, trusting much to the MIND, the INTELLIGENCE, the EXPERIENCE, and EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE of the HOUSE! which had, for twenty-five years, dwelt on passing events. Although painful to his feelings to make a proposition of this nature, instead of realising those BRILLIANT PROSPECTS, of peace and security, which, after so many exertions, the country had a right to contemplate, yet he felt much consolation in comparing our present situation with that in which we stood in the course of former wars. We were not now contending for our own safety, without a single Ally, against the power of the enemy. Let the House recollect, that even at that moment, when engaged in the prosecution of our own moral duty, our aid was required for Portugal and Spain, we had not hesitated to interpose our strong hand: we had felt bold in the justice of our cause, and became the protectors of other countries. This resolution had been pursued with a degree of perseverance, which did honor to the country. We had struggled through the storm—we survived the period of calamity, and had the satisfaction of seeing those two nations freed, and the whole of Europe confederated against France, instead of being combined against us. It was, therefore, evident, that we now started from a different point. We were then fighting against France, and the whole power of Europe. All Europe was now contending with us against France: nay, a strong combination in France itself was probably formed on our side, so that we were fighting with the Powers of the Continent and a portion of France, against the usurpation of Bonaparte and of the army.” Oh! this makes you feel consolation, does it? I wish you could hear what the press of America will say upon this. And, what were the “brilliant prospects” of peace and security? The prospects of peace were worse, were more gloomy, more wretched, than those of war. We had lost all, even if peace

had continued.—But the troops! the troops! Let us see the muster-roll of those who are to destroy French principles by means of powder and ball.—Mr. GRATTAN said, you had 600,000 of these gentlemen preservers of religion and social order; but you carry the number much higher, in your published reported speech of the 26th of May, wherein you give this thinking nation the following

MUSTER ROLL.

“As far as Austria was concerned, there were in full operation, ready to act and be put in motion, an army of 150,000 men in Italy, sufficient of itself to satisfy the stipulations in the treaty. But this power would have an army of extent in another quarter towards the Rhine, so that instead of 150,000, we might consider the operating and effective army to amount to 300,000 men.—With respect to the Russian force, he had the satisfaction to state, that the Emperor had engaged in the present contest with that decision which marked the whole of his conduct throughout the late eventful war, and had resolved to call out a great part of the forces of his mighty empire. General Barclay de Tolly was at the head of as fine an army as ever was called out on service in any country, having such ample means of selection in their power. The force in the ranks under him, which would arrive at the Rhine, amounted to 225,000 men, and as this army was accompanied by a number of volunteers, it would arrive at the Rhine as complete in numbers as when it left the Russian empire. There was assembled besides on the frontiers another army of 150,000 men, under General Wittgenstein; and the Emperor had signified to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent his readiness to put in motion this army, if exigencies should render such a measure necessary. No money that it was in our power to grant could create such an army—all that we could possibly do was to assist them in their efforts. That force of 225,000 men was very nearly advanced to the Rhine, and in such a state of military efficiency as was never exceeded by any army.—The third Power which had made such great exertions during the last war, to the great admiration of every man, had not confined himself to

"the stipulations of the Treaty, but had six corps, of 236,000 men in the whole, in an effective state. But the House were entitled to inquire from him, and he was anxious to anticipate them in their wish for information, whether our pecuniary assistance was to be confided to the three great Powers, and whether such other Powers as might join the common cause were to share all the difficulties, without receiving any extent of assistance? He thought it right that the House should know what was the extent of that description of force, and what was the value of the aid which they were likely to receive from us. Having stated the force of the great Powers, he did not wish to enter into a statement of the force of each subordinate Power. Considering Great Britain and Holland separately, he would estimate the other Powers together—some of them would bring considerable forces into the field; Bavaria, for instance, had an army of 60,000 men of the very best description. The force which that Power, with Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Saxony, the Hanse Towns, and the small States on the Rhine, would bring into the field, amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men, besides what was already stated. That collective mass was independent of the force of the three great Powers, and the force of Great Britain and Holland.—The British force would be 50,000 men, and the King of the Netherlands was to furnish an equal amount of 50,000 men to the Confederacy. There were actually 30,000 of them in service and in the field, and the remainder of the force was in a state of preparation and was expected to be soon ready. Taking therefore the whole collective force:

Austria	-	-	300,000
Russia	-	-	225,000
Prussia	-	-	236,000
Collective States of Germany	-	-	130,000
Great Britain	-	-	50,000
Holland	-	-	50,000

1,011,000

"It formed a total of one million and eleven thousand men exclusive of the army of the Emperor of Russia assembled on the frontiers of his dominions, and ready to act in case of exi-

gency."—Hourra, Pat! here we go at the Jacobins! How this must have delighted the eyes and gladdened the hearts of those worthy and zealous gentlemen, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, who have been the first, and, as yet, the only body of men, who have presented an address in favour of war.

VI. *Of the small means of the French to defend themselves.*—Upon this subject it was said—

By the EARL of LIVERPOOL, that "the sentiments of the bulk of the French nation were extremely averse" to Napoleon.

By MR. GRATTAN, that "the French power had in other respects been diminished. Bonaparte had no cavalry; he had no money; he had no title, nor any credit. The people had never regretted his absence; on the contrary, they were overjoyed at it. Indeed, how could they regret the man who had imposed on them a military yoke—who had taken their money by his own decrees—who had robbed them of their children by an arbitrary conscription? The people would not rise in favour and support of a conqueror who had proved himself an oppressor of France. On the contrary, they would be glad to see the Allies triumph over him; for they must clearly see, that when the conqueror was removed the oppressor would be removed also. The first powers of Europe had now united to remove the oppressor, and it would be ridiculous to suppose that the French people would break their oaths pledged to a mild and merciful Sovereign, for the purpose of saddling themselves with the eternal damnation of a military despotism.".... That, "his" (Napoleon's) "power was at present tottering to the very base."

By MR. PLUNKET, that "If we were to tell the French people that we were ready to negotiate with Bonaparte as their ruler, it would at once destroy all the hopes that might now fairly be entertained of the co-operation of a considerable portion of the nation. When, however, we saw the situation in which Bo-



"naparte now stood; when we saw him reduced to make professions contrary to his very nature; when we saw the vessel in which his fortunes were embarked labouring with the storm, and its mast bowed down to the water's edge, it would be to the height of impolicy and absurdity to hesitate on the cause that we had to pursue."—These are memorable words.

By yourself, my Lord, that "The military force of ALL THE REST OF EUROPE" was combined against "the HALF OF FRANCE."

Hourra, hourra, Pat! Here we dash at the *Jacobins*, as we did at the *Yankees*.

VII. *Of the Morality of the Subsidies.*—MR. PLUNKET said, that "We had now a most powerful combination of Allies, not fomented by us, but acting from the moral feeling which pervades all Europe. If we were foolish enough to throw away those means, we could never hope to recal them. Those of his friends who had talked the most about husbanding the resources of the country, had confessed, that when an occasion should arrive, when some important blow could be struck against the enemy, that system should be no longer persevered in. That important crisis had now arrived. It was vain to expect that a more favourable opportunity would ever arrive. All the great powers of Europe were now with us, and a considerable portion of the population of France."

Here I close my extracts, my Lord. These are memorable passages. They will have to be reverted to many hundreds of times. Here they are safe. They will not now be lost. Here are the alleged causes and the projected effects of the war, on which we are now entering; and, having made these sure, I shall, in my future letters, request your attention to other matters. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 7th June, 1815.

TO CORRESPONDENTS

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Botley, near Southampton, 7th June, 1815.

I have received by post a single National Intelligencer of the 23d of April, and NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER, of April 1st and 8th, 1815. They were under covers, and directed to "Botley, near London." It should have been "Botley, near Southampton." They were put into the post-office at Portsmouth, only 14 miles from Botley; but, having the word London upon them, they were sent on thither. I beg Mr. NILES and the person who sent me the Intelligencer, to accept of my best thanks. I am very highly flattered at perceiving, that a work precisely upon the model, and with the title of my own, should have been established in America, and carried on already to the eighth volume.—I hope Mr. NILES will continue sending me his Register. He shall have Cobbett's Register sent him as regularly as possible.—I beg my Correspondents to look at my Notices in the two last Numbers.

WM. COBBETT.

MODERN FORGERIES.

MR. COBBETT,—The French Government invite the distinguished English at Paris to visit the archives, for the purpose of witnessing the base falsification of documents, made with a view to support the recent political arrangements of the Congress; and that such falsifications have taken place no discerning man in Europe can doubt. It is, however, unnecessary to go to Paris to witness the fraud of such falsifications; a similar manœuvre having just been played off on the whole English nation, so barefacedly, that all may detect it, in an important document, lately laid officially before the House of Commons, a copy of which you inserted in your last Register.

In the ENGLISH TRANSLATION of this document, *M. de Caulaincourt*, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who may be supposed to have written under the immediate eye of the Emperor, is made, in the official translation, to say, in speaking of Napoleon's recall to the throne of France, that "His Majesty prides himself above

"all on the reflection, that he owes it, entirely to the love of the French people, and he has no other wish than to repay such affections no longer by the trophies of VAIN AMBITION, but by all the advantages of an honourable repose, and by all the blessings of a happy tranquillity." Now, Sir, who would suppose, in reading this passage, but that the Emperor Napoleon, penetrated with compunction for his past errors, had been led to confess, through his Minister, that he had been heretofore stimulated by "vain ambition," the vice so currently attributed to him by the prostituted press of England?—Their point in truth was thus accomplished. They had for years accused Bonaparte of disturbing the world by his "vain ambition;" and here they give it under his *own hand*, or, which is the same thing, under the hand of his confidential Minister. Doubtless you and the public at large have been struck with this extraordinary confession, made in the face of a thousand facts, which give it the lie direct, it being most notorious to every one who has lived with his eyes open since the year 1799, that Bonaparte's career began by the restoration of a general peace, and has been uniformly marked by endeavours to remain at peace with all those who chose to be at peace with him; his overtures and solicitations in favour of peace savouring of pusillanimity, and sometimes leading to war, by affording grounds for a charge of weakness on his part. I was led, therefore, to notice this passage in the French original, as presented to the Houses of Parliament, when, to my utter astonishment, I found nothing about "vain ambition," or any sentiment which justified the use of this favourite phrase of our war faction! No man, Mr Cobbett; understands the French language better than yourself; behold then the original phrase of M. de CAULAINCOURT's letter, "Sa Majesté s'honore surtout de la de voir uniquement à l'amour du peuple Français, et elle ne forme plus qu'un désir, c'est de payer tant d'affection, non plus par des trophées d'une trop *infructueuse grandeur*, mais par tous les avantages, d'un honorable repos, par tous les bienfaits d'une heureuse tranquillité." Here, every person who understands French, or who is competent to consult a French dictionary, will find that a moral sentiment,

expressible by the English words UNPROFITABLE GREATNESS, or FRUITLESS GRANDEUR, is insidiously and dishonestly perverted into the criminal passion of "vain ambition," to serve the purposes of corruption and craft, and to delude the very numerous readers of this interesting State Paper, who have not the opportunity to compare it with the French original. Can a "good cause" stand in need of such despicable artifices?

I am, Sir, your constant reader,

WILLIAM MAYLAND.

London, May 28, 1815.

TO THE THINKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,
WHO DO NOT FORM THE ARISTOCRACY,
AND WHO ARE NOT OF THE WAR FAC-
TION.

MY FRIENDS.—It might be well for you to consider the terrific scene, which is pendant over your country, and over Europe. The moments are few, but they may yet serve for the public expression of popular opinion against a war with France, which your Regent and a large proportion of your Aristocracy has determined on. Consider how similar the occasion and commencement of this war is to that of the first one, which arose out of the French Revolution. It is the dread of the success and of the ultimate spread of that spirit, of that Revolution which has alarmed the feelings, and aroused the indignation of our trembling Aristocracy.—The expulsion of one dynasty, and the popular adoption of another; the extinction of old titles, the forfeiture of property; the dissolution of a powerful church establishment, the amelioration of the condition of the great mass of the people, who then became independent; these are too formidable objects to be viewed with complacency by those of this country, whom similar events might place in similar situations. This is the dread, this causes the panic, and this, this only, is the reason why you are to be engaged in a war, of which no man can calculate the conclusion or the consequences.—To make this war palatable, to make it appear necessary for your interest, the base hirelings of every description are using every species of deception and falsehood. One hour we are told, that Bonaparte can never take the

field because the late King, good man, (after he had packed up the Crown jewels we suppose) ordered all the powder and powder-mills to be destroyed. Now is it to be believed, when Soult had the direction of the war department, aided by other Marshals who were planning Napoleon's return, that such an order would have been executed at the last moments of the King's authority; and had it really happened, is it forgotten how in the earliest periods of the Revolutionary war, upon a scarcity of powder, how quickly the men of science, when directed to turn their attention to the preparation of this article, supplied the want. The same falsehood, the same delusion is practiced in a thousand forms. In nothing more than in the impudent statements of desertion from the French armies. I wish the issue of the question of war or peace could be rested upon the truth or falsehood of this fact, whether from the hour of Bonaparte's landing in France, up to this moment of time, they could or could not shew a list of authenticated names of one thousand French soldiers, who had served with him, and who have quitted his standard to join the Allies. The chance would be a poor one for the friends of war.—Such then are the causes of the war, and such the vile means resorted to to induce your hearty concurrence in it, that you may pay for it in taxation and bleed for it, with slaves from Russia, changelings from Germany, and subsidised soldiers from all quarters of the Continent. They tell you, it is to be but a *summer's business*; that the Bourbons, the nobles, the priests, the tythes, the forfeited estates, the virtues, the blessings, and the comforts of the old Regime, and of all the Feudal System, will then be restored in full and original authority; as an example to all nations and all people who dare to exert the rights of nature, and vindicate their freedom against the tyranny of old institutions, and the feebleness and wickedness of the few who lord it over and trample on the many. As agriculturists, I think, you have sufficiently felt and seen the difficulties you now labour under; how taxation prevents your being able to meet the foreign corn grower in the market. As manufacturers, you now see, that by war you have driven all nations to become your rivals; that in the finer goods you are undersold; and that

even the demand for coarser articles is so diminished that trade languishes, and employment in many instances is not to be found. Will an addition of taxes better either of these respective conditions? will not rather increased causes produce increased effects?—Englishmen! “arise, awake, or be ever fallen.” The war is not your war; the objects of it are not your advantage; and the continuance of it must produce a crisis, the horrors, the evils, and ultimate safety from which no man can calculate. The fall of those who occasion the evil will not be alone, or the just retribution of Heaven might cause few tears from the survivors. But around us would hover numerous people, whom we have by our subsidies enriched and ranged in arms; whom we have taught that interference in the internal Government of other countries, is in some cases a duty; and whom their own experience has taught, that in others it may be an advantage, inasmuch as sometimes they may end as conquerors where they pretended to come as mediators and friends. Would, my friends, what I have said might rouse you to the exercise of all legitimate means to stem the tide of war, with which the weakness and wickedness of some men would overwhelm us. The cause is your own, and as is your apathy or your vigour you must abide and remain. *CIVIS,*

June 7th, 1815.

THE CHAMP DE MAI.

In introducing to the notice of my readers, the most impressive and important proceeding which Europe has witnessed since the commencement of the French Revolution, few comments are necessary. It is a ceremony which speaks for itself, and which ought to overwhelm with confusion all the base efforts of the vile hireling press, who stigmatise it with the silly epithet of “*a farce*.” I fear its effects will not be found *farcical*; and certainly if our besotted war faction continue their industrious efforts, one of the first effects will be the renewal of those principles of liberty, which may possibly shake the thrones of the Allied Autocrats to their foundation. I do not say that it will; but it is, at least, *possible* that it may.—But there is one circumstance, connected with the celebration of the *Champ de Mai*,

so strikingly important, that I cannot forbear noticing it. The detestable Billingsgate calumniators of the French Emperor, have uniformly stated, as their decided and conclusive conviction, that he dared not appear in public; that when he went out he was either shut up in a close carriage or rode his horse at full gallop. What do these foul mouthed hirelings say now? What do they say to his placing himself, unarmed and without guards, on an elevated throne, surrounded not only by the people from all parts of the immense French empire, but also by the whole population of the prodigious city of Paris? And yet not a single assassin could be found in spite of all the proclamations of the "legitimate proprietors of the human race," to do the so much desired deed of putting an end to the only *really elected* monarch in Europe.—Would any of the Emperors or Kings who have proscribed Napoleon venture so to expose themselves? I doubt much whether any of them, shining as they are in all the great qualities that adorn human nature, would choose to call about them the population of their States.—At least, it would not perhaps be considered the most wise experiment, unless a *body guard* was previously provided to protect their sacred persons.—After this new proof of the attachment of the French people to Napoleon, let us hear no more of the vile attempts of the Times and the Courier to persuade us, that Napoleon has not been elected by the free and unbiassed suffrages of the French nation. This event is pregnant with the most important consequences; but it is unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject to such men as compose the readers of the Register.—I give them the text; they will make their own commentary:—

Paris, June 2.—Never did a festival more national, never a spectacle at once so solemn and touching, attract the attention of the French people as the Assembly of the Champ de Mai. Every thing that could interest and elevate the soul—the prayers of religion—the compact of a great people with their Sovereign—France represented by the select of her Citizens, Agriculturists, Merchants, Magistrates, and Warriors, collected around the Throne—an immense population, covering the Champ de Mars, and

joining in vows for the great object of that magnificent ceremony—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection.—We shall not at present enter into a particular description of the buildings prepared for this ceremony, but shall merely state the general arrangements. The Emperor's throne was erected in front of the Military School, and in the centre of a vast semi-circular inclosure, two thirds of which formed, on the right and left grand amphitheatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated. The other third in front of the throne was open. An altar was erected in the middle. Further on, and about 100 toises distant, was placed another throne, which overlooked the whole Champ de Mars. The Emperor having repaired to the Champ de Mars, in procession, in the order described in the Programme, appeared on his throne amidst universal acclamations. Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, assisted by Cardinal Bayanne, and four other Bishops.—Mass being concluded, the Members of the Central Deputation of the Electoral Colleges advanced to the foot of the Throne, the steps of which they ascended, in order to have a nearer view of the Emperor, and to be better seen by him. They were about 500 in number. They were presented to his Majesty by the Arch Chancellor.—Then one of the Members of the Deputation (M. Dubois d'Angers, Elector and Representative of the Department of the Maine and Loire), pronounced with a loud voice and much animation, the following Address, in the name of the French people:—

SIRE—The French people had decreed the Crown to you; you deposed it without their consent; its suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it.—A new contract is formed between the nation and your Majesty.—Collected from all points of the Empire around the tables of the law on which we are about to inscribe the wish of the people, this wish, which is the only legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to utter the voice of France, of which we are the immediate organs, not to say in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, and what he is to expect from it.—What

Is the object of the league of Allied Kings with that warlike preparation by which they alarm Europe and afflict humanity?—By what act, what violation have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression? Have we since peace was concluded endeavoured to give them laws? We merely wish to make and to follow those which are adapted to our manners. We will not have the Chief whom our enemies would give us, and we will have him whom they wish us not to have. They dare to proscribe you, personally: you, Sire, who, so often master of their capitals, generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were they to proscribe the most obscure of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy. He would be, like you, under the *Aegis* of French Law and French Power. They menace us with invasion! And yet contracted within frontiers which nature has not imposed upon us, and which, long before your reign, victory and even peace had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties which you had not signed, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass that narrow boundary. Do they ask for guarantees? They have them all in our institutions, and in the will of the French people henceforth united to yours. Do they not dread to remind us of times, of a state of things lately so different, but which may still be re-produced! It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe armed against us.

Because France wishes to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered, and must the fate of Poland be reserved for us? It is in vain to conceal insidious designs under the sole pretence of separating you from us, in order to give us Masters with whom we have nothing in common. Their presence destroyed all the illusions attached to their name. They could not believe our oaths, neither could we their promises. Tithes, feudal rights, privileges, every thing that was odious to us was too evidently the fond object of their thought, when one of them, to console the impatience of the present, assured his confidants that *he would answer to them for the future*. Every thing shall be attempted, every thing executed, to repel so ignominious a yoke. We de-

clare it to nations: may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will look to your vigorous, liberal, and paternal administration for grounds of consolation, for the sacrifices made to obtain peace: but if we are left no choice but between war and disgrace, the whole country will rise for war, and the nation is prepared to relieve you from the too moderate offers you have perhaps made, in order to save Europe from a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: Victory will follow your eagles, and our enemies who rely on our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us.

The energy and the feelings of the speaker gradually extended to all around, and the whole *Champ de Mars* resounded with cries of *Vive le Nation! Vive le Empereur!* At this moment the Arch-Chancellor proclaimed the result of the votes, shewing that the Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire had been accepted almost unanimously; the number of negative votes being 4,206. The Chief of the Heralds at Arms, on the order of his Majesty, transmitted by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, said,—

In the name of his Majesty I declare, that the Act Additional to the Constitutions of the Empire has been accepted by the French people.

The Grand Chamberlain caused a table to be brought in front of the throne, on which the Act was placed. The Chancellor delivered a pen to Prince Joseph, who presented it to the Emperor, and his Majesty affixed his signature to the Act for the promulgation of the Constitution. The table being removed, and the Emperor seated and covered, spoke in the following terms:—

Gentlemen, Electors of the Colleges of the Departments and Districts: Gentlemen, Deputies of the Army and Navy, at the Champ de Mai;—Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I derive all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of realizing the promise given to preserve to France

her natural integrity, her honours and her rights. Indignation at seeing these sacred rights, acquired by 20 years of victory, disavowed and lost for ever; the cry of French honour tarnished, and the wishes of the nation have replaced me upon that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people. Frenchmen, in traversing amidst the public joy the different provinces of the empire to reach my capital, I had reason to rely on a lasting peace. Nations are bound by treaties concluded by their Governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then all occupied with the means of establishing our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of the people. I convoked the Champ de Mai. I soon learned that the Princes who have disregarded all principles, who have trampled on the sentiments and dearest interests of so many nations, wish to make war against us. They meditate the increasing the kingdom of the Netherlands, by giving it as barriers all our northern frontier places, and the conciliation of the differences which still exist among them by dividing Lorraine and Alsace. It was necessary to provide for war. But, before personally encountering the hazards of battles, my first care has been to constitute the nation without delay. The people have accepted the Act which I have presented to them. Frenchmen, when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and independence of 28 millions of people, a solemn law drawn up in the forms required by the Constitutional Act shall combine together the different dispositions of our constitutions now dispersed. Frenchmen, you are about to return to your departments; inform the citizens that circumstances are grand! That, with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall return victorious from this contest of a great people against their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct, and that a nation has lost all when she has lost her independence; tell them that foreign Kings whom I have raised to the throne, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns; who all during my prosperity sought my alliance and the protection of the French people,

now direct their blows against my person. Did I not perceive that it is the country they wish to injure, I would place at their mercy this existence against which they shew themselves so much incensed. But tell the citizens, that while the French people preserve towards me the sentiments of love, of which they have given me so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be powerless. Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France.

It would be difficult to describe the emotions which were manifested on every countenance by the words of his Majesty, or the prolonged cries which followed his speech. The Archbishop of Bourges, First Almoner, performing the functions of the Grand Almoner, then approached the throne, and on his knees presented the Holy Gospel to the Emperor, who took the oath in the following terms—

I SWEAR TO OBSERVE AND CAUSE TO BE OBSERVED THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

The Prince Arch-Chancellor advancing to the foot of the throne, first pronounced the oath of *obedience to the Constitutions and fidelity to the Emperor*. The Assembly with one unanimous voice repeated—*We swear*. The Members of the Deputation remained seated on the steps of the throne, and *Te Deum* was chaunted, and the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges advanced to receive the Eagles for the National Guards of their departments. The Eagle of the National Guard of the Seine, that of the first regiment of the Line, and that of the first Marine corps, were carried by the Ministers of the Interior, of War, and the Marine. The Emperor, having laid aside his Imperial robe arose from the throne, came forward to the first steps, and spoke as follows:—

Soldiers of the National Guard of the Empire, Soldiers of the Land and Sea Forces, I entrust to you the Imperial Eagle with the National Colours: you will swear to defend it at the expence of your blood against the enemies of the

country and of this throne! You swear that it shall always be your rallying sign! You swear it!

Cries, universally prolonged, of *We swear*, resounded throughout the Assembly. Amidst these acclamations, and surrounded by the Eagles of all the armed corps of France, the Emperor proceeded to place himself on the throne erected in the middle of the Champ de Mars, where, as Colonel of the National Guard of Paris, and of the Imperial Guard, he presented Eagles to the Presidents of the departments, and the six arrondissements, and to the Chiefs of his Guard.—Count Chapital, President of the Electoral Colleges of Paris, and Lieutenant-General Durosnel, carried the Eagle of the National Guard; and Lieutenant-General Count Friant that of the Imperial Guard. The troops marched in battalion and squadron, and surrounded the throne, with the Officers in the first line. The Emperor said—

Soldiers of the National Guard of Paris, Soldiers of the Imperial Guard, I entrust to you the Imperial Eagle, with the National Colours. You swear to die, if necessary, in its defence, against the enemies of the country and the throne. [Here all who were within hearing interrupted the Emperor with cries of *We swear*.] You swear never to acknowledge any other rallying sign. [Now cries of *We swear*.] You, soldiers of the National Guard, you swear never to permit foreigners again to stain the capital of the Great Nation. To your courage I shall entrust it. [Cries of *We swear*! a thousand times repeated]—And you, soldiers of the Imperial Guard, you swear to surpass yourselves in the campaign which is about to open, and to die rather than permit foreigners to dictate laws to your country.

Here the acclamations, and the cries of *We swear*, resounded through the whole of the Champ de Mars. The troops, form-

ing near 50,000 men, including 27,000 National Guards, then defiled before his Majesty amidst the cries of *Vive l'Empereur*! and the acclamations of "an immense multitude, covering the Champ de Mars and extending to the Seine. His Majesty then entered the military School through a crowd, which with difficulty opened to afford him a passage, and finally returned in his carriage to the Thuilleries, in the same order of procession as he arrived in the Champ de Mars.

MINISTRY OF WAR

ORDER OF THE DAY.

The most august ceremony has consecrated our institutions. The Emperor has received from the Representatives of the People, and the Deputies of all the corps of the army, the expression of the wishes of the whole nation on the additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire, which had been sent for its acceptance. A new oath binds together France and the Emperor. Thus are destinies accomplished, and the efforts of an impious league, will fail to separate the interests of a great people from that hero of whom the most brilliant triumphs have gained the admiration of the universe. It is at the moment when the national will displays itself, with so much energy, that cries of war are heard. It is at the moment when the national will displays itself with so much energy that cries of war are heard. It is at the moment when France is at peace with all the world, that Foreign armies move towards our frontiers. What are the hopes of this new Coalition? Does it wish to sweep France away from her rank amongst nations? Does it intend to enslave 28 millions of Frenchmen? Has it forgotten that the first league formed against our independence only served to aggrandize us in power and in glory. A hundred splendid victories, which momentary reverses and unfortunate circumstances have not effaced, must remind that Coalition, that a free people guided by a great man, is invincible. Every man in France is a Soldier when national honour and liberty are at stake; a common interest now unites all

Frenchmen. The engagements which violence had extorted from us are destroyed, by the flight of the Bourbons from our territories, by the appeal which they have made to foreign armies to replace them on the Throne which they have abandoned, and by the will of the nation, who, whilst resuming the free exercise of her rights, has solemnly disavowed all that had been done without her participation. Frenchmen will not receive laws from strangers; even those traitors who are gone to solicit amongst foreigners a parricidal assistance, will soon know and experience as well as their predecessors, that contempt and infamy follow their steps, and that they can only wipe off the opprobrium with which they cover themselves, by re-entering our ranks. But a new career of glory opens itself to the army; history will consecrate the remembrance of the military deeds which will illustrate the defenders of the country, and the national honour. Our enemies are numerous, we are told; why should we care! their defeat will be the more glorious. The struggle on the eve of commencing, is neither above the genius of Napoleon, nor above our strength.—Do we not see all our departments rivalling each other in enthusiasm and devotion, form, as through the power of magic, five hundred superb battalions of National Guards, who are already come to double our ranks, defend our fortresses, and associate themselves to the glory of the army? It is the impulse of a generous people, which no Power can conquer, and which posterity will admire. To arms! The signal will soon be given: let every one be at his post. Our victorious phalanxes will derive fresh glory from

the numbers of our enemies. Soldiers, Napoleon guides our steps; we fight for the independence of our fine country: we are invincible.

The Marshal of Empire;

Major-General the Duke of DALMATIA.

Paris, June 1, 1815.

THE CHAMP DE MAI.

Hear a powerful nation's voice

One gen'ral sentiment proclaim,
That great NAPOLEON is their choice,
From whom they have deriv'd their fame.

Hear the gallic warriors swear,
And all the people chorus join;
See how the glitt'ring sword and spear
Like glory round their Emp'ror shine.

With rapture hear them all declare
That, while by great NAPOLEON led,
No hostile pow'rs shall ever dare
Again, on their free soil to tread.

The Mountain Nymph, sweet LIBERTY,
Long banish'd by the Bourbon race,
Calls forth the *Epunks*, and they obey
Her signals, and her footsteps trace.

Oh glorious Nation! how I sigh,
With my weak arm to lend you aid;
Much rather in your ranks I'd die
Than a vile Despot's tool be made.

CAROLINE

Epseom Church Yard, June 7th 1815.

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TO LORD GRENVILLE,

On the Constitutions of England, America, and France.

MY LORD—In the published report of your speech of the 24th of last month, on the subject of the war against France, we read the following passage: “As to *new constitutions*, he (Lord G.) was firmly of opinion, that a good constitution, could only be formed by the adoption of remedies, from time to time, under the circumstances which required them. The only instance of exception mentioned was that of America; but, that *did not apply*. The founders of that constitution acted with *great wisdom*. It was framed so as to produce as little change as possible in the *existing laws* and *manners* under the altered form of government, which, though a *Republic*, was constructed as nearly as the difference would admit, on the *MONARCHICAL* form of *OUR OWN CONSTITUTION*.”

This passage, my Lord, owing, I dare say, to the want of accuracy in the Report, is not so clear, or so correct, as one might have wished; but, its meaning evidently is, that constitutions of government cannot be well formed *all at once*; that the American constitution of government bears a *very near resemblance to our own*; and (taking in the context), that the constitution of government now adopting, or settling, in France, is a *bad constitution, or system*.

As to the first of these propositions: that a constitution cannot be well made *all at once*, it is of little consequence as to the object which I have in view; for, the French have been more than 25 years forming their constitution; and, however mortifying it may be to some people, the *laws* of France, even while the Bourbons were on the throne, last year, were, for the *far greater part*, laws passed by the different *National Assemblies*, or, as some would call them, the *jacobins*. It is a very great mistake to suppose, that Napo-

leon, either in his *constitution* or his *code*, began a *new*. He did little more than arrange, classify, reduce to order, and provide for enforcing the laws, under whatever name, passed by the different assemblies; and *this* was the *code*, which the Bourbons promised to adhere to and support. So that the constitution of France, as it now stands, has been the work of 26 years, not only of *study*, but of *experience*. It is very curious to hear so many persons abusing, or ridiculing, the French constitution, and, in almost the same breath, saying, that it is *no more* than what the people had under Louis XVIII. This looks a little like *insincerity*.

It is, however, the alledged *resemblance* between the *English* and *American* governments which is the most interesting object of examination at present; though it will, before I conclude, be necessary to see a little what resemblance that of France bears to each of the former governments. I take your Lordship to mean, of course, that there is a *very near resemblance* between the *English* and *American* governments *as they really are in operation*. Not as they are to be found in books written about constitutions. What Montesquieu and De L'homme and Blackstone and Paley and a long list of grave political romance writers have published upon the subject, we will leave wholly out of the question. Your Lordship was talking, and so will I talk, of things *AS THEY ARE*, and not as they *ought to be*; or as they are, from parrot-like habit, said to be. And, here, my Lord, I beg leave, once for all, to state, that I am offering *no opinions* of my own upon this subject. Your Lordship, according to the published report, says, that there is a *near resemblance* between the *English* and *American* governments. This fact I deny; but, that is all. I do not say that the *American* government is *better* than ours; nor do I say, that it is *worse*. I only say, that it does *not resemble* ours. Which is the best and which is the worst I leave to the decision of the reader, in whatever country he may live.

But, before I enter on my proofs of the negative of this your Lordships proposition, permit that I observe, for a moment, on the doctrine, which is so often discovered in this country, *to induce other nations to adopt governments like our own*. No sooner do we hear of a change of government in any country, than we begin urging the people of such country to adopt a government *like ours*. The newspaper people, the *Walters* and *Perrys* and the like are everlasting telling the French, that they ought to come as *nearly as possible* to our admirable *mixed government*. Those cunning loons, the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, chaunt the same litinies in every succeeding number. They despair of the French, because they reject our excellent model of government; and they predict, that the American system cannot endure long, because it has none of those bodies of *Nobles*, or *large proprietors*, who are the best *guardians* of the *peoples rights*, standing as the latter do between the people and the Prince! This was their talk, indeed, *before* your Lordship and other great Noblemen joined the Ministers, in support of the war. What these place-hunting critics will say *now* is a great deal more than I am able to guess. Thus, too, it was that *Burke* ranted and raved. The French, according to him, ought to have been half put to death, because they despised the "admirable" mixed government of England. How he ran on, what bombastical balderdash he published upon this subject, your Lordship knows as well as I; and you, doubtless, remember, that, when *answered* by *Paine*, instead of attempting to *reply*, he pointed out the work of his antagonist! Now, my Lord, what can be the *real cause* of all this anxiety to get other nations to adopt our own sort of government? It is not the usual practice of the world to be so eager to induce others to share in one's happiness. If a man, by any accident, finds a parcel of money in a field, or a wood, does he run away to bring his neighbours, or even his cousins, or brothers, to enter into a search with him? Did we ever hear of a tradesman, who had a set of good customers, endeavour to introduce persons of the same trade to them? Did ever handsome woman try to make any other woman look as handsome as herself

even though that other were her sister; nay, her daughter? If an individual make a valuable discovery, so far is he from communicating it to the world, that he, if he can, obtains a *patent* for it, and thereby the right of punishing whoever attempts even to *imitate* his wares. What, then, can be the *cause* of our anxiety to make other nations partakers in the blessings of our government? We take special care to keep from them all we can in the way of *commerce*. We have a law for the encouragement of our own *navigation* to the discouragement of that of all other countries. We have laws to prevent the carrying to other countries *machines* to facilitate the making of *manufactures*. We have laws to prohibit the carrying of the produce of our colonies to other countries, until it has been brought here. We have laws to prevent the exportation of *live sheep* lest other countries should get our breeds. We have laws to punish *artizans* and *manufacturers*, who attempt to leave this country, and also to punish the masters of the vessels in which they are attempting to escape; the avowed object of which laws is to prevent other countries from arriving at our state of perfection in manufactures and arts. How is it, then, my Lord, that we are so generous as to our *political possessions*? Generous, did I say? Nay, obtrusive and impertinent. We are not only tending them with both hands at once; but, we really *thrust* them upon the world; and, if any nation be so resolutely delicate as to refuse to receive them, let that nation look to itself! "Will you give me a penny?" said Dilworth's Beggar to the Priest. "No." "Will you, for the love of Christ, give me a halfpenny, then, to keep me from starving?" "No." "Will you, then, give me one farthing?" "No." "Pray, then since I must die with hunger, give me your *blessing*, Reverend Father." "Kneel down, my dear son, and receive it." "No," said the Beggar, "for if it were worth but one single farthing you would not give it me; so you may e'en keep your blessing to yourself." But, we greatly surpass the Priest; for while we withhold *commerce*, *navigation*, *manufactures*, *arts*, *artizans*, *manufacturers*, *breed of animals*, &c. &c. we not only *offer* our *blessing*, but we *abuse* those who reject it; and, there are those amongst us who scruple not to say, that,

the nation, which has the *insolence* to refuse to share in our *political happiness*, ought to feel the *force of our arms*. To what, then, shall I fairly ascribe this desire to induce other nations to adopt our *sort of government*? It is notorious, that men seek for companions in *misery* and *disgrace*. Never was there a bankrupt who did not wish to make his appearance in a copious Gazette. The coward looks bold when he has fled amongst a crowd. The country girls, who anticipate the connubial tie, always observe, and very truly, that they are *not the first* and shall *not be the last*. It is said, that persons, infected with the plague, feel a pleasure in communicating it to others. To ascribe to a motive like any of these, our desire to extend our sort of government to other nations would be shocking indeed. Yet, lest we should expose ourselves to the imputation, I think it would be best for us to be silent upon the subject; or, at least, where nations decline to adopt our system, to refrain from expressing any *resentment* against them on that account.

John Ball's may be the best government in the whole world; it may be very laudable in him, very disinterested, very humane, extraordinarily generous, to urge other nations to partake in his blessings. He may lament the blindness, or the obstinacy, or the perverseness, of the nations, who refuse to accept of his offer. But, why should he be *angry* with them? Why should he be in a *rage* with them? Why should he *quarrel* with them on that account?

We will now, if your Lordship pleases, come to the *resemblance* between the English and the American Governments. They are *both* called *governments*, to be sure; and so are kites and pheasants called *birds*; but, assuredly, though I pretend not to say which is the best, or which is the worst, they *resemble* each other no more than do these two descriptions of the feathered race. To substantiate this assertion, I shall take the material points, in the two cases, and state them in opposite columns, that the contrast may, at once, strike every eye.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

A KING, having the sovereign power settled on his family by hereditary descent.—His heir may be an old man or woman, a boy or a girl.

The King's Civil List amounts to more than *four millions of Dollars* annually, or 1,000,000 of pounds sterling, besides the allowances to the Royal Children, Queen, &c. &c. amounting to nearly £400,000 more.

The King, *without the consent of any part of the Legislature*, makes treaties, and even treaties of *subsidy*, agreeing to pay money to foreign powers. He appoints ambassadors, public ministers, consuls, judges, and all other officers whatever.

The King can do *no wrong*. His person is *sacred* and inviolable.

The King can declare war, and make peace, without any body's consent.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

The Chief Magistrate is a PRESIDENT, freely elected by the People every four years, and he must be 35 years of age.

The President receives a compensation for his services, which cannot be augmented during his presidency; and this compensation is 25,000 dollars, or 6,000 pounds sterling.

The President, with the *consent of the Senate*, who are elected by the people, can make *treaties*, provided *two thirds* of the Senators concur. With the *same consent* he appoints *ambassadors, public ministers, consuls, judges, &c.*

The President may be *impeached*, and when he is tried in Senate the Chief Justice is to preside. He can only be *dismissed* and *disqualified* by the Senate; but, besides that he may be afterwards for the same offence, *indicted, tried, judged, and punished*, according to law, like any other criminal.

The President cannot declare war. Nor can he and the Senate together do this. It is done by the Congress; and

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

The King grants pensions to whom he chooses, under 6,000 dollars a year. He has more than 100,000 pounds a year placed at his disposal for *secret services*, of which no particular account is ever rendered even to the parliament.

The HOUSE OF PEERS hold their seats by *hereditary right*; but the King may make new peers whenever he chooses. They may be old or young; present or absent; abroad or at home.

The HOUSE OF COMMONS consists of County Members and City and Borough Members. Be the county great or small it sends 2 Members; and, as to the *cities and boroughs*, London and Westminster, which contain about 800,000 persons, send 6 Members, while Old Sarum, Gatton, and many other places, containing not a hundred persons each, send each 2 Members. The Members are elected for *seven years*.

The *qualification* for County Members £600 a year in land; and £300 a year in land for borough-members.

The *qualifications of votes* are too various to be half described. In counties the *freeholders* only vote, and these do not form a twentieth part of the payers of taxes. A house or a bit of freehold land worth 40 shillings a year gives a vote; while houses and lands to the amount of thousands a year, if retaining any of the feudal character, give no vote at all. But, the best account of this matter is to be found in the Petition, presented to the House of Commons, and *received* by that House, on the 6th of May, 1793. In that petition it is stated,

Members.

“ That 30 Peers *nominat*... 66
influence .. 39

105

“ That 71 Peers *nominat*... 88
influence .. 75

163

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

is an *Act*, passed by the representatives of the people.

The President can give no *pension*, nor, even with the consent of the Senate, make any grant whatever of the public money, not even to the amount of a dollar. Every thing of this sort is done by the *Congress*, comprising the whole of the representatives of the people.

The SENATE consists of two Members from each of the States in the Union. They are elected by the State Legislatures, who have been *elected by the people*. They serve for *four years*. The Constitution *positively forbids* the granting of any title of nobility. Every Senator is to be not under thirty years of age when elected, and is to be a resident in the State for which he is elected.

The HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES consists of Members from the several States, in *number proportioned to the population* of the States, according to actual enumeration. They are elected for *two years*.

The *qualifications for members* is merely that of having attained the age of 23 years, and having been 7 years a citizen of the United States.

As to the *qualification of voters*, it is simply that of having *paid taxes*, and being in a state to be *called on for taxes*. There are, in the different states, slight differences in the regulations as to voting; but, generally, and substantially, the *paying of taxes, small or great in amount, gives a right to vote*. Of course, as the President, Senate, and Representatives, are all chosen from this source, they are *all really the representatives of the people*. It is manifestly a government carried on by the people, through their delegates.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

"That 45 Commoners *nominate* 61
influence 22

83

"That 91 Commoners *nominate* 82
influence 57

139

" ABSTRACT.

Members.

"That 71 Peers and the Treasury,
 return by nomination and influence 170

"That 91 Commoners return by no-
 mination and influence..... 139

"Total Members, returned by pri-
 vate patronage for England }
 "and Wales, exclusive of the } 309
 "forty-five for Scotland

"That in this manner a *majority* of the
 entire House is chosen, and are enabled,
 being a majority, to *decide all questions*
 in the name of the whole people of Eng-
 land and Scotland."

All the Ministers have seats in one or the other of the Houses, and a great number of their *secretaries* and *clerks* besides. In 1808, when an account of this matter was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, there were 76 persons in that House, who received, amongst them, 178,994 pounds sterling a year of the public money. What was received, in this way by the Peers and their families I have no means of knowing. But, not only can Members of either House enjoy the profits of places, or of grants; they can receive appointments and grants *while they are members*. They frequently take part in voting money to themselves. But, there is this *safeguard*, that in some cases, at least, when a member receives a lucrative appointment, he *vacates his seat*, and must, if he continue a Member, be *re-elected*! It is, however, very rarely, that his "*constituents*" refuse to re-elect him! Oh! la belle chose!

The king can dissolve the Parliament *whenever he pleases*; and the Parliament has been dissolved at every change of ministry for some time past. He can also prerogative the Houses *at his pleasure*.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

No person holding an office under the government can be a Member of either House; and no one can be appointed to any place (during the time for which he was elected), if such place has been created during the time he was in the Legislature.

The President has no power to *dissolve* the Congress, or either of the Houses; nor to adjourn their meetings, unless they disagree upon the subject. Nor can he call them together at any but at periods fixed by law, except on extraordinary occasions.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

If the king disapproves of a Bill, he rejects it, at once, without assigning any reasons.

The king alone coins money, raises troops, and fits out navies.

The privilege of *habeas corpus* was suspended in England for several years, during Pitt's administration, when there was neither *rebellion* nor *invasion*.

It is treason to *compass the death of the king*; and this may be by *writing or talking*, and *indirectly* as well as *directly*. The crime of treason here is against the *king*: in America it is against the *United States*; that is to say against *the people*. By an act of this king's reign (to last 'till *his death*, and a year longer) it is declared to be *high treason* to endeavour to *overawe the king*, or either *house of parliament*, into a *change of measures or counsils*; and, at one time, it was *high treason* to send to any person in the dominions of France, a bag of flour, a flitch of bacon, or a bushel of potatoes.

In England the *Church Establishment* receives in rents and tythes about an *eighth part* of the amount of the rental of the whole kingdom. All the Bishops, Deans, Prebends, and the greater part of the beneficed priests are appointed by the Crown. There are *test laws*, which shut out from political and civil privileges great numbers of the people; and men are frequently severely punished, put in *felon's jails*, and *fined*, and *pillored* into the bargain, for writing, printing, or publishing their opinions about religion. The Bishops have seats in the House of Peers. Marriages are not legal unless sanctioned by the priests of the established church.

As to the liberty of *SPEECH* and of the *PRESS*, many acts have been passed to abridge both; but, particularly one on the 12th of July, 1799, which suppressed all *political societies*, and all societies for *debating and lecturing*; except under *licences* from the King's Justices of the peace, or police Magistrates. Even lodges of the poor childish Freemasons were

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

If the President does not approve of a Bill, passed by the two Houses, he sends it back with his objections; but if two thirds of both Houses persevere, the Bill becomes a Law.

The Congress alone has power to *coin money*, to *raise troops*, to *build and equip ships*.

The privilege or writ of *habeas corpus* cannot be suspended, unless, when in cases of *rebellion* or *invasion*, the public safety may require it. America has lately been invaded in several parts, has had her towns burnt and plundered, her coast ravaged and devastated; and yet, the *habeas corpus* was not suspended.

Treason consists only in *levying war* against the UNITED STATES, or in *adhering to their enemies*, giving them aid and comfort.

"No law shall be made by Congress respecting an *established religion*, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." No *religious test* is required of any man to qualify him for any office. Any man may publish what he pleases about religion. No *tythes* in America. Marriages are settled under the eye of the civil Magistrate, if the parties choose.

No law can be passed abridging the *freedom of SPEECH* or of the *PRESS*.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

compelled to have a licence to meet, and to be *registered*; and, even after this, the King's Justices might order any lodge to be *discontinued*; that is to say, broken up. The King's Justices, in case of disobedience of this law, might punish, at once, by a fine of £20, or three months imprisonment; or if the offenders were convicted on indictment, they were to be transported for seven years. Public-house keepers were to lose their licences if they permitted such meetings at their houses. Every place for lecturing, debating, or reading newspapers, where money shall be paid, is to be deemed a *disorderly house*, unless previously *licensed*. The King's Justices were authorized to take the licence from any publican; that is to say, to *put an end to his trade*, upon receiving information, that *seditions* or *immoral* publications were read in his house.—As to the PRESS, every *Printer* is, by the same act, compelled to give notice to the clerk of the King's Justices, that he keeps a press or presses for printing, and he is to receive a certificate of having given such notice. The Justice's clerk is to transmit a copy of the notice to the King's Secretary of State, in whose office the names and places of abode of all the printers, and the number of the presses, &c. &c. are all nicely *registered*. *Letter Founders* are to do the same; and, moreover, they are to keep an account of the types and printing presses *that they sell*, and are to produce them, *whenever required*, to any Justice of the peace.—Then, again, the name and place of abode of the printer must be printed on every paper, or book; and any one issuing forth, dispersing after published, any paper, or book, without the name and place of abode of the printer, to be punished by the forfeiture of £20.—The printer is compelled to keep a copy of every thing he prints; he is to write on it the *name and abode of the person who employed him to print it*, under the penalty of £20. Persons selling or handing about papers *may be seized* and carried before a justice to have it determined, whether they have been offending the law. Any justice may empower peace officers to search for presses and types *HE suspects* to be illegally used, and to seize them and the printed papers found.—As to *newspapers*, the Proprietors, Printers, and Publishers are all compelled

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

to go to the Stamp-Office, and make an affidavit of their being such, and a also of their place of abode. They are compelled to deposit one copy of each paper at the office; and this copy with their own affidavits is all that is called for in *proof* of their being all guilty of any *libel* found in the paper.

An act was passed on the 18th of December, 1795, making it *death* for any part of the people above 50 in number, to meet for the purpose of petitioning, unless *notice* and *authority* for holding such Meeting be given to and obtained from the *King's justices*. The penalty of DEATH, without benefit of Clergy, occurs no less than nine times in this act. This act, not to spin out its details, puts all political meetings wholly under the absolute authority of the Justices, Sheriffs, and other Officers; who can in some cases prevent their taking place at all; and, in all cases, *put an end to them at their sole discretion*.—First a written notice, signed by 7 householders of the place, is to be given of a meeting; this notice is to be conveyed to the clerk of the Justices. The Justices, thus apprized of the meeting, arrive. And, if they hear any body *pro-ounding*, or maintaining, propositions for altering *any thing by law established*, except by the authority of King, Lords, and Commons, they may *order the offending parties into custody*." There needs no more. This is quite clear. It may be excellent; but it is impossible to find any thing like it in America.

According to the amount, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1808, the following are a few of our Sinecure:—

Auditor of the Exchequer,	
Lord Grenville	£4,000
Teller, Earl Camden	23,117
Earl Bathurst	2,700
Clerk of the Pells, Hon.	
H. Addington	3,000
Chamberlains, Hon. F.	
North	1,755
* — Montague Burgoyne	1,660

* This Mr. BURGOYNE has just written a circular letter to his neighbours in Essex, calling upon them to spend their *last shilling*, if necessary, in a war against the Emperor of France, whom he calls every thing but an honest man.—N. B. Mr. Burgoyne has had this place for more than 30 years! Will he now give it up, seeing that money is so much wanted for this *just and necessary* war?

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

No law can be passed to abridge the *right of the people peaceably to assemble* and to petition for a redress of grievances.

There are no *sinecures* in America.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

Master and Worker of
Mint, Earl Bathurst . . . 3,000
Register of Admiralty and
Prize Courts, Lord Ar-
den 38,556

It is stated that there are
great *deductions* out of
this; but it is not said *who*
receives them. — £77,788

This is not being very select. I could
have easily selected much fewer places, or
pensions, to have made the same amount.

Here I will not take our *fifty thou-
sanders*, like the Duke of York's, but will
take a few of the *small fry*, and especially
the Anti-jacobin *authors*, or their de-
scendants,

Joseph Planta £.120
Mrs. Burke, 1,200
Sir Francis D'Ivernois 200
Rd. Cumberland's children . . . 200
Mrs. Mallet du Pan 200
Rev. Herbert Marsh 514
Wm. Gifford 329

The English Government collects from
the people 7*l* 16*s*. each a year, including
the whole population, men, women, chil-
dren, paupers, soldiers, sailors, convicts
and prisoners of all sorts.

The King has state coaches, horse-
guards, foot-guards, several palaces and
parks at the public expence.

People kneel, and kiss the King's hand.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

The whole of the civil government of
the United States, President, Congress,
Ambassadors, Ministers, do not cost
£70,000 a year.

There are no *Pensions*, except granted
by Congress for actual and well-known
services.

The American government collects from
the people 12*s*. 6*d*. each, a year, in taxes,
taking in the whole of the population.

The President has none of these.

Nobody ever kneels to the President or
kisses his hand.

I could my Lord, proceed much fur-
ther, were it necessary; but, from what
we have seen, I think, it is plain, that
there is no *likeness* whatever in the two
governments. As to that of *France*, as
it is now new-modled, it appears to me
to resemble the American rather than
ours. People in France vote for Mem-
bers of the Legislature upon the principle
of representation and taxation going hand
in hand. There are no feudal titles or
rights in France. The Peers are, in fact,
no more than eminent citizens, having no
great estates attached to their titles and
seats. There is, and there is to be, *no
established religion*. The two Chambers
in France, like the Congress in America,
are forbidden to pass any law respecting

a predominant Church. Religious opi-
nions are to be free. There are to be no
books, which may not be freely com-
mented on and examined into. There is
to be nothing so sacred that reason may
not approach it. There are to be *no
tythes* in France, consequently no *bene-
fices* to bestow. This is a government
certainly very much like that of America.
Mr. Grattan observed that the French
people had exchanged the paradise of the
Bourbons for the "*eternal damnation* of
"a military despotism." May be so;
but, they seem resolved not to have feudal
titles and courts; monasteries and tythes;
gabelles, corvées and game-laws. May
be so; but, it has not been proved.

In conclusion, my Lord, give me leave

to suggest, that it would be as wise in us not to cry up our sort of government so much. If it be better than that of France, why want them to have one like it? Most of my neighbours are well enough content if they are but able to get good crop themselves, without thinking much about those of other people. We are always calling the French our enemy, and representing their power as so dangerous to Europe; and, why should we, then, fret ourselves because they will not be happier than they are? It would certainly be wise to let them alone; for, by evincing such an everlasting anxiety about their *form of government*, I am afraid that we shall give rise to a suspicion, that it is their form of government, and not the ambition of their Chief, that we dread, and against which we are about to make war

I am, &c. &c.

W. COBBETT.

THE NEW ERA.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent called the commencement of his reign a New Era. I think I may apply that term to the present crisis. The Emperor Napoleon, it is said, has taken the field; he has placed himself at the head of all those "perjured villains," who so "basely deserted" the Royal Bourbons for that "vile monster," their present chief. He has left the good city of Paris to protect itself, and has withdrawn the whole of the regular force, leaving the volunteers, or the national guard, as the French call them, to defend the metropolis of the empire; that very metropolis which the hireling press of this country declared Napoleon was afraid to enter in the day time, and which was defended against the *Royal legitimate Monarch*, by the "perjured" horde who had united their crimes to those of the Usurper." I do not think our Ministers would choose to leave the good city of London to defend itself. I remember when that most obnoxious measure the Corn Bill was in progress through the Legislature, that it was the boast of the ministerial papers, how many thousands and tens of thousands of troops, of all sorts, were quartered in the immediate neighbourhood of our metropolis, to defend it against itself. The *Times* recorded the names of the regiments, with a sort of savage joy, as if it calculated on something which it had not ferocity sufficient

to express; and yet we boast of the *loyalty* of the whole nation, the *love* of the people for their present glorious government, and the *universal satisfaction* which prevails in all quarters. One would think that forty-two millions of pounds sterling, borrowed on one day, was something of a damper to this "*general content*." But mind, reader, this nominal forty-two millions is, in fact, a much larger sum, for which the country will next year be called on to provide. It arises thus:—the subsidies, which the generous Lord Castlereagh has agreed we should pay to the Allied Kings, for the purpose of preserving "*social order*," and the "*legitimate rights of princes*," are to be sent, at our expence, to their respective head quarters, and to be there paid in hard cash, good sterling guineas; not the paper money, which alone is to be seen in this country, but good gold coin.—Now, in order to obtain this, the government agents are at work, in all directions, to buy up whatever coin they can meet with. The Market Price is, this day, Thursday the 15th of June, one pound eleven shillings and eight pence, in paper, for one pound one shilling in coin. Therefore, for every hundred pounds in coin, which we deliver to our glorious disinterested Allies, we pay the sum of one hundred and fifty eight pounds six shillings and eight pence in paper. Judge, then, reader, what is the *real* amount of the subsidies we grant to the Potentates of Europe, for fighting in defence of the rights of the privileged race: This is no joke: it is real serious earnest. But we have only began: our subsidies are not half granted yet. The King of Denmark says, that his troops cannot march one yard, until he receives a *subsidy*. The *Crown Prince of Sweden* says, that he must have an equivalent in money for the cession of Guadaloupe to the Bourbons. And, be it remembered, that the Bourbon soldiers, sent to take possession of that island, immediately on their landing produced each man the national tri-coloured cockade out of his knapsack, and declared for Napoleon, while it was supposed that he was still buried in his exile at Elba. Thus we paid to the Crown Prince of Sweden a large sum for transferring the Island of Guadaloupe to the Emperor Napoleon, to annihilate whom we are now going to pay all Eu-

rope, and even this very same Crown Prince of Sweden amongst the rest. Ferdinand the Fourth of the Two Sicilies, has been kept by us so long that it is an old story to talk of him. But now he will be rather more expensive, for we shall have to keep up a large British Army to support him in possession, besides paying his own army, and giving him a good round sum to set up royalty, as we gave our own Prince Regent at the commencement of his "*new era*." By the by, this sum, (£100,000) it appears by some very important questions lately asked in Parliament, was not applied for the purpose for which it was granted; and his Royal Highness has again had occasion to apply to his faithful Commons for assistance, by whom no doubt it will be most cheerfully relieved. Besides Ferdinand the Fourth, we have the other Ferdinand the Seventh, of the same Royal stock. His army too, it seems cannot march till we find money. Indeed it is shrewdly suspected, that a sum of £800,000 was advanced by us to that *beloved monarch*, to enable him to fit out his late Cadiz expedition to South America; and, as usual, a sort of fatality attends all that we interfere with. The Times, states "that by the ship Sarah Jane, arrived in 92 days, from Buenos Ayres, we learn that the revolutionists have got possession of almost the whole of Spanish America; that General Orr has 40,000 troops well armed and equipped; that Admiral Brown has 8 sail of large frigates; and that the utmost anxiety prevailed for the arrival of the expedition from old Spain, which, as it would of course fall immediately into the hands of the revolutionists, would afford them an ample supply of military stores of all sorts. The British had embarked their property," &c. &c. But the most extraordinary passage in this piece of information is, that "the King Ferdinand has expressed the utmost indignation against the province of Venezuela, for having afforded such facilities to *English commerce*!" Here is Royal gratitude with a vengeance. So we advance Ferdinand, the beloved, £800,000 to enable him to punish those of our friends in America, who are disposed to receive our merchandize! The newspapers of to-day state, that the two Chiefs of La Vendee, who have been equipped by England at an enormous ex-

pence, have been both killed, all their stores and arms (which loaded two frigates and three sloops of war) taken, and their whole rebel party dispersed in all directions!—The subsidies being duly received, and the preparations being made, it is now said that the march to Paris will take place immediately.—To be sure, it is allowed that there are upwards of 600,000 "*Perjured Villians*" on the frontiers, with the "*Hellish Monster*" at their head. But what can such a Legion of Devils do against the *Holy Louis*, surrounded as he is by Priests; with the good Cause of Legitimate Right on his side; all the population of France ready to rise and tear the "*Perjured Villians*" to pieces, and with 1,011,000 men to support him. What can the "*Infamous Usurper*" do against such a mighty army as this. He must of course be put down immediately, and the Royal Louis will be received with a delirium of joy by all his Liege Subjects. In order to ensure success, the Times declares "from a source of undoubted Authority," that the Emperor of Austria is about to bestow one of his Daughters, the sister of the "unfortunate Maria Louisa, on the Duke de Berri, nephew of the "*Desired*" Louis. One would have thought that the Times would have been rather cautious of adducing this as a proof of fidelity. If so, how does it happen that Napoleon is deserted. And if the Emperor Francis can desert one of his Sons in Law, what proof is there that he will not desert another. A short time will now shew us the result of all this. If it should happen that Napoleon should succeed in defending his kingdom against the prodigious force assembled to destroy him, the effects will be incalculable! Our glorious Ministers have raised the genius of the storm. It is impossible to tell how he is to be appeased. Peace and tranquility were in their reach; they preferred war with all its horrors. But the leisure of peace would have brought about reform, and that would not suit the present system. War and its enormous expenditure, is better suited to the way of thinking of the Prince Regent's Ministers. But it is a very fearful experiment, and may end fatally. If Napoleon can but resist the first onset; if he can only "*hold his own*," as the phrase is, he will stagger the Allies. But if he should gain any, even the smallest advantage; if he should

be able to recover the late territory of France, to the Rhine, and re-occupy Belgium, the mighty confederacy of Legitimate Monarchs will at once dissolve, fall to pieces, and, each one shifting for himself, the Emperor Napoleon, recovering his former preponderance, will put an end in a short time to the whole Grand Alliance, and "leave not a wreck behind!"

MR. COBBETT.—The analogy which you have so clearly shewn to exist between the present political state of France, and as she was in 1793; and the obvious resemblance at the two periods, of the designs of her threatened invaders, are not more striking than the enthusiasm which now animates, as it then animated, the bosom of every Frenchman. All the world has heard of the wonderful effects which this spirit produced. History will tell it to posterity, that it effected the discomfiture of the enemies of France, who had dared to invade her territory, and secured to her the unalienable right of choosing her own form of government. We live at a period not far distant from those great events, which ought to give us correct ideas respecting them. But as we are apt to lose the recollection of particular acts of heroism, it may be useful, at this important and interesting moment, to bring a few of them under review. If they should fail in opening the eyes of sovereigns, or their ministers, to the folly of waging war against opinions, they may have the effect, at least, of reviving our feelings of admiration and respect for a people who so patriotically combated for liberty; they may encourage us to hope that, although tyrants may unite to subjugate nations, and although the struggle may be long, reason and truth will ultimately triumph.

When the Duke of Brunswick advanced from Longway to Verdun, after issuing his famous proclamation, he expected that the soldiers of the latter place would surrender on his summons. "The garrison answered that they were ready to die at their posts. The enemy, however, appearing in great force, the magistrates determined to capitulate. *Beaurepaire*, the commandant, hastened from the ramparts, where he had been encouraging the soldiers, and endeavoured to persuade them to defend the town. Find-

ing his remonstrances ineffectual, he pulled a pistol from his pocket and shot himself. The volunteers would not suffer his body to be buried at Verdun, of which the Prussians were about to take possession, but carried it to St. Menchoud. The National Assembly decreed him the honours of the pantheon, and ordered the following inscription to be engraved on his tomb: *He chose to put himself to death, rather than capitulate with tyrants!*"

"A young man who had joined the army of the North, met with some disappointments, which induced him to quit the service without leave of absence. Upon his return home, the people flocked about his aged parent, to sympathise with him in the grief which he was supposed to feel for having given birth to a son who had basely deserted the standard of liberty. His father refused to see him, although he was an only son, and had been the pride of his old age. The children pointed at him in the streets, and his former companions avoided his company. His father at length disinherited him; and divided his property amongst the defenders of his country, set out for the army to supply his place. This veteran made the campaign of Flanders, and displayed the greatest heroism in a variety of engagements!"

"It is impossible to conceive the hardships to which the French were exposed: to use the language of Custine, "they were without coats, without blankets, without shoes, and without breeches. In the name of humanity," says he, in a letter to the minister of war, "I conjure you to relieve them from their present painful state. It freezes very hard, and they have been seven nights under arms." Notwithstanding this lamentable situation, not a murmur was to be heard. The army was composed of volunteers of all ranks and all ages. Male and female were equally proud to suffer in defence of liberty. Among the prisoners taken by the Prussians at Hockheim, was a French officer, who was next day delivered of a fine boy!"

"The heroism of one of the national guards deserves particular notice:—early in the engagement he lost one of his limbs, yet he refused to quit his post; and when told by the surgeon, on dressing his wound, that he would be maintained by the nation, he seemed insensible of his sufferings, and replied, with a firm tone of voice, "I have

still another arm to serve my country, and am perfectly contented, provided France obtains her liberty."

"On an alarm that the rebels of the Vendée were about to make an attack upon St. Malo, and that an English fleet was expected in *Concale bay*, to second their efforts, twelve battalions were raised in haste from the sections of Paris, and dispatched to the menaced spot. The inhabitants of the communes in Normandy contiguous to the rebels, rose in a mass; and that step, together with the gallant behaviour of the people of Granville, repelled the assailants, without the assistance of those new levies. There were in them a number of young men, who had led idle, dissipated lives; and being insensible to the claims their country had on them in danger, refused to march; and two battalions, one of the section of the *Thuileries*, the other of the *champs Elysees*, broke out in open rebellion, singing, *O, Richard, O, mon roi*. When intelligence was brought to the fathers of families in those sections, of the disgraceful conduct of their children, they ran to the bar of the convention, desiring a strict examination might be made into it; and if found to be such as was reported, they swore to go themselves, and expiate the crimes of their guilty offspring, by shedding their own blood, and resigning the offenders up to the vengeance of the law, and their insulted country."

The writer to whom I am indebted for the above instances of heroism, remarks:—"What is worthy of observation on this occasion is, the French, when expiring from loss of blood, consoled one another with the happy prospects the revolution held out to posterity, and expressed a satisfaction in losing their lives in so glorious a cause. Such of the wounded French as were taken proper care of, recovered in a very short time, whilst the wounds of the Austrians, under similar circumstances, were always difficult to be cured, and often proved fatal. The state of the mind had the greatest influence upon the body; the Austrians were goaded on to fight in a cause which they did not approve; the French, on the other hand, were enthusiasts for *liberty*. The former wept at the remembrance of their homes and families; the latter were proud to suffer in the cause of humanity, and enjoyed happiness even in death."

In 1792, France had *ten* kings coalesced against her; intestine divisions, and civil war lacerated her bosom; her Generals were traitors—her troops disorganized. In 1815, the league is equally formidable, and it may be admitted, to a certain extent, that France is disturbed by the royalists; but no political faction exists sufficiently powerful to disturb the government; the treason of his Generals by which the Emperor was exiled, is destroyed; and, the army, animated with the recollection of its former victories, and burning with ardour to wipe off the stain imprinted by the recent occupation of Paris, is much more formidable, and in a higher state of discipline than it was at any former period. If France in 1792, gave such signal proofs of patriotism, and, under so many disadvantages, successfully resisted all attempts to debase her, why may she not in 1815, influenced as she is by the principles of liberty, and so fortunately situated as to her means of attack and defence, be able to bring the present contest to the same glorious result?

Yours, &c.

ARISTIDES.

OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE SESSION.

CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Sitting of June 5.—At this sitting, nothing very interesting took place. On the 6th, the discussions were particularly animated.

M. DUPIN.—I have a proposal relative to the form of the oath. The French people have voted the acceptance of the additional act—let us obey that act which does not prejudice your right of ameliorating it in the forms and under the conditions that shall be prescribed. There is another reflection of a nature to assure the well-disposed, and to do way before hand all malignant interpretations. There is no question about the substance of the oath—no difficulty—obedience to the Constitution of the Empire, fidelity to the Chief—intimate and indissoluble union of the people with the Government—but in the proper and well understood interest of the Government itself, let us recognise that the oath to be good, binding, and in a word constitutional, ought to be taken, not in virtue of a decree, which should contain nothing but the unalterable will of the nation constitutionally expressed.

M. DE GUEVEL.—The last speaker is mistaken in point of fact. The form of the oath introduced in the decree of the 3d of June, is literally conformable with the dispositions of the *Scrutus Consulte* of the 24th Floreal, year 11. The article prescribes the following form,—“I swear obedience to the Constitutions of the Empire, and fidelity to the Emperor.” The proposed reservation would be unconstitutional. The additional act has been accepted by the French people; it is sanctioned by the Assembly at the *Champ de Mai*: let us prove to the nation that we are disposed to support that act with all our efforts. I demand the order of the day.—(*Numerous applause.*)

M. ROY (of Paris).—“I vote likewise for the order of the day; but I must frankly confess that if the question was to discuss the form of the oath, I would rather that there should be added to it a promise of *fidelity to the nation*, for the first duty of the Representatives of the nation is obedience to their orders. On the other hand, this legislative power is not now constituted as it was in the year 12; I see no analogy—the Senate, the Tribunate, the Legislative Body, no longer exists.—(*Violent murmurs.*)

M. DUMOLARD called out loudly to be heard.

M. BENOC was for the order of the day, observing, that nothing could hinder the two Chambers from employing themselves, in more tranquil times, in ameliorating the Constitution.

M. DUMOLARD.—God forbid that in the National Tribune I should suppose any thing contrary to the rights and interests of the nation. The nation is above every thing with me. The Emperor exists for and by the nation. If it were necessary to choose between one and the other, my choice is not doubtful. In the present circumstances the nation must be saved with and through the Emperor (*great enthusiasm in the assembly*). Let us recollect that the enemy is on the frontiers, let us recollect the intrigues of England—the first duty of France is to repulse the enemy (*Applause*). We wish to march only with our invincible armies—we do not wish to isolate ourselves from them. When the insidious proclamations of Louis XVIII. attack the honour of the soldiers, and depict them as rebels—when it is attempted to separate

them from their Chief; it is our duty to declare that the army is the nation; that the brave men composing that army are but our advanced guard; that we think as they do. Pardon, colleagues, the warmth that animates my words; can one feel strongly without speaking strongly? I see the danger near—I see it as it is. It should be known we are all devoted to our Sovereign, and in an honourable manner I demand the Order of the Day.

General SEBASTIANI.—I oppose the Order of the day. The question is too important to be got rid of so lightly. It deserves, on the contrary, a solemn decision, after a mature examination. When Europe, still uncertain, with her eyes upon us, is ready to divide itself, shall we call in question the legality of this oath? We have an army; which is not an army of Cossacks; it will preserve both our liberty and independence; I attest its honour and its courage. I move that the deliberation of the Chamber be in favour of the oath; I do not hesitate to take it individually.

M. DUMOLARD.—I renounce my demand for the Order of the Day, and adhere to the General's proposal.

M. BOULAY DE LA MEURTHE.—With respect to the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, certainly I take it most willingly, and I think in doing it I do an act eminently French—for the Emperor is in my eyes the first Representative of the nation, the legitimate and established head of the State, the first tie of the Union. Hence, when I swear to be faithful to him, I think I swear to be so to the nation itself. We must here speak freely, and tell the truth. There exist in France two parties—one which is national comprises the great mass of the people, stipulates for her independence, honour, and real interest—the other may be called the faction of the foreigner—Yes, Gentlemen, there exist Frenchmen vile enough to call in the English, Russians, Prussians, &c. The Bourbons are the heads of that faction; it is they, who, by help of foreign bayonets, would again impose upon us an humiliating yoke. We must speak out—speak out unanimously, for without doubt, and I am far from suspecting, the foreigner has no representatives here. For myself I consult only my conscience, and my duty; and to-morrow, in the presence of the Emperor and the two Chambers, that is, in

the presence of the nation, I declare, I will take with pleasure the oath of obedience to the Constitution of the Empire, and of fidelity to the Emperor? (*General cries of "To the vote! to the vote!"*)

M. GOURLAC—The Member has spoken of the efforts of the foreigners to divide us; it might have been added, that in La Vendee the enemies of the interior employ all means to subdue the men of the revolution. I am for the oath (*Fresh calls of "To the vote! to the vote!"*)

The President consults the Chamber, and the proposal for the oath is unanimously carried.

M. GEN. CARNOT—I move, that to add to the glory and to the enthusiasm of our armies, the Chamber decree that they deserved well of their country. They have avoided the shedding of blood, and their moderation has equalled their courage.

M. DUCHESNE—We are all of the same mind respecting the army. It has given proofs, and its glory is established. But in the present circumstance we ought to say only that we expect every thing from its courage. Since it has not yet been able to signalize itself afresh, I do not think that (*marked and general disapprobation.*)

M. REGNAULT DE ST. JEAN ANGELY—With all our attachment to the army, I must say that the declaration demanded by General Carnot, cannot emanate from a single branch of the Legislature. We are not definitively constituted; hence we have not even the legal character necessary to make it the object of a simple resolution. But if you cannot alone give this honourable testimony to your sons, to mine who forms part of that formidable barrier to foreign invasion, to those brave National Guards, raised on all sides, and in a number which it is, not yet time to disclose to our enemies, it is to the whole nation to pay that sacred debt. I move, that acknowledging all the justice of our Colleague's proposal, the decision be adjourned till after the union of the three powers. The adjournment was pronounced.

PARIS, JUNE 8.—Yesterday, at four o'clock, his Majesty the Emperor went in state to the Palace of Representatives, to open the Session of the Legislature. The Peers went with an escort of honour to the Palace of Representatives, and took their seats to the right of the throne; the

Representatives took the benches in the centre. There was a bench for the Ministers and Council of State. His Majesty was received at the foot of the steps by the President and twenty-five Members of the Representative body. His Majesty stopt in the hall and received the President and Vice-Presidents, who were severally presented to him. He then entered the Assembly amidst the unanimous acclamations of all present, who received him standing. Having taken his place on the throne, surrounded by the Princes, Grand Dignitaries, Ministers, and Grand Eagles of the Legion of Honour, &c.: the Master of the Ceremonies received his Majesty's order to invite the Peers and Representatives to sit down. The President of the Representatives took his seat in a chair in the centre of the hall, having two ushers behind him. The names of the Peers were then called over, and each took the oath. A Secretary having called the name of the first alphabetically, pronounced the form of the oath—"I swear obedience to the Constitutions of the Empire, and fidelity to the Emperor." The Peer, standing up and lifting up his hand, said, "I swear it." In like manner the Chamber of Representatives was called over alphabetically, and took the oath each, in the same terms. The appeal being thus gone through, the Emperor uncovered for a moment, then having re-covered his head he delivered the following speech:

Messieurs of the Chamber of Peers and Messieurs of the Chamber of Representatives—For the last three months existing circumstances and the confidence of the nation have invested me with unlimited authority. The present day will behold the fulfilment of the wish dearest to my heart. I now commence a Constitutional Monarchy.—Mortals are too weak to insure future events; it is solely the legal institutions which determine the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people—Our Constitution and laws are scattered; one of our most important occupations will be to collect them into a solid body, and to bring the whole within the reach of every mind. This work will recommend the present age to the gratitude of future generations. It is my wish that France should enjoy all possible liberty. I say possible, because

anarchy resolves itself into absolute Government. A formidable coalition of Kings threaten our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers. The frigate *La Melpomene* has been attacked and captured in the Mediterranean after a sanguinary action with an English ship of 74 guns. Blood has been shed in time of peace. Our enemies reckon on our internal divisions! They excite and foment a civil war. Assemblages have been formed, and communications are carried on with Ghent, in the same manner as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are, therefore, become indispensably necessary; and I place my confidence, without reserve, in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person. The Liberty of the Press is inherent in our present Constitution; nor can any change be made in it, without altering our whole political system; but it must be subject to legal restrictions, more especially in the present state of the nation. I therefore recommend this important matter to your serious consideration. My ministers will inform you of the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state, except from the increase of expence which the present circumstances renders necessary; yet we might face every thing, if the receipts contained in the budget were all realizable within the year. It is, to the means of arriving at this result that my minister of finance will direct your attention. It is possible that the first duty of a Prince may soon call me to the head of the sons of the nation, to fight for the country—the army and myself will do our duty.—You, Peers and Representatives, give to the nation an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, swear to

die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!

This discourse was followed by cries of *Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Impératrice! Vive la Famille Impériale! Vive la Patrie! Vive la Nation!*—The same acclamations, the same transports, followed his Majesty when passing through the crowd of Deputies, as he left the hall. The President re-conducted the Emperor at the head of the Deputation.

ON THE THREATEN'D INVASION OF FRANCE.

Anno Domini 1815.

Oh did NAPOLEON offer PEACE,

And, when refus'd, for WAR prepare,

Which serv'd his glory to increase,

And left his foes disgrac'd to share;

Again such offer he has made

And still his foes refuse to treat.

Swearing they'll once more FRANCE invade

A Bourton on her throne to seat:

Thus, among nations, FRANK alone

Is call'd on to renounce her Chief;

But great Napoleon still her throne

And has gone forth to her relief.

His god-like presence will dismay

A host of foes, where he appears;

Like chaff he'll scatter them away,

And they'll fall victims to their fears;

Let then his foes retract in time

Nor further dictate laws to France,

Lest they are punish'd for their crime,

And taught the grand Carmagnol dance.

ALFRED N,

Temple, June 12th, 1815.

LETTER V.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the late WESTMINSTER MEETING, and on the Declarations of Mr. HUNT with regard to the conduct of the EMPEROR NAPOLEON, as far as relates to the Death of the DUKE OF ENGHEN and CAPTAIN WRIGHT.

MY LORD,—The public prints inform us, that, at the Meeting of the City of Westminster, held on the 15th instant, to consider of *another petition* to the House of Commons, their former petition against the French war having been refused to be received by that honourable body; at this Meeting, we are told, that *your Lordship was present*, in your capacity of course, of a citizen of Westminster. I was sorry to perceive, that your Lordship was not well received by your fellow citizens, who, it is stated in the Times newspaper, attacked you, and compelled you to seek safety in the *speed of your horse*. ~~It was also added~~, that it was found to be necessary to send a detachment of HORSE SOLDIERS to guard YOUR HOUSE during the succeeding night. I notice these facts, my Lord, merely to have occasion to observe to you, that, if we were to hear of MONS. CAMBACERES, or MONS. CARNOT, being thus treated by their fellow citizens, I am quite sure that this same TIMES newspaper would cite it as a *certain proof* of the speedily approaching downfall of the French Government: yes, this corrupt print would not fail to cite it as a complete proof of these Ministers, as well as their Master, being held in universal horror and execration.

As to the Meeting itself, I am very happy to see, and so must every friend of Freedom, that there is one City, at any rate, who have had the sense and the resolution to exercise their rights once more. The laws which were passed, during the first French war, to prevent the people from meeting without the consent of the King's Justices or Sheriffs, have ex-

pired long ago. Yet, such is the effect of *habit*, especially the habit of submission, that the people have continued to act ever since, as if the penal laws about Meetings were still in existence! The City of Westminster, with SIR FRANCIS BURDETT at their head, have set an example of spirit sufficient to overcome this habitual submissiveness, and that example will, I dare say, now be followed by other places. The people of Nottingham were, the other day, deterred from holding a public meeting to petition against the war. Indeed, they appear to have been *threatened*. They now see, that no one had a right, that no one had a *legal* authority, to prevent them from meeting; and, another time, it is to be hoped, that they will remember this. The "SEDITION BILLS" may, indeed, be *revoked*; but, then, we shall have liberty to talk about the revival; shall we not, my Lord? And the world, especially the French and Americans, will hear *what we say*; will they not, my Lord?

But, the matter which attracted my attention the most forcibly, in the speeches of this Meeting, was, that which was brought forward by Mr. HUNT, with regard to the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, as far as relates to the death of the Duke of Enghien and of Captain Wright. The COURIER newspaper abuses Mr. HUNT for what he said, or is reported to have said, upon this occasion. It says, that that gentleman undertook to *justify* Napoleon in his *murders* of the Duke of Enghien and of Capt. Wright. But, it appears, from the report itself, that Mr. HUNT, so far from justifying murders perpetrated by Napoleon, *denied* that Napoleon had, in the alleged cases, committed *any murder* at all. The reason why Mr. Hunt made this denial was very good. He had perceived, that the vile London press had succeeded in making the people, or a great part of them, believe, that Napoleon had been guilty of these murders. This done; hatred and abhorrence thus excited against him, it required less trouble to reconcile them to the present war,

which is, in this manner, on the part of the *deluded* people, a war of *passion*, in which, of course, reason, justice, policy, and even self, bare self-interest, are suffered to have nothing to say.

Mr. HUNT, as was his *duty*, his strict duty, having the opportunity, endeavoured to shew that this hatred of Napoleon was founded in *fulshood*; and, though it may surprise your Lordship, I really think that Mr. Hunt was perfectly right in his efforts, if he was convinced of the correctness of what he stated.

The great point, however is, was Mr. Hunt *right* in his STATEMENT, or was he *wrong*? Precisely what his statement was we cannot collect from the report of his speech, published in the corrupt *Times* and *Courier* newspapers. But if what they say be true, Mr. HUNT said, in substance this: "that the *Duke of Enghien* was "shot in consequence of a court-martial "regularly convened, and *agreedly* to. "law, he being charged with traitorous "proceedings against his country, and "with plotting against the life of Bonaparte by the means of assassination; "and that, as to *Capt. Wright*, he was "charged with having landed *Georges*, "*Pichegru* and others, on the coast of "France, from England; and these men "having been convicted of a plot to *assassinate Bonaparte*, he, *Capt. Wright*, "was not regarded, by the French, as a "*prisoner of war*, but as guilty of a *crime* "against the laws of war; and that, being confined in prison, and, as he naturally thought, liable to be put to an ignominious death, he put an end to his "*own existence*."

This, my Lord, appears to have been in substance, the statement of Mr. Hunt; and, I am sure, that your Lordship, who was present at the Meeting, would have contradicted this statement, if you had not known it to be TRUE. At any rate, *true it is*, unless all the official papers, published at the time, in the face of all Europe, can be *proved to be false*, which they never have yet been, as far, at any rate, as my observation has gone. And here, my Lord, I wish to be very precise; I say, that authentic, public papers, published by the French government, attest the *truth* of Mr. Hunt's statement; and, I say, that *I have never seen* any paper, published by our, or any other government, *disproving*, or even *contradicting*,

the assertions of the French government upon either of the two principal points; and, I allow, that I have had fair opportunities of seeing all that ever was published on the subject. Therefore, if there ever was any authentic document, disproving or contradicting the allegations of the French government upon the points in question, I allow, that I may be fairly suspected of publishing a *wilful falschood* at this moment.

But, my Lord, we will not let this matter go off thus. Since the busy slaves of the *Times* and *Courier* will keep ringing in our ears the charge of *murder* against Napoleon; since they will insist upon our waging a war of passion, grounded upon this charge; since, if events should, as in the case of America, compel you to make peace with this prescribed Chief, and to acknowledge the legitimate title of him, who is now doomed at every breath, to everlasting outlawry; since, in such case, you and your worthy colleagues might be greatly embarrassed by the charge of *murder* still resting on the head of him, with whom you would thus be compelled to treat: since, in short, wisdom and truth demand a recurrence to the *real facts*, I am resolved to recur to them, and to enable my readers to judge between Napoleon and the vile slaves, who have the audacity to charge him with murder, in order to delude and inflame the people of England.

The death of the Duke of Enghien took place in the month of March, 1804. He was tried by a special military commission, at Vincennes. The President of the Court-martial was General HULEN. The charges against him were:—1. Having carried arms against the French Republic. 2. Having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people. 3. Having received, and having, with accredited agents of that government, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the internal and external security of the State. 4. Being at the head of a body of French and other emigrants, paid by England and formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden. 5. Having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasbourg, with a view of producing a rising in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of

operating a diversion favourable to England. 6. That he was one of those concerned in the conspiracy, planned by the English, for assassinating the First Consul, and intending in case of the success of this plot, to return to France.

These were the charges preferred against the Duke of Enghien. The court-martial found him guilty upon all and every one of the charges, and the court was *unanimous* in this their decision. They were unanimous also, in condemning him to death. This sentence was passed in conformity to the second article, title 4, of the military code of offences and punishments, passed on the 11th of January, 1795, and the second section of the first title of the ordinary penal code, established on the 6th of October, 1791, expressed in the following terms: "Article 2d, (11th January 1795), every individual, whatever be his state, quality, or profession, convicted of acting as a spy for the enemy, shall be sentenced to the punishment of death."—"Every one engaged in a plot or conspiring against the republic, shall, on conviction, be punished with death."—"Article 2d, (6th October, 1791), every one connected with a plot or conspiracy, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the state, by civil war, by arming one class of citizens against the other, or against the exercise of legitimate authority, shall be punished with death." This sentence was put in execution, and thus ended this unfortunate young man.

Now, my Lord, there never has been any doubt expressed, that I have heard of, of the *truth* of these charges. So far from it, that the friends of the Duke of Enghien, have made it a *merit* in him, to have done the acts here imputed to him. It was afterwards fully proved, if we give credit to the official documents of the French, that the Duke had acted his full share in what was carrying on on the frontiers of France, against the peace of the republic, and the life of the First Consul; but, to the argument of Mr. Hunt, or rather to his statement, no proof of this sort is necessary, seeing, that it is acknowledged to the honour of the Duke of Enghien, by his friends, that he had done all these things of which he was accused. They say that it was great merit in him to do all that he was accused of doing. They say, that the government existing in France,

was an usurpation; that the Duke of Enghien as a loyal subject of the king, and especially as one of the royal family, he had a right to do every thing that he could to overturn the French government, and to cause to be put to death the First Consul, who was at the head of that government. But, my Lord, let us see how this doctrine will suit, if applied to ourselves. There was a time when the Hanoverians, who were put upon the throne in England, at the beginning of the last century, were called usurpers by the loyal adherents of the family of Stuart, and, especially, by the members of that family. Before we go any further, let me offer you an observation about these *foreigners*. The rable in England (I mean the rable, the stupid, prejudiced, hood-winked, cajoled, *rich*, rather than the poor) are frequently told, that the Emperor Napoleon is a foreigner in France. If he be a foreigner in France, all the inhabitants of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, of the Isle of Wight, and even of Ireland, are foreigners in England; to say nothing of those numerous fellow-subjects of ours who have been born in our North American and West Indian colonies. Our present king, indeed, was born in England, but his two immediate predecessors were as completely foreigners as Napoleon himself is now a foreigner to England. Much more might be said upon this subject; but here is enough to expose the absurdity, the gross ignorance, or the base duplicity of those, who pretend that Napoleon is a foreigner to France.

When the loyal subjects of the Stuarts had the audacity to call our Hanoverian Sovereigns *usurpers*, and, aided and assisted by the malice, the insolence, and the arms, of the perfidious and tyrannical Bourbons; when the loyal subjects of the Stuarts, thus encouraged and supported, threatened England with invasion, and, indeed, actually invaded her, for the purpose of making her submit to the *divine right* of that stupid family, what did his Majesty's predecessors do? Did they stand quietly by, as our writers would have had the First Consul do, in the case of the Duke of Enghien; did they stand and gape like sucking geese, when that gallant youth, the son of the *Pretender King*, was approaching towards London with an army of what he called *loyalists*, but whom our forefathers called *rebels*? No, faith! our good Hanoverian King; did

no such thing. They set a price upon his head, *dead or alive*; they pursued his adherents with the utmost rigour; and I remember hearing my father say, once when he returned home from London, that he had seen some of their heads still sticking upon Temple-Bar. I believe, my Lord, that these heads remained there for nearly *forty years*. A pretty good spell to give the loyal subjects of the Stuarts a caution against acting upon the principle of *divine right*, and in "*contempt*," as your saucy countryman, the pensioned Burke, called it, "*of the will of the nation*."

I should be glad to hear what some great casuist in the rights and duties of princes and of people, had to say, why the French nation should not have a right to act towards the Bourbons and their adherents in the same way, that the English nation acted towards the Stuarts and their adherents. With those, who are ready to contend, and that, too, seriously, that the English nation is not to be put upon a level with any other nation; that we are a sort of chosen people, who are not to be bound by those rules by which we have a right to bind other nations; that we may with great propriety call in foreigners to be our Kings, as we did the Prince of Orange, once, who had not the smallest pretension to a drop of the blood of the Frenchman, who conquered our country some hundreds of years before; that we may employ as many foreign troops as we please, at home or abroad; in short, that, while we have a right to criticize the conduct of all other nations, and even to punish them for any thing that we may deem to be offences, political or moral, we ourselves can do no *wrong*, our character being, like the person of our King, sacred and inviolable. With those who insist upon this doctrine, I shall not attempt to argue; and all I have to ask of your Lordship is, if the execution of the Duke of Enghien was a *murder*, what was the execution of the *Scotch Lords*, and what were the killings of *Glenco*, in the year 1745?

It has frequently been asserted, that the Duke of Enghien was shot by *torch-light*, in the wood of *Vincennes*. It does not seem very likely that the execution should have taken place by night. There appears to have been no reason for it whatever; and besides, if the object was a secret execution, it is very strange that night

should have been chosen for a *wood*! A wood is shelter for day-time. Torches in a wood, or artificial lights of some kind, are necessary, not to make an act secret, but to expose it as much as possible. But this, like all the other parts of the story, has been invented for the purpose of giving tragical effect to the thing; to make an impression of horror upon men's minds; to excite at once, their hatred and their dread of Napoleon; to fill them with that sort of feeling which is made up of resentment and of fear; and, thus to make them dead to the dictates of reason and of justice. Napoleon could have no interest in putting to death this Prince of the house of Bourbon; except that interest, which he had in common with all Frenchmen. He has lately had the whole family in his power. No man of sense will deny, that, if he had been so minded, he might have detained, and brought to execution, every man of that family. At any rate, he had the Duke d'Angoulême a prisoner; taken in arms against his authority, in the interior of France. He suffers him to depart. Not a drop of their blood does he shed. And yet, this is the man whom our writers call a tyger, a hyena, and every other name descriptive of bloody mindedness.

It is clear, then, that in this case, Napoleon was no more guilty of murder, in consequence of the execution of the Duke of Enghien, than our king was guilty of murder, in consequence of the execution of O'CONNOR, who suffered death upon the charge of carrying on correspondence with the king's enemies. It is very easy to *talk* about murder; but, if all the blood which has been shed, in consequence of sentences of treason, during the present reign, were laid upon the head of George the Third, what a figure he would make in history. But, as we are not so unjust as to impute this blood to him, neither ought we to impute the blood of those who have been executed for treason in France, to the government of France.

But, in the case of the Duke of Enghien, it is said that he was not in the French territory when he committed the treason. And, were your poor unfortunate countrymen, who were executed, a few years ago, for treason committed in the Isle of France; were they in the English territory or in the Irish territory, when they committed that treason? No: and your Lordship knows very well, that



treason may be committed abroad, as well as at home. Therefore, there is nothing here that makes against the measure adopted against the Duke of Enghien.

There is one remaining point, connected with the death of the Duke of Enghien. The foul-mouthed man who writes in the *Times* newspaper, always is representing Napoleon, as having gone *by night*, like an assassin, into the territory of the Elector of Baden, to seize this same Royal Duke, and to bring him away into France to murder him. At any rate, a great outcry is made by all the haters of the French about the *violation of neutral territory*. The *truth*, my Lord, is this:—after the trial of Pichegru and his brother conspirators; after the discovery of the correspondence between Mr. Drake, our envoy at Munich, and persons in France; after the developement of the whole of the grand scheme which was then carrying on against the existence of the French government, and the life of the First Consul, the French government made a requisition to the Elector of Baden, for the purpose of arresting the Duke of Enghien. This requisition, which was dated at Paris on the 10th of March, 1804, stated “that the First Consul, from the successive arrests of the *bunditti* which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been here instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenbourg have had in those horrible plots, which have been devised against his own person, and against the safety of France.” The requisition then proceeds to state, that the First Consul had learned that the Duke of Enghien was in the territory of Baden, and that, looking upon him to be amongst the most determined enemies of France, the First Consul had found it necessary to send some troops into the Baden territory, to seize these, the authors of a crime, the nature of which put them out of the protection of the law of nations. The requisition concluded by saying, that General Caulaincourt was charged with the execution of it. The seizure of the Duke did not take place till after this notification; so that the thing was not done so suddenly, and so by stealth, as we are told it was. But still, as no *permission* appears to have been given by the Elector of

Baden, there certainly was a *violation of neutral rights*, which I am, my Lord; not at all disposed to *justify*, but which I will not speak of in very violent language, lest my words should be quoted and applied to the seizure of Napper Tandy at Hamburg; to the forcing of the *Grand Duke of Tuscany* and the *Republic of Genoa* into our war of 1793; to the seizure of the *Danish fleet*, because the Danes refused to declare war against France; to the late affairs of *Valparaiso* and *Fuayal*; to the forcible passage, by the Allies, through the *Swiss territory* last year; or, to many other cases, which I have not now time to particularize. The truth is, that the rights of *neutrality* are good for nothing, except to *strong powers*, as experience, during the last five and twenty years, has amply proved. In the year 1793, the Americans were sending great quantities of flour to France, where the people were supposed to be in danger of being starved. What did we do in that case? We seized on the *neutral ships* of America, bound to France with food; brought those ships into England, and *compelled the owners of the cargoes to sell them to us*. After this, we would not expect to find people impudent enough to assert, that we cannot live at peace with Napoleon, because he has been guilty of a violation of the laws of neutrality. But, what would astonish any body, not accustomed to the perusal of the columns of these impudent and corrupt writers, is this: that, at the very moment they are insisting, that no peace can be kept with Napoleon, because he violated the territory of the Elector of Baden, they are also insisting, that the cantons of Switzerland ought to be compelled to join the coalition against France, and, that, in this war, *no neutrals ought to be allowed to exist*. To argue with such men is out of the question; but it can hardly fail to be useful to expose, as far as one is able, their insincerity and their baseness.

I have only to add, upon the subject of the Duke of Enghien, that the documents to which I have referred, will be found, in the fifth Volume of the Register, at pages 496, 497, 498, 499, 606.

As to CAPTAIN WRIGHT, I shall speak, as in the former case, of the *official documents*, which have been published with regard to him; and shall offer *no opinion of my own*, much less shall I attempt to

make any assertion. Captain Wright was made prisoner, along with his crew, upon the French coast, in a sloop of war, by some French gun-boats. He was carried to Paris, as we complained, and which was the fact, there subjected to close imprisonment in the Temple "and obliged to "undergo repeated interrogatories, before "a court of justice, when more of the "facts alledged against him, would, if "true, authorize the French government "to consider Captain Wright in any other "light than as a *prisoner of war*." This was our statement with regard to Captain Wright.

This complaint the French government did not listen to. At last, our ministry applied to the Spanish Ambassador in London, to apply to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, to procure, if possible, from the French government, the release of Captain Wright. The Spanish Ambassadors did, at last, prevail; and the consent of the French government was obtained; but, let us hear the language in which this consent is expressed, in a letter from the French Minister to M. Gravina, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, dated Paris, 27th August, 1804, in the following words:—"I have laid before his Majesty, the Emperor, the letter which you "have done me the honour of communicating to me. By his order, I must capitulate to your excellency some facts, "which relate to the object of that letter. "Mr. Wright was taken by our cruisers, at the very moment he was landing *Jean Marie* and two other of his accomplices, on the coast of Brittany. Prior to this, he had already landed at three times *banditti* of a similar description, who have since been brought to judgment, convicted, and punished, for having conspired against the state, and attempted the life of the *First Consul*. These species of acts, "under whatever point of view they may otherwise be contemplated, certainly do "not appertain to WAR. There is no age, nor any nation, in which they would not be regarded as crimes, and "one may, with truth, aver, that it was in *flagranti delicto*, that Mr. Wright was "captured by French mariners, then officiating as an armed force. According to accounts, to which full credit must be given, this officer had been demanded "from the English Admiralty. The Lords

"directing this department were, of "course, not ignorant of the *kind of service* to which he was destined. The "shame attached to the premeditation "of a project as atrocious and vile, as "it was cowardly, remains entirely with "the men who devised the plot, and "with him who undertook to accomplish "their views. I am ordered, Sir, to declare to your Excellency, that his "Majesty, the Emperor, will never suffer Mr. Wright to be EXCHANGED. "NO FRENCHMAN BELONGING, "WITH WHATEVER RANK HE "MAY, TO THE IMPERIAL NAVY, "CAN EVER CONSENT TO BE "PLACED IN A BALANCE WITH "THAT PERSON, IN A CARTEL OF "EXCHANGE. But, Sir, the Emperor, "having at heart to do every thing which "depends upon his Imperial Majesty, to mitigate the scourges of war, and willing to prove, that in his breast such a disposition preponderates over even motives of useful and just severity, has authorised me to declare, that his Imperial Majesty will give orders, that "Mr. Wright be placed at the disposal of the English Government. May I beg you, therefore, to make known to "Lord Harrowby, this generous determination of his Majesty. You will see in it, Sir, the marked intention of doing what may be personally agreeable to yourself, and his Britannic Majesty's new ministry will be constrained to recognise in it, a proof of the disposition, so often manifested, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, to shew himself above not only those sentiments which offences in general excite, but even above those which might spring from the attempts, of which his own person has been the object."

Now, my Lord, it was never denied by the English ministry, that Captain Wright had done those acts which the French imputed to him. Indeed, they seemed pretty clearly to confess, that he had done them; and, in answer to the letter of the Spanish Ambassador, conveying this letter of the French Government, Lord Harrowby expressly declines making any remark on the French statement.

This, then, was the charge against Captain Wright; that he suffered himself to be employed in landing in France, "*banditti*," who were afterwards convicted of

a design to *assassinate* the Chief Magistrate of France. This was the charge against him, and this charge was *never denied*, as to the *act*, though the *description of the persons*, so landed, was stoutly denied by the Anti-jacobins, who insisted, that *Georges* and *Pichegru* and *Jean Marie* and the rest of that memorable set, including *Moreau*, were very honest and worthy gentlemen, and that their names ought to be held in reverence; and, indeed, we have seen, that the *pious Louis le Desire*, while he was on the throne, *ENNOBLED* the family of *Georges*! Those who thought thus of the plot of *Georges* and his associates, would, of course, think, that Captain Wright acted a very meritorious part in being so zealous in landing in France persons having such laudable designs. But those who recollected, that *poisoners*, *assassins*, and *forgers* are not looked upon, by the writers on public law, as entitled to be considered as prisoners of war, might be apt to think with the writer of the French letter to the Spanish Minister; and, this writer, be it observed, was no other than *Mr. Talleyrand* himself, whom *your Lordship* knows to be not only a very sensible, but a very worthy man.

But, the *death* of Capt. Wright? The Emperor had given permission for his being placed at the disposal of the English Government. But, between that and the time for his release, he was said to have killed himself in prison. He certainly found his *death* there. That was enough. There needed no more to authorise our writers to impute his death to *Napoleon*. And, by degrees, he has been, and is now, familiarly called, "the murderer of Capt. Wright." There never has been any proof of this attempted to be produced. It is a sheer falsehood on the part of the assertors, because they possess no proof at all of the fact. One might leave it so; and insist on their being impudent calumniators; but, let us ask, what motive could induce *Napoleon* to order such a murder to be committed? He had pardoned the man, and had taken credit for the act. He had, at the time of Wright's death, put down all the conspirators and all the conspiracies; and, he had been chosen Emperor by the people of France. Besides (and this I beg you to attend to), DURING HIS YEAR OF EXILE, nobody was found to bring for-

ward any proof of this murder. Nobody, amongst all the hiring writers, was found to publish any of the proofs of an act, which *must* have been known to some one, at least, besides *Napoleon*. In short, it is a base and infamous calumny, which, if we were to make peace with *Napoleon*, the *Times* newspaper would be liable to be prosecuted for repeating.

If I am asked to account for the death of Mr. Wright, in the Temple, I say I am not bound to do it. We know, however, that persons, in such situations, frequently do put an end to their existence; and it must be confessed, that Capt. Wright's was a situation, not only of great peril, but, which is more, perhaps, in such a case, of almost insupportable mortification. He is represented as a most enthusiastic Royalist. He had seen all his efforts defeated; many of his friends brought to an ignominious death. He was himself uncertain as to his fate. He had been captured by a parcel of *gun-boats*. And, if he was informed of the conditions, or, rather, the manner of his release, as described in Mr. *Talleyrand's* Note, he would feel little pleasure in being known to all Europe, to have been put at the disposal of his government, without exchange, upon the ground, that the Emperor would not suffer any Frenchman to be exchanged against such a person.

But, are there no ways but those of assassination and suicide, by which men come to the end of their lives? Are there no fits or fevers in French jails, as well as in English jails? And, why was this Captain not to die as well as his neighbours? Are the English Ministers, or the Royal family, to be charged with all the deaths, or, even all the sudden deaths, in our prisons of war? Are they to be called murderers because prisoners of war have died in such great numbers? What absurdity! What impudent, or what foolish, men are those, who prefer this charge against *Napoleon*! But, as I before observed, the object of these men is to mislead, to delude, to inflame the people; to commit them in the bloody war, which has just begun, and thus to further their own base views. To defeat, or, at least, to endeavour to defeat, this wicked object is the duty of every man, who has the opportunity; and this duty, as I hope, your Lordship will agree, Mr. Hunt, at

the Westminster Meeting, discharged in a most manly and able manner; in a manner worthy of the public-spirited and enlightened citizens, to whom his speech was addressed. I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, June 21st, 1815.

No. I.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE WAR OF ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, DENMARK, SWEDEN, HOLLAND, SARDINIA, THE POPE, NAPLES, SICILY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, BAVARIA, WURTEMBERG, &c. &c.; WITH AN ARMY OF ONE MILLION AND ELEVEN THOUSAND REGULAR SOLDIERS, AGAINST NAPOLEON AND FRANCE.

The mighty contest has begun. The new crusade against France and against liberty has commenced. The *Times* newspaper says, that the campaign has opened with "a great and glorious victory; that Bonaparte's reputation has been wrecked, and his last grand stake has been lost in this tremendous conflict; the fabric of rebellion is shaken to its base." The *Morning Chronicle*, that pink of hypocrisy, tells us, that it has been a "brilliant and complete victory, which will for ever exalt the glory of the British name; that it is the grandest and most important victory ever obtained." The *Courier*, in the height of its frenzy, declares, that there could not have been "a greater victory in point of glory, more vital to the real interests and safety of Europe, big with more important political consequences."—Of course, as this same *Courier* says, "the city is a scene of complete confusion; business is entirely neglected; the immortal Wellington is the universal theme; the streets and Exchange are crowded to excess—all anxious to hear the details of the glorious victory obtained by our noble countrymen." While this delirium continues at its height, it would be useless in me to attempt to bring the public back to reason. I might as well think of reaching conviction to the minds of the inhabitants of St. Luke's; I might as well expect that a drunken man could discuss, with calmness and perspicuity, an argument in mathematics or moral philosophy. That I may not, how-

ever, be charged with partiality, I shall here insert the official details, which have been published respecting the first battle, or rather series of battles, that have been fought for the purpose of determining, whether France is, or is not, to be permitted to exercise the right of choosing her own government?—When the phrenzy, which has seized the public mind, has somewhat subsided, and we are in possession of the French official accounts of the opening of the campaign, without which correct ideas cannot be formed, it may then be useful to make some remarks on these interesting events. I shall begin with the *London Gazette Extraordinary*, containing the particulars of what the *Courier* calls, the "Complete Defeat of Bonaparte."

DOWNING-STREET, JUNE 22.—Major the Hon. H. Percy arrived last night with a dispatch from Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the War Department, of which the following is a copy:

Waterloo, June 19.

MY LORD—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts of Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning. I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroy was the real attack. The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Zeiten, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroy, retired upon Flenes; and Marshal Blücher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny. The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroy towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm houses on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras. The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command

of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blücher's position. In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau. At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blücher, with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras. The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bülow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived. We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner.—[Here his Lordship praises his troops and officers.]—Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops. Although Marshal Blücher had maintained his position at Sambre, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over. This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock. The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blücher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sambre in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting the following, with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life

Guards, upon their débouché from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment. The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroy, and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Meske Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougomont, which covered the rear of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher, at Wavre through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me that in case we should be attacked he would support us with one or more corps, as might be necessary. The enemy, collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, over a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougomont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command, of Lieut. Col. Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it. This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them. The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life guards, royal horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle. These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to

force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which after a severe contest was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Enshermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning that he had taken 60 pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe. I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations. Your Lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not have been fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense.—[Here his Lordship praises his officers and men.]—I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded. I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's protection. I have the honour, &c. (Signed) WELLINGTON.

LIST OF THE BRITISH OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

KILLED.

Duke of Brunswick Oels.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton.

Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby.

Colonels.—Du Plat, K. G. L.; Omstedt, ditto; Morrin, 69th Regt.; Sir W. Ellis, 23d.

Lieutenant-Colonels.—Macara, 42d Regt.; Cameron, 93d Regt.; Sir Alex. Gordon, K. C. B. Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington; Canning; Currie, Lord Hill's Staff.

Majors.—The Hon. Fred. Howard, 10th Hussars; George Bain, Royal Artillery; Norman Ranney, ditto; Cairnes, ditto; Chambers, 30th Regt.

Brevet-Majors.—Creston, 5th Division; Rose-wiel, 2d Light Regiment.

Captains.—Bolton, Royal Artillery; Crawford-Guards; the Hon. — Curzon, A. D. C. to his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange; Chambers, A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. Picton; Charles Ellis, 95th Regt.; Robertson, 73d Regt.; Kennedy, ditto; Schumann, 2d Lt. Bat. K. G. L.; Holyoacan, 1st ditto; Henry Marshal, 1st ditto; Goeben ditto; Gunning, 10th Hussars; Grove, 1st Guards.

Lieutenants.—C. Manners, Royal Artillery; Lister, 95th Regt.

Ensigns.—Lord Hay, Aid-de-Camp to General Maitland; Brown, 1st Guards.

WOUNDED.

General his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, G. C. B. severely.

Lieut.-Generals.—the Earl of Uxbridge, G. C. B. right leg amputated; Sir C. Allen, K. C. B. severely.

Major-Generals.—Cock, right arm amputated; Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. Adjut.-Gen. severely; Sir J. Kempt, K. C. B. slightly; Sir Colin Halkitt, K. C. B. severely; Adams, severely; Sir W. Dornberg, K. C. B. severely.

Colonels.—Sir J. Elley, K. C. B. slightly; Harris, 73d Regt.; Quentin, 10th Hussars, slightly; the Hon. Fred. Ponsonby, severely; Sir W. De Lancey, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonels.—Lord Fitzroy Somerset, right arm amputated; Hay, 16th Light Dragoons, severely; Vigoureux, 30th Light Dragoons; Abercrombie, A. Q. M. G. slightly; Hamilton, 30th regiment; Cameron, 93th, severely; Wyndham, 1st Foot Guards, severely; Bowater, 3d Foot Guards, slightly; Macdonell, Coldstream, slightly; Dashwood, 3d Guards, severely; Sir R. Hill, Royal Horse Guards Blue, severely; Norcott, 95th, severely; Hill, severely; Schneider, 8th Line battalion; Adair, 1st Guards, severely; Miller, 1st Guards, dangerously; Sir George Henry Berkeley, A. A. G.

Majors.—Maclean, 78d; Beckwith, 95th, severely; Jessop, Assistant Quarter Master General; Bush, 1st Light Batt. K. G. L. right arm amputated, Parkinson, 73d, severely; Parker, R. H. Artillery, leg amputated; Robert Ball, Royal Artillery, severely; Hamilton, Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Sir E. Barnes; Watson, 69th regiment,

severely.—Brevet-Major, Einem, dangerously.—Majors Wilkins and Miller, 95th regt. severely; Lindsay, 69th, dangerously.

Captains.—Smith, 95th regiment, severely; Tyler, Aid-de-Camp to Sir Thomas Picton, slightly; Dance, 23d Light Dragoons; Johnston, 95th; Curriers, 95th; Darney, Napier, A. McDonald, Webber, Royal Artillery, severely; Dunaresque, Aid-de-Camp to Gen. Sir J. Byng, severely; Whynates, Royal Artillery, severely; the Hon.—Erskine, D. A. A. G. left arm amputated; A. Dangton, Aid-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Picton, severely; Barnes, Brevet Major, Royal Artillery, severely.

Lieutenants.—Royal Artillery, Foster, Coome, Robe, Smith, Strangway, Brierton, and Forbes, severely; Hormey, arm amputated; Bloomfield and D. Crawford, slightly.—Haverluck, Aid-de-Camp to Gen. Sir Charles Alten; Pringle, Royal Engineers, slightly; Hamilton, 46th regiment, slightly; Heise, 1st light battalion; Gardiner, Johnstone, Moltry, Simmons, J. Gardiner, Fitzmaurice, Shenley, and Wright, 95th, severely.

FRENCH ACCOUNTS.

The following relate only to the operations of the army previous to the battle of the 18th, the French account of which has not arrived.

GENERAL ORDER.

Avesnes, June 14, 1815.

Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Ansterlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of Princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men? Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six! Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered! The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of Princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must

devour the states of the second rank of Germany. The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter, but with steadiness, victory will be ours; the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be reconquered! To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.

(A true copy) The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, Major-Gen.

Charleroi, June 15.

On the 14th the army was placed in the following manner:—The Imperial Head-quarters at Beaumont. The 1st corps, commanded by General D'Erlon, was at Solre on the Sambre. The 2d corps, commanded by General Reillé, was at Ham-sur-Heure. The 3d corps, commanded by General Vandamme, was on the right of Beaumont. The 4th corps, commanded by General Gerard, had arrived at Philippeville. On the 15th, at three in the morning, General Reillé attacked the enemy, and advanced upon Marchiennes-au-Pont. There were various engagements, in which his cavalry charged a Prussian battalion, and made 300 prisoners. At one in the morning, the Emperor was at Jamignon-sur-Heure. General Daumont's division of light cavalry sabred two Prussian battalions, and made 400 prisoners. General Pajol entered Charleroi at mid-day. The sappers and marines of the guard were with the advance to repair the bridges. They were the first to penetrate into the town as sharp-shooters. General Clari, with the 1st Hussars, advanced upon Gosselies, on the Brussels road; and General Pajol upon Gilly, on the Namur road. At three in the afternoon General Vandamme debouched with his corps on Gilly. Marshal Grouchy arrived with the cavalry of General Excelmans. The enemy occupied the left of the position of Fleurus; at five in the afternoon the Emperor ordered an attack. The position was turned, and carried. Four squadrons of the Guard, commanded by General Letort, the Emperor's Aids-de-camp, broke three squares; the 26th, 27th, and 28th Prussian regiments were routed. Our squadrons sabred from four to 500 men, and took 150 prisoners. During this time General Reillé passed the Sambre at Marchiennes-au-Pont, in order to advance upon Gosselies with the divisions of Prince Jerome and General Bachelin, attacked the enemy, took from him 250 prisoners, and pursued him on the road to Brus-

sels. We thus became masters of the whole position of Fleurus. At eight in the evening the Emperor re-entered his head-quarters at Charleroi. This day cost the enemy five pieces of cannon and 2,000 men, of whom 1,000 are prisoners. Our loss is 10 men killed and 80 wounded, the greater part belonging to the squadron of the guard who made the charges, and to three squadrons of the 20th dragons who also charged a square with the greatest intrepidity. Our loss, though trifling in amount, has been sensibly felt by the Emperor, from the severe wound received by General Lortz, his aid-de-camp, in charging at the head of the squadrons. He is an officer of the greatest distinction: he was struck by a ball in the lower part of the belly, but the surgeons give hopes that his wound will not be mortal*. We have found some magazines at Charleroi. The joy of the Belgians it would be impossible to describe. There were some villages which, on the sight of their deliverers, formed dances; and every where there is a movement which proceeds from the heart. In the report of the Major-General of the Staff, the names of the officers and soldiers who distinguished themselves will be inserted. The Emperor has given the command of the left to the Prince of Moskwa, who, in the evening, had his head-quarters at Quatre-Chemins, on the road to Brussels. The Duke of Treviso, to whom the Emperor gave the command of the young guard, has remained at Beaufort, ill of the rheumatism, which has forced him to keep his bed. The 4th corps, commanded by General Gerard, arrives this evening at Chatelet. General Gerard has stated, that Lieut. General Bonrimont, Colonel Clouet, and the chief of squadron Villoutreys, have passed over to the enemy. A lieutenant of the 11th Chasseurs has also gone over. The Major-General has ordered that these deserters shall be immediately sentenced conformably to the laws. It would be impossible to describe the good spirit and ardour of the army. It views the desertion of this small number of traitors who thus throw off the mask, as a fortunate event.

NEWS FROM THE ARMY.

In rear of Ligny, half past 8 in the evening of the 16th of June, 1815.

The Emperor has just obtained a complete victory over the Prussian and English armies, united, under the orders of Lord Wellington and Marshal Blücher. The army at this moment debouches by the village of Ligny, in advance of Fleurus, to pursue the enemy.

* A letter of the Emperor, of the 16th, ends with these words, written with his own hand—“he is going on well.”

Fleurus, June 17, 4 o'clock in the morning.

The battle of yesterday lasted till ten o'clock in the evening. We are still in pursuit of the enemy, who has experienced a terrible overthrow. We have hitherto 8,000 prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon, and several standards, many officers of rank, among others Count Lutzuw. We expect at day break to collect a great number in the villages of St. Amand, and others who were cut off by the movement which the Emperor caused his guard to make. The grenadiers and chasseurs of the old guard unscathed entire masses, and have lost very few men. It appears that it was a charge of bayonet by the Imperial Foot Grenadiers which decided the battle. The enemy have been extremely numerous. I never saw such enthusiasm in our soldiers. The columns which marched to battle, the wounded who returned from being dressed, never ceased to exclaim “Live the Emperor!”

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE MAJOR-GENERAL TO THE WAR MINISTER.

Fleurus, June 17, 1815.

Monsieur Marshal,—I announced yesterday, from the field of battle of Ligny, to his Imperial Highness Prince Joseph, the signal victory which the Emperor has gained. I returned here with his Majesty at 11 o'clock in the evening, and it was necessary to pass the night in attending to the wounded. The Emperor has remounted his horse, to follow the success of the battle of Ligny. It was fought with fury, and the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the troops. We were one to three. At eight o'clock in the evening, the Emperor marched with his guard: six battalions of the old guard, the dragoons, and horse-grenadiers, and the cuirassiers of General Delort, debouched by Ligny, and executed a charge which separated the enemy's line. Wellington and Blücher saved themselves with difficulty: the effect was theatrical. In an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions. We have already several thousand prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon. The 6th and 1st corps were not engaged. The left wing fought against the English army, and took from it cannon and standards. At night I will give you further details, for every instant prisoners are announced. Our loss does not appear enormous; since, without screening it, I do not reckon it at more than 3000 men.

(Signed)

Marshal, Major-General Duke of DALMATIA.

(A Copy)

Marshal, Minister of War, Prince of ECKMÜHL.

EXPOSITION OF THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

The President announced, that Count Regnault St. Jean d'Angely requested a hearing, to communicate to the Chamber the exposition of the Minister of the Interior: it was granted.

His Majesty the Emperor, said Count Regnault, having charged those of his Ministers who are Members of the Chamber of Peers to communicate to that Assembly the exposition of our situation, which was announced to you in the discourse from the throne, has confided a similar mission to those of his ministers who have been elected representatives of the people. To-day, and at the moment when I speak, the Minister of the Interior is reading to the Chamber of Peers the exposition of the state of the Empire. I have been charged to communicate to you a copy thereof, and shall read it, if such is the pleasure of the Chamber. The assembly manifested its assent.

Count Regnault resumed.—Among all the objects of the Emperor's solicitude, the first, after his solemn acceptance of the constitution, has been to make known to the nation, through the medium of its representatives, the true situation in which it is placed. Three months have scarcely elapsed since his Majesty quitted the rock to which circumstances had for a moment banished him, in order to deliver France from the enslaving yoke of a worn-out dynasty, which managed the resources of our fine country merely for the profit of foreigners. The enthusiasm which served as an escort to his Majesty from the period of his landing, sufficiently proved on what side lay the national wishes. It proves, that if the deposed family could ever re-enter France with the aid of foreigners, it would soon be expelled anew. Its prejudices, its engagements with the old privileged castes, are all in opposition to the liberal ideas in which the existing generation has been bred, and which can never retrograde. With the princes of that family, we should have seen, as indeed we are menaced, with the re-appearance of all the cruel absurdities of feudal government, and the degrading slavery of the monastic system. In the mean time, it is to re-establish all these institutions, that they invite the foreigner into our fine country: but we will never thus abandon it; we will rally around the Emperor, the

protector of liberal ideas, around a Prince who, educated in the revolution, advances with the age in which he lives, and wishes to extend the dominion of mind instead of circumscribing it. Instructed by misfortunes, he will see the conquerors of Austerlitz, of Marengo, and of Jena, march anew under the colours which so often led them to victory, and the event will not be doubtful. However, his Majesty is sincerely desirous of peace; he has done every thing to preserve it, but without inclining to listen for a moment to humiliating conditions, which would compromise the honour and the dearest interests of France. All his efforts, however, have been fruitless; already our frontiers are menaced at all points, already hostilities have been commenced without any preliminary declaration of war, and there seems to remain no other resource for the maintenance of our independence but an appeal to arms. If the Emperor were less fortified by the inherent strength of his character, he might fear two rocks. There has been talk of a royalist party and a republican party, alike enemies of his government. But the former has not known how to defend the Princes objects of its affection, for whom it pretended a willingness to die; it is far from formidable. As to the republicans, converted from old errors, of which cruel experience made them feel too severely the fatal effects, they see in the Emperor only the protector of the liberal ideas which they have at all times themselves professed; and which excesses alone have prevented them from hitherto seeing realised. The time has been too short to give to the national constitution all the perfection of which it was susceptible; but the Emperor, towards the accomplishment of this essential work, reckons on the intelligence and patriotism of the two Chambers. The preparations for war have prevented him from giving to it himself all the attention which he could have wished; but the French territory was threatened. The national character, which essentially rejects every idea of conquest, should have been a sufficient guarantee to all the powers of Europe against the invasion which they seem so much to fear at present; but that fear is only a vain pretext to cover their ambition. That ambition is sufficiently demonstrated by the senseless declarations of the Congress of Vienna, by the assem-

blages on our frontiers, by hostilities commenced in full peace, by landings effected on our coasts in order to encourage civil war, and, in fine, by the refusal to listen to any proposal for the maintenance of peace. All these circumstances must give a precise idea of the justice and moderation of our enemies: it is the same as in 1792, when the Duke of Brunswick published the famous manifesto of which the insolent pretensions converted the French into a nation of soldiers. Representatives of the nation, you know the French people, essentially good and generous, and always ready to contribute to the wants of the country, provided the whole extent of these wants be fairly made known to them. You have already assumed that wise and imposing attitude which is the finest guarantee to our liberty and independence; and you have a right to know, without the least disguise, the state of our wants and resources. The former are doubtless great, but sufficient means exist to provide for them without oppressing the people; and with the energy which you share with the people who elected you, we shall be certain of repelling the most unjust aggression against an independent people, of which the political annals of cabinets have ever preserved the recollection. I am charged to present to you the following details on our internal situation:—

COMMUNES.—Under this head, Count Regnault stated, that the communal administrations had been almost totally abandoned under the government of the Bourbons; that the communal funds, so essential to the movement of troops, the equipment of the national guards, &c. had been delapidated by the journeys of the Princes, by the restoration of woods to emigrants, and by many other malversations; but that the Emperor was taking pains to restore order in this important branch of internal administration.

HOSPITALS.—These asylums of suffering humanity had at all times excited the solicitude of the Emperor. At the commencement of 1814, these establishments had been exposed to considerable additional expences from the number of sick and wounded soldiers. Under the late government, however, they were on the point of losing one of their principal resources, by the restitution of property of emigrants, with which they had been endowed by solemn laws. The Emperor had restored it to them. He had also doubled the funds of the Maternal Society which he founded; which, on this account alone, was neglected, and of which the august protectress is invited back by the wishes of all Frenchmen. The depots of mendicity, created also by the Emperor, were equally abandoned; but these establishments were about to resume new acti-

vity. The hospitals in the departments invaded by the enemy had considerably suffered, but they were already re-established.

WORKS.—Under this head Count Regnault enumerated the great monuments founded or ordered by his Majesty; they should be continued, though they were seen suspended even in time of peace; but they should in future be exclusively reserved for France, and if existing circumstances did not permit them to receive that extent which were to be wished, they should soon be accelerated by the arms which would be no longer necessary for the defence of the country.

WORKS AT PARIS.—The Minister here gave an account of the various constructions which have been commenced in the capital, and which should be continued.

MINES.—This head presented nothing remarkable.

MANUFACTURES.—Count Regnault here did justice to the superiority of our manufactures, which all the merchants of Europe could attest from the experience furnished them by the short time during which it had been in their power to trade with us. He saw, like every statesman, that France, at once agricultural and manufacturing, could alone dispense with the assistance of its neighbours, and that a liberal government could not fail to give all possible spring to national industry, formerly compressed by Gothic prejudices. He announced that various new manufactures had been improved, and others introduced; that the manufacture of sugar from the beet-root, in spite of all the efforts made to destroy it, promised shortly to render Europe independent of the New World for that article; that the indigo of wood, without having reached the same perfection, already rivalled that of India; and that, in fine, a number of useful discoveries presented new sources of national prosperity.

COMMERCE.—The report expressed nothing but hope upon this article, and by the absurd ambition of sovereigns all the nations of Europe are placed in the same condition.

INSTRUCTION.—Under this title the Minister exhibited all the vicissitudes to which the corps of teachers had been subjected. The result of the enquiry shewed that the number both of colleges and scholars had been diminished, but that the university of Paris still numbered under its direction 325,531 pupils, and that the lyceum, stimulated by the new encouragement of the Emperor, displayed the best spirit.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.—In speaking of the clergy, the Minister did not attempt to disguise the errors they committed under the last government, in giving way, from the lure of a restitution of church property, to the influence of emigrants, in stigmatizing as plunderers the owners of national property, whose titles had been recognised as legitimate by the Pope himself, and in attempting, in the name of the Almighty, whose servants they are, to light up civil war among men.—The Emperor, however, was always disposed to protect, and even favour the ministers of the church, so long as they confined themselves within the bounds of their duty, and had already conferred on the curates an augmentation of 150 francs, which had been vainly promised to them by the last government. The Emperor war, besides, the only sovereign who, having no

further interests to arrange with the Pope, had it in his power to put an end to those interminable negotiations, commenced by the last government with the Court of Rome, and to re-establish, upon the basis of the *concordat*, the liberties of the Gallican church.

JURISPRUDENCE.—This article of the report was extremely short. The Minister merely stated, that those civil judges who felt themselves unworthy of their functions, had done justice by abdicating their offices; and that as far as respected the administration of the criminal law, the establishment of the trial by jury every day merited new approbation; but that in the mean time, some organical institutions were necessary to regulate the duties and diminish the labours of those judicial citizens.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—It was absolutely impossible to follow M. le Comte Regnaud through all the details which he furnished on this important topic. The result is, that on the 1st of April, 1814, the army consisted of 450,000 men, exclusive of 150,000 prisoners, all veteran soldiers, and of 115,000 conscripts of the levy of 1815, of which 45,000 only, out of 160,000, had been raised. The last government, at once prodigal and avaricious, alarmed at its own strength, and essentially hostile to the army, had taken every possible means of diminishing it.—The orator then described the various oppressions to which the army had been exposed, particularly by the introduction of the emigrants, and which had reduced its number to 175,000 men. Since the 20th of March last, its number had been raised to 375,000 combatants of every description; and before the 1st of August, it would amount to 500,000 independent of the national guards.

THE IMPERIAL GUARD.—This surest bulwark of the throne in times of war, and its finest ornament in time of peace, had a separate article allotted to it in the official report. The Minister condemned the injustice with which it was treated by the last government, and announced that it already amounted to 40,000 men.

ARTILLERY.—The losses in this arm has been in a great measure repaired; they were occasioned chiefly by treachery, and especially the delivering up of all the strong places, by order of the Count d'Artois in his capacity of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. By this single act France had lost 12,000 pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, the value of which is estimated at 200,000,000 of francs. This loss, however, had been entirely supplied: the arsenals, magazines of powder, and armories, were in full activity; and after having armed the national guard and associations, there would remain in the magazines 600,000 muskets in reserve.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.—The administrative details on this subject were little susceptible of abridgment. The Minister, however, asserted that the necessary funds would be easily provided, and no new taxes be required.

NATIONAL GUARD.—This article furnished no information of which the public is not already in possession.

THE MARINE presented considerable resources, notwithstanding the evils produced by treachery, which had not, however, cast any stain upon its honour.

IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS.

PARIS, JUNE 12.—Yesterday, (Sunday the 11th) the Emperor being on his throne, surrounded by the Princes his brothers, the Grand Dignitaries, Ministers, &c. received at the Thuilleries, before mass, a Deputation of the Chamber of Peers. On this occasion, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, president, presented the following address:

Sire,—Your anxiety to submit to constitutional forms and rules, the absolute power with which circumstances and the confidence of the people had invested you, the new guarantees given to the rights of the nation, the devotedness which leads you into the midst of the dangers the army is about to brave, penetrate all hearts with profound gratitude. The Peers of France come to offer your Majesty the homage of this sentiment. You have manifested principles, Sire, which are those of the nation: they must also be ours. Yes, all power springs from the people, is instituted for the people; the constitutional monarchy is necessary to the French, as the guarantee of its liberty and independence. Sire, while you shall be on the frontiers, at the head of the sons of the country, the Chamber of Peers will zealously concur in every legislative measure which circumstances require, to compel foreigners to acknowledge the national independence, and to cause the principles, consecrated by the will of the people, to triumph in the interior. The interest of France is inseparable from yours. Should fortune fail your efforts, reverses, Sire, shall not weaken our perseverance, and shall redouble our attachment to you. If events correspond to the justice of our cause, and to the hopes we are accustomed to conceive of your genius, and to the bravery of our armies, France desires no other fruits from them but peace. Our institutions guarantee to Europe that the French nation cannot be drawn on by the seductions of victory.

His Majesty replied:—

M. President, and Gentlemen Deputies of the Chamber of Peers.—The contest in which we are engaged is serious. The seduction of prosperity is not the danger which threatens us now. It is under the *Caudine Forks* that foreigners wish to make us pass!—The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army, are powerful reasons for hoping success; but should we have reverses, then especially I shall delight to see called forth all the energy of this great people; then shall I find in the Chamber of Peers, proofs of attachment to the country and me.—It is in difficult times that great nations, like great men, develop all the energy of their character, and become objects of admiration to posterity. I thank you, gentlemen, for the sentiments you have expressed to me in the name of the Chamber.

This audience being finished, the Emperor proceeded to mass. After mass, having again taken his place on the throne, he received a deputation of the

Chamber of Representatives, headed by Count Lanjuinais, the president, who presented the following address :

Sire.—The Chamber of Representatives received with profound emotion the words which proceeded from the throne at the solemn sitting, when your Majesty, laying down the extraordinary power which you exercised, proclaimed the commencement of the Constitutional monarchy. The chief basis of that monarchy, the protectress of liberty, equality, and the happiness of the people, have been recognized by your Majesty, who, rising above all scruples, as anticipating all wishes, has declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of arranging them, was one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature. Faithful to its mission, the Chamber of Deputies will perform the task thus devolved upon it; it requests that, to satisfy the public wish, as well as the wishes of your Majesty, national deliberation should rectify, as speedily as possible, any thing defective or imperfect, that the urgency of our situation may have produced, or left to exist in our constitution considered as a whole. But at the same time, *Sire*, the Chamber of Representatives will not shew itself less anxious to proclaim its sentiments and its principles as to the terrible contest which threatens to cover Europe with blood. In the train of disastrous events, France invaded, appeared for a moment listened to as to the establishment of a constitution, only to see herself almost immediately subjected to a royal charter emanating from absolute power, to an ordinance of reform always revocable in its nature, and which, not having the expressed assent of the people, could never be considered as obligatory on the nation. Resuming now the exercise of her rights, rallying around the hero whom her confidence anew invests with the government of the state, France is astonished and afflicted at seeing some Sovereign in arms call her to account for an internal change, which is the result of the national will, and which attacks neither the relations existing with other governments, nor their security.—France cannot admit the distinctions with the aid of which the coalesced powers endeavour to cloak their aggression. To attack the monarch of its choice, is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence, and to repel, without exception, every family and every prince whom men shall dare to wish to impose upon it. No ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people; the will even of a victorious Prince would be insufficient to draw on the nation beyond the limits of its own defence: but to guard its territory, to maintain its liberty, its honour, its dignity, it is ready for any sacrifice. Why are we not still permitted to hope, *Sire*, that these warlike preparations, formed perhaps by the irritation of pride, and by illusions which every day must weaken, may still disperse before the want of a peace necessary to all the nations of Europe, and which shall restore to your Majesty a spouse, to the French the heir of a throne? But blood has already flowed, the signal of combats, prepared against the independence and liberty of France, has been given in the name of

a people who carry to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of liberty and independence. Doubtless, among the communications which your Majesty promises us, the Chambers will find proofs of the efforts you have made to maintain the peace of the world. If all these efforts must remain useless, may the calamities of war fall upon those who shall have provoked them.—The Chamber of Representatives only waits for the documents announced to it in order to contribute with all its power to the measures which the success of so legitimate a war will require. It delays pronouncing its resolves only till it knows the wants and resources of the state; and while your Majesty, opposing to the most unjust aggression the valour of the national armies and the force of your genius, will seek in victory only one means of attaining a durable peace, the Chamber of Representatives will deem that it marches towards the same object, by incessantly labouring on the compact, of which the improvement must cement the union of the people and the throne, and strengthen, in the eyes of Europe, by the amelioration of our institutions, the guarantee of our engagements.

His Majesty replied :

Mr. President, and Gentlemen Deputies of the Chamber of Representatives.—I recognise with satisfaction my own sentiments in those which you express to me. In these weighty circumstances my thoughts are absorbed by the imminent war, to the success of which are attached the independence and the honour of France. I will depart this night to place myself at the head of my armies; the movements of the different hostile corps render my presence there indispensable. During my absence I shall see with pleasure a commission appointed by each chamber engaged in deliberating on our constitutions. The constitution is our rallying point; it must be our pole-star in these stormy moments. All public discussions, tending to diminish directly or indirectly the confidence which should be placed in its enactments, will be a misfortune to the state; we should then find ourselves at sea, without a compass and without a rudder. The crisis in which we are placed is great. Let us not imitate the conduct of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians, made itself the laughing stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions, at the moment when the battering ram was shaking the gates of the city. Independently of the Legislative measures required by the circumstances of the interior, you will probably deem it useful to employ yourself on organic laws destined to put the constitution in motion. They may be the object of your public labours without any inconvenience. The sentiments expressed in your address sufficiently demonstrate to me the attachment of the Chamber to my person, and all the patriotism with which it is animated. In all affairs my march shall be straight forward and firm. Assist me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the engagement, which I renew of employing in more tranquil times, all the prerogatives of the Crown, and the little experience I have acquired, in seconding you in the amelioration of our Constitutions.

COBBETT'S

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VOL. XXVIII.



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1815.

LIST OF
HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.
1815.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Right Hon. N. Vansittart	{ Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	
Lord Viscount Melville	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Sidmouth	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Castlereagh	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Bathurst	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Buckinghamshire	{ Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	{ Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston	
Right Hon. C. Long	{ Secretary at War.
Hon. J. F. Robinson	
Earl of Chichester	{ Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Earl of Clancarty	
Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot	{ Joint Postmasters-General.
Sir R. Lushington	
Sir Wm. Grant	{ Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Wm. Garrow	
Sir S. Shepherd	Master of the Rolls.
	Attorney-General.
	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Lord Whitworth	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robt. Pele	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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TO LORD CASTLEBAGH.

On the Overthrow of the Emperor Napoleon.

MY LORD,—The intelligence of this grand event reached me on Saturday last, and in the following manner. I had been out very early in the morning, and, in returning home to breakfast, I met a populous gang of gypsies. At the first view of them, I thought of nothing but the robberies which they constantly commit upon us, and I began to plan my measures of defence; but, upon a nearer approach to them, I perceived the whole caravan decorated with laurel. The blackguard ruffians of men had laurel boughs in their hats; the nasty ferocious looking women, with pipes in their jaws, and straddling along like German trulls, had laurel leaves pinned against their sides. The poor asses, that went bounding along beneath the burdens laid on them by their merciless masters, and that were quivering their skins to get the swarm of flies from those parts of their bodies which the wretched drivers had beaten raw, had their bridles and halters and pads stuck over with laurel. Somewhat staggered by this symbol of victory, I, hesitating what to do, passed the gang in silence, until I met an extraordinarily ill-looking fellow, who, with two half-starved dogs, performed the office of rear-guard. I asked him the meaning of this laurel boughs, and he informed me, that they were hoisted on account of the "*glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington over Bony*;" that they were furnished them by a good gentleman, in a black coat and big white wig, whose house they had passed the day before, between Andover and Botley, and who had given them several pots of ale, wherein to drink the Duke's health.—"And, to be sure," added he, "it is glorious news, and we may now hope to see the gallon loaf at a grate again, as 'twas in my old father's time."

Leaving this political œconomist, this "loyal man and friend of social order," to

overtake his companions, I went homeward with a mind far from being so completely made up as that of the Gipsy and his black-coated and white-wig'd benefactor. I had, when I came to see the news-papers; when I came to read the insolent language of the TIMES and the COURIER, no doubt of what would follow; and, there appears now very little room for doubting, that "the paternal authority" will very soon be restored in France by the force of the bayonet and the cannon ball. There is a talk of making a stand for the independence of France; but, there does not appear the stuff for making such stand. The attempt at a mixty mixty government deprives the state of all zeal. If, indeed, we were yet, even yet, to see a Directory, or a Consulate, or a Convention, or a *Comité de Salut Public*, the Duke and his victory would prove of little avail. But, to defend France now requires all the energy of 1792, 3, and 4; and, that energy appears to be fled for ever; or, at least, till time and opportunity shall again call it forth. It is very evident, that Napoleon, from the hour of his return to Paris, perceived, that it would not do merely to re-assume his title and authority; that he would, in that case, have no friends in the republicans, and all enemies in the royalists. But, besides, there is no reason to believe, that he was not perfectly sincere in his professions relative to the liberties of France. Still, the Empress! "The august spouse." The "august son." These hung about him; and he could not bring himself to say: "Up again with the Republic, and I will again be her General Bonaparte." He could not screw himself up to this; and hence, doubtless, his want of enthusiastic support from many of the republicans, who, if they must have a king, claiming an hereditary right to rule over them, did not think it worth their while to commit themselves in the quarrel: while, on the other hand, he had all the kings, all the nobles, and all the priests of the whole of Europe against him; together with an army of a million and eleven thousand of regular troops!

and, which we shall by-and-by find to have been of *greater weight than all the rest put together*, FIFTY MILLIONS OF OUR MONEY, voted by the Honourable House. This is the key of cabinets; the powder, ball, swords, and bayonets of armies. This it is that will decide the fate of France now, as it did in 1814. In the times of the *Republic*, indeed, our millions had no effect. There were many very cruel men in power, during those stormy times; but, those men were *sound* as towards their country. There was little of *moderation*, to be sure; but, there was a great deal of *fidelity*.

However, those times are passed. The men, who have declined to go back to *revolutionary measures*, have now to make their peace as they can; or, rather, I take it, to submit to their fate. They will know, in all human probability, before this day week, whether, the pensioned Burke spoke truth, when he said, that Kings had *long memories* as well as *long arms*. Our *Times* newspaper already has marked out some hundreds for the *gallows*. He is for "*hanging them up at once*." And, really, I think his advice very likely to be followed. Blood, blood, is the cry on every side; and, those in power, at Paris, will now see what is the consequence of doing things by *halves*, when they have to deal with kings, nobles, and priests! They will now see what is to be gained by their "*moderation*!" They will soon see, that power must be maintained, if at all, by the same sort of means as those, by which it has been acquired. Their fate and that of Napoleon, whose name will always be pronounced with admiration of his warlike deeds, will be a warning to future revolutionists how they place kings upon their thrones, after having dethroned them. I do not say, that it is to be *regretted*; but, it has astonished every one to see the Royal Family of France suffered to escape so tranquilly, even after some of them were *taken in arms*! Napoleon, will soon find, that *this* was not the way to insure the safety of his own person.

On what *conditions* Louis may be restored, we cannot yet say; but our newspapers insist, that he ought to be compelled to adopt such measures as the safety of Europe, and particularly of England, may demand. Whether these writers mean to propose the drawing out of the fore-teeth and the cutting off of the fingers and

thumb of the right hand of the male inhabitants of France, I know not. But, I think, we shall hear them propose the annihilation of the *fleet* of France; the surrender of her frontier towns; the abolition of all the new nobility; the disbanding of the whole of the army; the restoration of the papal territories in Provence; the giving up of something to Spain; the re-establishment of the feudal rights and courts; and, I shall be very much surprised if we do not hear it forcibly recommended to *Louis le Desirée* to re-establish the monasteries and the *tythes*.

There will be some work to accomplish all this; yet, all this would not answer the end in view, unless the French pay a share of our NATIONAL DEBT, the *annual interest* of which will now be forty-three millions sterling; and, unless we could, besides, make them pay their share towards the support of our PAUPERS. Unless these can be accomplished, people will not live *here* to pay part of this debt, if they can avoid it by going to France. Their *loyalty* will not keep them at home to live meanly, while they can live in affluence by only crossing the channel. If France were a republic, less rich people would go, than will go, France being a monarchy. Our old lady will return with the Bourbons, to restore whom we have so loaded ourselves with debts, that many of our people will be compelled to go and live under them.

All is not over, therefore, when Louis is up again. By disabling France for war, we shall compel her to set about the arts of peace. We shall make France *a country to live in*; a country that the arts of peace will seek. She will, do what we will, soon become our rival in manufactures. Commerce will revive with her very quickly. Amongst all the *fighting nations* she is, after all, the only one that is *lightly taxed*; and, I repeat, that, unless we can make her pay a share of the interest of the debt, contracted in the subduing of her, we shall, with all our successes and all our boastings, have only accelerated the destruction of our own system. In short, unless we can make France *tributary* to us, to the amount of 20 millions sterling a year, we shall live to mourn the triumphs, at which we now rejoice.

I am, &c. &c.

W. COBBETT.

ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON IN FAVOUR
OF HIS SON. APPOINTMENT OF A PRO-
VISIONAL GOVERNMENT. PROCEEDINGS
OF THE TWO CHAMBERS. STATE OF THE
ARMIES, &c.

This has been a week of events, perhaps the most extraordinary which are recorded in history. The Emperor Napoleon has resigned the throne of France, and his son, by the Empress Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor Francis of Austria, and niece of the Queen of France, Maria Antoinette, who was guillotined, during the Revolution, has been proclaimed Emperor of France, by the style and title of Napoleon the 1st. The proceedings by which this great event has been brought about, are as follow:—Napoleon, after losing the battle of Waterloo, which, perhaps, was attended with more fatal consequences than any yet ever heard of, returned to Paris. He lost no time in sending a Message to the Legislative Bodies, calling upon them to take measures for the re-organization of his army, and for the replacing of its "*Material*," (that is, in English, all the engines of war) which, it appears, had been completely lost.—This Message was received with, at least, coldness; and Napoleon, seeing that the feeling of the Assemblies were against him, sent a Message, informing them, that he had abdicated in favour of his Son!—This Message excited very turbulent debates. The Republican body seemed to pause at his right to abdicate in favour of any one. Those of the Assemblies who were Bonapartists, argued, that there was no other way of exciting enthusiasm in the army; and a third party appeared to be tainted with a sort of attachment to the Duke of Orleans; at least, they were openly denounced as such by several Members. At last, however, a Council of Regency was established, consisting of the following persons: Count CARNOT, FOUCHÉ, (Duke of Otranto) General GRENIER, CAULAINCOURT (Duke of Vicenza) and Baron QUINETTE.

On the 22d June, the debates were opened by the delivery of the Declaration of Napoleon, of which the following is a copy:

BONAPARTE'S DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

FRENCHMEN!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on

the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the Powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II. Emperor of the French. The present Ministers will provisionally form the Council of the Government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the Regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.
(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The Duke of Otranto addressed the Assembly in a very energetic speech, in which he concluded by proposing that a council of five persons should be appointed, with instructions to them to treat with the Allies for the maintenance of the independence of the French nation.—M. DUPIN followed. He stated, that the first duty of the House was to accept the resignation of Napoleon.

After a very long and turbulent debate, the members already mentioned were elected to form the Provisional Government. On the following day, the 23d, M. Berenger moved, that the Provisional government should be declared collectively responsible. After considerable agitation and confusion, the sitting closed, with recognising the accession of Napoleon II. as Emperor of the French, and instructing the new Provisional government to communicate forthwith with the Allies. The Debates in the House of Peers were nearly of the same kind, and had the same result.—Ney, the Prince of Moskwa, gave the following detail of the state of the armies.

Marshal Grouchy and the Duke of Dalmatia are not capable of assembling 60,000 men. It is impossible to assemble them on the line of the army of the north. Marshal Grouchy in particular has not been able to collect more than 7 or 8000 men. The Duke of Dalmatia was not able to rally any troops at Rocroy, and the only means you have of saving the country is to open a negotiation.

On this statement a long debate ensued, in which no sort of blame was attempted to be attributed in any way, directly or

indirectly, to Napoleon, or any of his generals; and, on the motion of the Count de *Ponté Contant*, the House resolved, that the Resolutions of the House of Representatives be adopted, in which the war was declared *National*, and the whole nation called upon to defend itself. During the debates in the Chamber of Representatives, the following most energetic speech was made by *M. De la Fayette*, that celebrated man, who has cut so distinguished a figure in the cause of liberty, from his first appearance in public life as Commander in Chief of the French Army or Armies, through the whole period of the French Revolution up to the present day; during all which he has proved himself decidedly and conclusively a true friend of liberty:—"Gentlemen, while for the first time for many years you hear a voice which the old friends of liberty may yet recognize, I feel myself called upon to speak to you of the dangers of the country which you at present alone have the power of saving. Sinister reports have been spread; they are unfortunately confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the old tri-coloured standard, that of 89, that of liberty, equality, and public order; it is that alone which can protect us from foreign attacks and internal dissensions. Allow, Gentleman, a veteran in that sacred cause, who was ever an enemy to faction, to submit to you some resolutions, which I flatter myself you will feel the necessity of adopting."

Art. 1. The Chamber declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

2. The Chamber declares its sittings permanent. All attempts to dissolve it shall be considered high-treason; whoever shall render himself guilty of such an attempt shall be considered a traitor to his country, and condemned as such.

3. The Army of the Line, the National Guards, who have fought, and still fight, for the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

These resolutions were carried in both houses. On the 24th; a letter was read in the House of Representatives, from General Delange. Announcing, that proposals had been made to him by Laroche Jacquelin, for a suspension of arms, to enable him to communicate to other Vendean chiefs "a proposition for pacifying the country." Another letter was read

from General Lemarque, dated 22d June, in which he states, that he had "surprised a large body of Vendéans, to the amount of 18 or 20,000, near La Roche Sur Yver, routed them, and killed and wounded between 12 and 1,500 men." The following decree was then proposed:—

"Art. 1. The Government is authorised to secure, by means of REQUISITION, the subsistence of the armies and the transport of troops.

"2. The Government will adopt such measures as to prevent and punish any abuses in the exercise of these requisitions.

(Signed) Le Duc d'OTRANTO, President."

On the 25th the Duke of Otranto communicated the following extract of the correspondence, received by the Minister of War during the 24th, relative to the operations of the armies:—

Marshal Grouchy writes from Recroi, that he has entered that place with 20,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and a numerous artillery. The Duke of Dalmatia writes from Mezieres on the 19th June, that the enemy will be in three days before Laon; that great disorders have taken place in the administration of the army; that there are a great number of fugitives, and that he is doing every thing in his power to repair the evil. A telegraphic Dispatch of the 22d June, announces that the army of the Moselle was attacked in the night, that the post of St. Jean has retired upon Forbach and St. Avold. Our army of the Alps has repulsed the enemy upon the bridge of La Grange, and taken 150 prisoners. Nothing new in the army of the Eastern Pyrenees. The spirit of the department of the Gers appears to be ameliorated.

After a long debate, the following laws were passed against Agitators, and afterwards received the sanction of the senate and the Provisional government:—

Art. 1. The Commission of Government, in order to ensure public tranquillity, besides the measures indicated by law, may order against those who shall be accused of provoking or favouring disturbances, displaying signs of rallying, or other colours than the National ones, spreading false and alarming news, either being placed under superintendence, in a place different from their place of residence, or arrest without being obliged to send them before a Court of Law in the period prescribed by the law.

2. The present disposition shall only be executed for two months, at which time the individuals taken up or placed under superintendence shall be free, or sent, if necessary, before the Tribunals.

3. There shall be created in each of the Legislative Chambers a Committee, to which the complaints of individuals affected by the present law shall be addressed.

A decree was issued by the Provisional government, requiring, that "all the young men of 1815 remaining of the 160,000 ordered to be levied on the 9th of October, 1813, shall be immediately placed in active service;" and by an order of the Minister of War, all officers and soldiers belonging to the army of the north, then at Paris without leave of absence, "are required to depart within 24 hours, and proceed to Soissons, whence they will be directed to their respective corps," under pain of being "conveyed to the military prisons and their names delivered up to public censure."—During this sitting, addresses were presented by the Parisian Federation, by the confederated pupils of the Schools of Law and Medicine, and from the pupils of the Lycæum Napoleon, declaring that they put themselves under the orders of the Assembly, for the defence of the country. Honorable mention of these was made in the minutes. The following address of the Parisian Federation, will give an idea of the whole:—

Gentlemen Representatives—The country was threatened: the Bretons, the Lyonnais, the Burgundians, confederated to repel our aggressors. Inspired by the same sentiments, the Parisians, who in all times have given the example of patriotism, immediately rose, and independently of the federations of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, the capital saw the Parisian federation formed in its bosom. While our armies were extended over our lines, and were preparing for battle, the Parisian federation organised and fortified itself, and erected in the midst of the capital a redoubt, which will bear its name, and which it has sworn to defend. Great events have just broken out: greater perhaps are in preparation. The representatives of the nation call to the defence of the country all Frenchmen capable of bearing arms. The Parisian federation has heard this appeal: the Parisian federation presents itself in a body. Its reckons among its members a great number of old soldiers of all ranks, artillerymen and young and robust citizens, who all burn with the desire of advancing on the threatened points, and of striking the enemies of our independence. The Confederates solicit arms, a military organization, and the honour of serving their country usefully, whether on the frontiers, the heights, or in the

interior of the capital, in order to watch over the maintenance of order, which the disaffected world in vain endeavour to trouble. The Parisian federation is animated with an unanimous wish: it knows no efforts beyond its zeal for the holy cause of liberty. Its dearest hope in making this solemn demand, is to be placed in advance, to prove immediately by actions its devotedness and patriotism. The Members of the Confederation,

CARRET, President.

CHERY, Treasurer.

QUINET, Secretary-Gen.

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Paris, June 24.

FRENCHMEN,—Within the period of a few days glorious successes and a dreadful reverse have again agitated your destinies. A great sacrifice appeared necessary to your peace and to that of the world, and Napoleon abdicated the Imperial Power. His abdication forms the term of his political life. His son is proclaimed. Your new Constitution, which possesses as yet only good principles, is about to undergo its application, and even those principles are to be purified and extended. There no longer exist powers jealous of each other. The space is free to the enlightened patriotism of your Representatives, and the Peers feel, think, and vote as your mandatories. After twenty-five years of political tempests the moment has arrived when every thing wise and sublime that has been conceived respecting social institutions, may be perfected in yours. Let reason and genius speak, and from whatever side their voices may proceed they shall be heard. Plenipotentiaries have departed, in order to treat in the name of the nation, and to negotiate with the Powers of Europe that peace which they have promised on one condition, which is now fulfilled. The whole world will, like you, be attentive to their reply. Their answer will make known whether justice and promises are any thing on earth. Frenchmen! be united; let all rally under circumstances of such great importance. Let the civil discords be appeased; let dissention be silent at this moment in which the great interests of nations are to be discussed. Be united from the North of France to the Pyrenees; from La Vendée to Marseilles. Who is he, who, born on the soil of France, whatever may be his party, whatever his political opinions, will not range himself under the National Standard to defend the Independence of the Country? Armies may, in part, be destroyed; but the experience of all ages, and of all nations, proves that an intrepid nation, combating for justice and liberty cannot be de-

stroyed. The Emperor, in abdicating, has offered himself as a sacrifice. The Members of the Government devote themselves in accepting from Representatives the reins of the State.

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO, President.
T. BERLIER, Secretary, &c.

Thus, according to the last accounts received, is situated the great empire of France. Napoleon has abdicated in favour of his son, who is the present sovereign, acknowledged as such by the representatives of the French nation. The Allied Powers declared solemnly, in the face of Europe and of the world, that their object in going to war, was to remove Bonaparte from power. He is removed from the throne, and is become a private citizen. What more do they want? They abjured all idea of interfering with the internal government of France. We shall see now whether they were sincere or not. For my part, I still think, as I have always thought, that it is a war not against this man, or that man, but against liberty and independence. The allies will shew at once by their conduct, whether this is the case. If it is, Louis will be again placed upon the throne. How long he will continue there, will remain yet to be seen. But, at all events, the scenes which have lately occurred, without the least popular commotion, and which appear likely to occur, form one of the most extraordinary instances of sudden change, from one extreme to another, that has ever taken place in the annals of the human race. If the French nation are sincere in their wish for liberty and independence, the allied armies, not even with the assistance of Lord Castlereagh, who is said to be on the point of again displaying his diplomatic talents in a new sphere, will be unable to conquer thirty millions of people, animated by a love of freedom, and a hatred of their former oppressors. Success against such a cause would be morally and physically impossible. If, however, the Bourbons are restored, and the dreadful work of slaughter, which our corrupt newspapers recommend, is induced to be commenced on all the actors in the late scenes in France, humanity will have gained little by the cessation of war, the horrors of which will only have been transferred from the field of battle to the platform of the executioner. Let those who have been

accustomed to admire the sentiments of indignation and horror professed by the *Times* writer against the alledged cruelties of the Jacobins, read the following extract from that paper, of Friday, and then ask themselves, who are the most deserving of the epithets of wretches, savages, and murderers? "A weak and timid wish to spare the effusion of blood at Fontainebleau, has caused the effusion of ten times as much blood at Ligny and Waterloo. A visionary hope of conciliating the ferocious soldiery and unprincipled Jacobins of Paris has afforded them the means of concerting a treason the most disgraceful to the age. Let us at least profit by this sad experience. Let us turn the unparalleled valour of Waterloo to a beneficial account. To think of reforming a CARNOT, or a CAULAINCOURT, is the height of folly: to imagine that we can tame the ferocity of BONAPARTE's savages of the Imperial Guard is no less absurd. Every individual that has taken an active part in this perfidious and atrocious rebellion, must be brought under the due coercion of the law. Not to make some examples of severity among such a horde of criminals would be to condemn the virtuous to a certainty of renewed and cruel persecution. To compound with the traitors would be a death-blow to loyalty. We are happy to believe that the King of FRANCE has adopted a firm and decisive line of conduct. The weak and temporising councils by which he was induced to load the ungrateful with honours, and to exempt the guilty from punishment, have, at length, lost their weight and influence. The KING, in re-entering France has acted from the energy of his own mind, and that energy will teach him that it is as much his duty to protect and encourage the loyal, as it is to coerce and punish the seditious. We earnestly hope he will be supported in a just and discriminating firmness by all the Allies. We hope that no Sovereign will interpose between him and the leaders of the Rebellion, to screen the latter from the punishment they so richly merit. Let not a band of murderers escape, because they have the audacity to style themselves a Committee of Government. Hitherto these wretches and their accomplices have

"been able at once to corrupt and to oppress the French nation; now the sword is broken in their hands, let us not leave them the means of acquiring new weapons to our own destruction, and that of civilised society."—TIMES of 30th June, 1815.

Since writing the above, Paris Papers of Monday have arrived, in which it is stated, that "Napoleon is gone to Havre, where he is to embark for England, accompanied by Prince Jerome, Prince Joseph, a first Equerry, a first Chamberlain, and two Valets de Chambre." If this step has really been taken, it need not surprise any one if it is the prelude to the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. Thanks to the vanity, the contemptible vanity of Napoleon, and the fickle disposition of the French people, for so unlooked for a change.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT.—Those who consider the late disaster of Napoleon a prelude to the submission of the French people to the yoke of the Bourbons, seem to forget the events, of a similar nature, which have occurred since the beginning of the revolution. During the first campaign in the Netherlands, the French General Biren was on the eve of attacking the Austrians at Mons, with an army already flushed with victory, and which made the air resound with shouts of "victory or death." In a moment it was seized with a panic; the whole was thrown into confusion; the Austrians commenced the attack; the republicans were forced to retreat with immense loss, and only escaped entire annihilation by a detachment, under General Rochambeau, coming to their relief. —Notwithstanding this disaster, it is well known that the French very soon after drove their assailants from the field. When General Dumourier was obliged to retreat before the Prussians, he sent orders to General Chazot, whom he had detached with about 10,000 men from the main body of his army, to join him. This division on its march fell in with 1500 Prussians, which they took for the advanced-guard of Clairfayt's army. Disorder immediately pervaded the ranks; they threw down their arms and fled in all directions. Intelligence of this having reached the

army under Dumourier, it excited terror and confusion through the camp. Every one cried out he was betrayed; the army became disorganized; flight ensued, and it was not till they had reached the gates of Paris, that the runaways were convinced they were in safety. All the world knows how soon these same fugitives compelled the Prussians to fly before them. The battle of Jemappe, which decided the fate of Flanders in November 1792, was followed by a similar occurrence. After the Austrians fled to Mons, Dumourier sent two brigades to occupy the suburbs of that place. On their march, the advanced guard was seized with a panic, from a strange apprehension that the Austrians had undermined the ground over which they were marching. Terror and disorder ensued, which having communicated to the rest, the two brigades fell back upon the main army, by which the Austrians gained time to effect their retreat in safety. Shortly after this, however, we find the same troops that had discovered so ill grounded a fear, driving the Austrians before them, and possessing themselves of Brussels. —Many other instances could be added of the same description; but these are sufficient to shew, that that sort of disaster, which led to the retreat of Napoleon, will not justify the opinion, now industriously propagated, that France has been subdued, and that the allied armies may proceed, without interruption, to Paris. In the discussions, which have taken place in the Senate and Legislative body, respecting the elevation of Napoleon's son to the Imperial dignity, the most decided hostility appeared against the family of the Bourbons. If, as it is said, the British army have marched into France with Louis XVIII. at their head, nothing more will be wanting to open the eyes of the French to the plans now forming to replace that unfortunate personage on the throne; no other stimulus will be necessary to rouse the nation, as it was roused in the early part of the revolution, to resist all attempts to impose a government so hostile to its feelings, and so much at variance with the true interests and glory of France.

But it will be said, that the near approach of the allies to Paris, precludes all idea of any resistance which the French people can offer, being successful. It is

very true, that the British and Prussian armies are now considerably advanced into France; but it is equally true, that the enemies of France possessed the same advantages in 1792, and yet were obliged to retreat. "The enemy is at the gates of Paris. *Verdun*, which lies in his way, cannot hold out longer than eight days."—This was the state of affairs at that period, "but the citizens who defend it (*Verdun*) have sworn that they will perish rather than surrender it." They were faithful to their oaths, and the invaders were driven back.—The only doubt remaining in my mind is, that the people of France are not so ardent in the cause of freedom as they were in 1792. So much has been done to familiarize them with *royalty*, to impress their minds with the importance of a constitutional *monarchy*, and to fascinate them with the vain and gaudy trappings of an *Imperial dynasty*, that if they again revert to the reign of despotism and priestcraft, they will only have themselves to blame for the melancholy change. Napoleon has always possessed a great share of my esteem and respect. But I never could forget the violence he offered to liberty, when he seized upon the government, under the name of "First Consul." It was the first step towards extinguishing *public spirit*. What followed served only to benumb the faculties, and to prepare France for the re-establishment of that system, which it had cost her so many years of suffering to get rid of.—Why did not Napoleon, at once, renounce the imperial dignity, and return to those principles which were the cause of his early good fortune, and which procured him more real and substantial glory than he ever derived from the imperial bauble? Had he done this, France would have been saved; had he resumed the endearing name and title of "*General Bonaparte*, Commander of the armies of the *Republic*," he would, indeed, have deserved well of his country; he would have drawn all parties around him. The very sound would have appalled the tyrants of the earth, and little more would have been necessary to ensure the triumph of liberty. But, no—he abdicates only in favour of his son, whom he desires to be proclaimed by the regal title of *Napoleon II!*—Alas! this very son is a branch of that house which has taken the most decided part

against France ever since she declared for independence. What sort of ideas of *freedom* can this child form, under the tutelage of a daughter of the House of Austria?—Where are the hylæon days, which Frenchmen had a right to look for under a free representative government, when such prospects as these seem to open before them?—The contemplation is gloomy indeed. Still, I am free to acknowledge, that I would rather prefer the reign of Napoleon the II^d, with all its disadvantages, to that of the Bourbons. The former has the semblance, at least, of being the choice of the nation. The latter has been twice expelled, and if he is again restored, it must be by the sword, a mode of erecting a government at all times hostile to the legitimate rights of the people, and subversive of the true principles of liberty.

ARISTIDES.

BRITISH POLITICAL OBJECTS.

MR. COBBETT.—The policy of the British government, as well with respect to its own domestic interests, as to those of foreign relations, should be to nurture, to extend, and to establish the cause of rational liberty. What has given to the British realms the transcendent authority, and the vast political resources they possess, but the popular and liberal institutions of the legislature by which they are governed. If reference be had to the best periods of the Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Grecian, and the Roman governments, it will be found that the high renown and distinction of these several states, arose from the liberty enjoyed by the people, by the recognition of inherent civic rights, and by the mutual confidence that subsisted between the governing and the governed. The moment that intrigue, and despotic artifice reared their baneful sceptre, and gained the ascendancy of public virtue, all the political advantages of those wise institutions were practically lost, and delapidation and ruin marked the fatal effects of such deplorable aberration from sound policy. "Evil communications corrupt good manners," is a maxim that has the sanction of holy writ, and if it were not there recorded, it is incessantly proving in the individual and national intercourse of men. It is undoubtedly

the policy and interest of governments similarly constituted, to co-operate in each others plans of procedure, and not to attempt the solecism of reconciling in practice what is radically and irreconcilably different in principle. Agreeably to this rule of policy, the British government should be anxious to conciliate the good opinion, and prefer the alliance of kindred forms of legislature, if any such there are, and not for purposes of temporary power, or for objects unworthy of an independent nation, enter into any political compacts with powers that have nothing in them at all *congenious*; nay, that found their schemes of authority, and strength on principles of tyranny, at utter variance with British liberty. Is it possible that any benefit can accrue to real British interests, by cultivating friendly and confidential relations with States that have not the slightest affinity with the constitutional liberty of Great Britain? In what points of sound policy can nations, governed by principles of liberty and slavery, faithfully concur? If mutual sincerity exists in their engagements, must they not make mutual sacrifices of their respective systems for the benefit of these engagements; and if that be the case, how is the cause of liberty furthered by the alliance, and what practical benefit is likely to result to the enslaved nation, who sees that professions of liberty are not so unbending but they may be made to accord with the habitual objects of avowed despotism? The intercourse is unnatural and necessarily tends mutually to vitiate and injure the contracting parties, without a chance of advancing the political virtue of either. In this view of the hurtful discordancy, that must arise in the alliance of governments essentially differing in political principles, and practice, is it not an anxious consideration for Britons to ascertain what possible good can result to the British nation, by pledging its blood and treasure for objects that might countenance and protect despotic governments, but cannot possibly benefit a liberal and popular system of legislation? In the exact proportion in which the despotic allies of Great Britain have their territorial possessions, and political powers increased by any compact into which they may enter with the government of this country, must the real interests, and even

political security of that country, be diminished and endangered. Where unrestrained despotism exists, rational liberty can have no secure abode. Overtly or covertly, the machinations of tyranny are incessantly directed against popular freedom, inasmuch as the one is totally incompatible with the other. As liberty and tyranny, therefore, cannot co-exist, how is it that they can be associated in alliance for any vindicable object? Tyranny never lends its aid to liberty, and liberty disdains to assist the cause of tyranny. All alliance, then, obtaining between such opposite systems, is not less reprehensible in principle than, sooner or later, ruinous in practice. It is very natural and perhaps even commendable, agreeably to the existing system, for Russia to seek the aid of alliance from all the European states founded on a similar scheme of government, but with what consistency can that, and other kindred states, ask co-operation from the British nation, knowing that their systems of government are so widely different? What is there in common between the Russian and German governments, and that of Great Britain. The two former are founded on the sole will of the personal sovereign, excluding from all consideration the political rights of the people; the latter constitutionally rests on a strict representative system, in which the people are acknowledged to be every thing, and that without them there can be nothing. What interests, legitimately or consistently associated, can the government of Great Britain seek in conjunction with its present allies, in waging hostilities against France? The French have proclaimed, and are now seeking the establishment of national liberty and independence. These privileges have been bottomed on a representative system of government, comprehending, with but a few exceptions, the most important advantages of a free and an enlightened form of legislation. Its ground work is not dissimilar to that of the English Constitution. Does not this circumstance, as well as its generic character of civil liberty, naturally assort it with British views, and should it not as naturally secure it British amity and protection? Is not the prosperity of French liberty favourable to all that is excellent in the con-

stitutional charter of Great Britain; and would not the destruction of the one endanger the safety of the other? Is it possible to suppose that the genuine spirit of the British constitution can be embattled against France, in opposit on to her establishment a similar form of government? Were the British people truly represented in Parliament, as prescribed by the constitutional law of the land, would it be possible to sanction a war against French liberty and independence by legislative provisions for its support? French liberty is only dangerous to despotic states; its tendency should awaken no apprehension in the British government; it will be more likely to justify and confirm the constitutional excellencies of that government, than at all to invade or undermine them. Great Britain and America should be earnest in their devotion to the ameliorated state of French government; they should regard it as another important link in the chain of power, that promises ultimately to extend and establish the influence of political liberty over the habitable world. The prejudices, habits, and ignorance of national slavery must gradually give way to an enlightening system of education, before the example of legislative liberty, constitutionally provided for in England, America, and France, can become as universal as it is necessary to the wants and happiness of mankind.

A TRUE BRITON.

ON THE TERM PETITION.

MR. COBBETT.—The admirable observations, recently made in his place in the House of Commons, by Sir Francis Burdett, in the memorable instance of presenting the Westminster Petition against the present war, are well adapted to enlighten the British people in the genuine political quality of a constitutional petition. It is quite clear, what, in the framing of that privilege, must have been designed by it; but the choice of the term for claiming that right is not correctly significant of its real import. To petition, literally means, *to pray, to supplicate, to beg*. How is this servile cringing attitude of spirit consistent with the moral power and freedom of *requiring, of demanding, of insisting, on an indefeasible right*?

Where are the respective authority and dependence existing, which would warrant the representative office of the House of Commons in saying, that the *representative* possesses a power to which the *represented* are so subjected that they cannot be either relieved, or discharged from its obligations, but by the sort of favour that may be shewn to *humility* of petitioning or praying. Does either the principle or practice of social liberty recognise a feeling so abject, so mendicating, as that which would rather crouchingly supplicate, than sternly demand an unquestionable right? There cannot be two opinions with regard to the superior power of the *represented* to that of the *representing*; the former possesses the original and immutable right; the latter has only the exercise of its delegated authority, and to which it can have no moral claim longer than it be merited by a faithful and adequate execution of the duties imposed. The right of domineering and dictating cannot be vindicated by any provisions in the chartered liberties of the British realms, on the part of the *representative* towards the *represented*; and, of course, under no circumstances whatever, can the people be justly degraded to the low state of petitioning as a *boon* what they may demand as a right. All applications to Parliament may not be admissible; the propriety of them is justly subjected to the corrective wisdom of the House; yet, in as far as the objects of such applications were held to be warrantable, they are entitled to the most ample consideration; not because they are couched in servile language, but because they are presented as a remonstrance against either a real or supposed grievance. To talk of denying references to the legislature, in the independent tone of acknowledged complaint, and of prescribing to it the language of mendicity, to entitle it to any reception at all, is surely to invert the order of moral authority; it is to obliterate and eclipse the real source of power by rendering the *delegated* every thing, and the *delegating* nothing. The hackneyed forms of parliamentary petitions, the gradations of favour assigned to them, in proportion as they attain or fall short of what is regarded as the standard measure of decorous servility; and the unreserved flippancy with which they are either, in the

first instance rejected, or, if received, finally overlooked and forgotten, are among the worst effects of a degenerated system of British representation. When the people know their true political rights, and dignities, and confer them only where they will be faithfully administered for their true benefit, it will then be understood that the style of communicating with the legislature will not be in terms so debased as to assume the character of either a petition, a prayer, or a supplication, but as a demand or remonstrance, according to the circumstances of redress or correction sought to be obtained. The word petition ought, therefore, to be expunged from the legislative vocabulary, it should have no meaning in national politics. What may be justly required by a British people, should be constitutionally demanded, whether it be in the way of instruction, for the amelioration of the State, or in that of remonstrance, for the correction of alledged abuses of delegated authority. The right of the British public to demand of the legislature redress of wrongs, or to remonstrate with it against any affirmed inaccuracies of conduct, cannot be denied.—If either the demand or remembrance should be well founded, it will be entitled to the fullest acquiescence on the part of the legislature; if it should be imaginary and erroneous, it still deserves to be treated with all the respect due from the *delegated* to the *delegating* authority, and in no case to be *contumaciously* rejected as unworthy of notice. The right of the people constitutionally, that is peacefully, to call on the Government to do justice to the public, when it may suppose itself unjustly treated, is one of the most vital privileges of the liberty of the land, and, to be consistent with its own independence and dignity, should be always declared in language of *resolute firmness* and of *determined authority*.

CENSOR.

No. II.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE WAR OF
ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, PRUSSIA,
DENMARK, SWEDEN, HOLLAND, SAR-
DINIA, THE POPE, NAPLES, SICILY,

SPAIN, PORTUGAL, BAVARIA, WUR-
TEMBERG, &c. &c.; WITH AN ARMY
OF ONE MILLION AND ELEVEN THOU-
SAND REGULAR SOLDIERS, AGAINST
NAPOLEON AND FRANCE.

The following, as appears from the French official accounts, was the result of the battle of the 16th inst. to which they have given the name of the "Battle of Ligny-Under-Fleureus."

At half-past nine o'clock we had 40 pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At 10 o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of all the field of battle. General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us that Field-Marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Our's was 3000 killed and wounded. On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Quatre Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an *English* division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasnes. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the 1st corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square, attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many personages and Generals of note killed or wounded; we estimate the loss of the English at from 4 or 5000 men; our's on this side was very considerable, it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe. In the morning of the 17th, the Emperor repaired to Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref, in pursuit of Field-Marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he wished to take a position. At 10 o'clock in

the evening, the English army occupied Mount St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soigne: it would have required three hours to attack it, we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day. The head-quarters of the Emperor were established at the farm of Caillon, near Planchenort. The rain fell in torrents. Thus on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. JEAN.—At 9 in the morning the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mount St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The second corps leant its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The sixth corps, with the cavalry of General d'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right, to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian General, inclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops. The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps which might be in line towards the right might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force then was upwards of 90,000 men. Our less numerous. At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported with 30 pieces of cannon the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mount St. Jean, and supported his attack with 80 pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the first division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mount St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment a division of English its right, and disorganised several pieces; but

the cuirassiers of General Milbaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up. It was three in the afternoon. The Emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle this corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced. This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mount St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but by a movement of impatience, so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they had suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal. Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy shewing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry, ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The Emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible disengage, and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry. Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme

left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence* in rear of Mount St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.—In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle: our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy, having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which insured us a signal success for next day. After eight hours fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power. At half-after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mount St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape-shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonets. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank by several English squadrons put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments near at hand seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of *all is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend even that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoners, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along. In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers of all arms were mixed *pel-mel*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day, all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the squadrons of *service*, drawn up by the side of the Emperor, were overthrown and disorganised by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve,

the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organisation no longer exists. The Emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other Generals have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the Lower Sambre. The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made;—our's cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected.—Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged.—Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organization. The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position; no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands. Such has been the issue of the battle of Mount St. Jean, glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal.

PRUSSIAN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THE 18TH.

At break of day the Prussian army again began to move. The 4th and 2d corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the enemy in the rear, when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Plachenoit; the former about 80,000 strong; the enemy had above 130,000. In a short time,

the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maëstricht. For this purpose, he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valor which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the Old Guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers were too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit. It was half past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The Generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle of the English Army still continued with the same violence. Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that General Thielman with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The Field Marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy and kept up by fresh troops, could alone insure the victory, and if it were obtained here, any reverse near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was uncertain. The whole of the 4th corps and a part of the 2d under General Pöhl had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury: however,

some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smoulen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while, at the same time, the whole English line advanced. Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, which in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half past nine. The Field Marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man, in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganised. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck: it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, luggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn fields or the houses. At Genappe the enemy had entrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages; at our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great

noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon shot; followed by an *hurrah*; and in an instant after the town was ours. It was here that, among other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and in his hurry had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About 40,000 men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Chatleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only 27 pieces of their numerous artillery. The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.—At three o'clock, Napoleon had dispatched from the field of battle, a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet any exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole army are killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Mouton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about 300 cannon, and 1000 caissons, are in our hands. Few victories have been so complete, and there is certainly no example that an army two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm called *La Belle Alliance*. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle; it was thence he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory, and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that by a happy chance Field Marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors. In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the Field Marshal desired,

that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance*.

By the order of Field Marshal Blucher,
General GNEISENAU

ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES.

DOWNING-STREET, JUNE 29, 1815.—Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Field Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Cateau, 22d, and Joncourt, 25th instant.

La Cateau, June 22, 1815.

We have continued in march on the left of the Sambre since I wrote to you. Marshal Blucher crossed that river on the 19th, in pursuit of the enemy, and both armies entered the French territories yesterday; the Prussians by Beaumont, and the allied army, under my command, by Bavay. The remains of the French army have retired upon Laon. All accounts agree in stating, that it is in a very wretched state; and that, in addition to its losses in battle and in prisoners, it is losing vast numbers of men by desertion. The soldiers quit their regiments in parties, and return to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country. The 3d corps, which in my dispatch of the 19th I informed your Lordship had been detached to observe the Prussian army, remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th; it then made good its retreat by Namur and Dinant. This corps is the only one remaining entire. I am not yet able to transmit your Lordship returns of the killed and wounded in the army in the late actions. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to inform you, that Colonel Delancy is not dead: he is badly wounded, but his recovery is not doubted, and I hope will be early.

Joncourt, June 25, 1815.

Finding that the garrison of Cambrai was not very strong, and that the place was not very well supplied with what was wanting for its defence, I sent Lieut.-General Sir Charles Colville there, on the day before yesterday, with one brigade of the

4th division, and Sir C. Grant's brigade of cavalry; and upon his report of the strength of the place, I sent the whole division yesterday morning. I have now the satisfaction of reporting, that Sir Charles Colville took the town by escalade yesterday evening, with trifling loss, and from the communications which he has since had with the Governor of the citadel, I have every reason to hope that that post will have been surrendered to a Governor sent there by the King of France, to take possession of it, in the course of this day. St. Quentin has been abandoned by the enemy, and is in possession of Marshal Prince Blucher; and the castle of Guise surrendered last night. All accounts concur in stating that it is impossible for the enemy to collect an army to make head against us. It appears that the French corps which was opposed to the Prussians on the 18th inst. and had been at Wavre, suffered considerably in its retreat, and lost some of its cannon.

BELLA HORRIDA BELLA!

At length once more are loosed the dogs of war,
To spread wide waste and desolation far;
To deal destruction on our fellow-men,
To place the Bourbon on the throne again.
Imperial Russia's numerous hordes advance,
With Europe's monarchs leagued to ravage France
Now march to give to gallant Frenchmen laws,
And dare assert, they fight in Freedom's cause;
But the base object which they seek to gain,
Is on the free-born soul to fix the chain.

England, alas! the hostile league has join'd
Lost to her honour, to her welfare blind;
Justice, with meek-eyed Peace, has fled the land
Snubbed by base Corruption's withering hand;
Who, o'er our isle, has stalk'd with giant stride,
Destroy'd, what once was Britain's greatest pride,
Her boasted liberty—whose sacred flame,
Rais'd to the highest pitch the British name.
Will no one seize the helm, and try to save
The country's shatter'd vessel from the grave;
Must she ignobly perish in the storm,
Will no one raise the bold protecting arm?
Where is that manly, dauntless spirit flown,
Which once belong'd to Englishmen alone,
Which in the cause of Justice drew the sword,
And the stern voice of Honour only heard;
When to a tyrant they submission acquir'd,
But with their blood, their rights, their freedom,
earn'd.

Dead is that manly spirit, or we ne'er
Could join those wretches who delight in war;
Whose hearts are callous to their country's woes,
And who alone are England's direst foes.
What signal punishment has Heav'n in store
For those who basely sell, for sordid ore,
Their country's freedom and her peace destroy,
And in her deep distress find horrid joy.
The day of retribution soon must come,
When these vile wretches will receive their
doom;
Their unavailing sorrows then will flow,
For rigid Justice will no mercy shew,
But on their coward heads will fall th' avenging
blow.

Buckinghamshire.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

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1] [2

TO MR. NILES,

Proprietor of the Weekly Register, published at Baltimore, in the United States of America.

SIR,—After thanking you for the Numbers of your publication, which you have been so good as to send me, I proceed to the subject of this letter, the object of which is to give to the people of the *last remaining republic* some information, which they might not be able otherwise to obtain, relative to the effects produced, and likely to be produced, by the recent events in France; information which it is very necessary for you to possess; for, time may not be *distant*, not nearly so distant as you imagine, when you yourselves will feel some of the consequences of the events to which I allude.

This second fall of Napoleon has caused wonderful joy in England amongst the *higher orders*, and especially amongst the *boroughmongers*, who have been now, a second time delivered; or, at least, have obtained a respite a second time. The *re-action*, which will certainly come, may operate against them. But, in the meanwhile, they get rid of their alarms, which were, a month ago, greater than at any former period.

The *boasting* here is beyond all conception. Though the fact is notorious, that the Prussians and the Belgians were fighting on our side against the French; though it is notorious, that we held a vast superiority of numbers and of means of all sorts, we talk here, as if the victory were wholly *our own*. *Two hundred thousand pounds*, at the first slap, has been voted to the "great Lord," as the Spaniards call him. What did you vote to Mr. JACKSON, who won a more decided and more glorious victory at *New Orleans*? Burke, with his pension in his pocket, calls *nobility* and *honours* the CHEAP defence of nations; and so they may in countries whose people do not receive *money* along with the honours. But, this

grant of money, enormous as it is, appears to be only a beginning. A proposition has been made to make a grant to the *Duke of York*, as Commander in Chief of the Army, he having, in that capacity, provided the army for the Duke of Wellington to fight with. He has been paid a pretty good salary for this, to be sure; but this, it seems, is not enough. It is therefore, now proposed, or, at least has been proposed by a Member of Parliament, to give him money on account of these successes of the army.

You will ask, what takes place in this respect, when we get *beaten*; as in the case of *Plattsburgh*, *Lake Champlain*, *Lake Erie*, *New Orleans*, &c. Why, we hold our tongues. We do not talk about the matter, except to praise the valour of our troops for a day or two. Indeed, the country people in England, and a great many of the towns-people, *never know* any thing of such defeats. The London newspapers, which alone have any very wide circulation, are employed in the spreading of falsehood and the suppressing of truth. The Country newspapers, with very few exceptions, are the mere gutters, through which pass a part only of the filth of the more copious London sewers; but, it is, if possible, the worst part. When the news of your grand achievement at *New Orleans* arrived, it was at once asserted, that WE had *gained a great victory*. Details even were published. The same was repeated, with trifling variations, for a week. Thus the Country papers had time to play their part. The victory was believed in, from one end of the kingdom to the other. At the end of a fortnight, out slipped the account of the *defeat* in the *middle of a Gazette*, stuffed up with advertisements and promotions. We could not accuse the government of *not publishing* it; but, in fact, the mass of the people never either saw it, or heard of it; and, to this hour, there is not a man in the village, in which I am now sitting writing, who does not believe, that we gave you a *hearty beating* at *New Orleans*. In short, the mass of the people in this country

know less of the affairs of the nation than any people that I ever heard of.

At present, however, it would be unreasonable to expect us to show any thing like moderation. Not only do our newspapers approve of the Proclamation of Louis XVIII, in which he talks of *punishing traitors*; but, they are preparing their readers to expect a direct interference, on our part, in the regulating of his government, and *even in the choosing of his ministers*. We are told, in so many words, that we have a *right* to interfere in this way; that we have a *right* to demand the death of some of the "rebels;" that we have a *right* to compel the king to adopt a *strong government*. In the meanwhile others are proposing to strip the city of Paris of its statues and other ornaments to bring them to England, to adorn a monument to be erected in memory of the late victory. There seems to be no bounds to the degradation, to which some of our writers wish to reduce the French people and name. Some demand *real, solid securities* for the future. This, perhaps, means *Dunkirk*, before which our Duke of York fought a battle once. *Calais*, perhaps, too. The demolition of the Bason of Cherbourg. There is no knowing where we are to stop. You remember the punishment that our pious king RICHARD I. inflicted on his rebel subjects in the garrisons which opposed him after his return from his crusade to the Holy Land? That, as being the most *effectual* mode of preventing the future *propagation* of rebels, may, perhaps, appear to the Borough-monger writers as the mode to be adopted towards the French people upon this occasion.

That there will be *bloody vengeance* taken now, there is no doubt. The recollection of the battles of Gemappe, Dunkirk, Austerlitz, Marengo, Hulen, Wagram, Eylau, Freidland, Moskwa, Smolensko, the Helder, the capture of Rome, Naples, Turin, Amsterdam, Madrid, Hannover, Moscow, Berlin twice, Vienna twice: in short, the defeats, the humiliations, the shames and the bodily fears of a quarter of a century, and, above all, the *exposures of the priests*, are now assembling all their force to obtain vengeance. The convention of the *Helder*, and the convention which gave Marie Louisa to the arms of Napoleon, are now to be *avenged*. The Pope has to get vengeance

for his humiliations; and ~~so~~ they have all. But, what are they to do? They cannot *kill* the people of France. All Europe, with more than a million of men in arms and with 50 millions of English money, will replace Louis on the throne of France. But, they cannot *remain in France*; and, if they do not remain in France, they cannot *keep* him upon that throne. He is now, *as last year*, moving along towards the capital under the protection of more than half a million of soldiers, who have made war, and are making war upon Frenchmen, fighting on their own soil, and in its defence. As long as Frenchmen are kept down by the bayonet, he will, of course, remain there; but, how long will that be? He was on the throne last year; but, he was not there six months after the hostile armies had quitted France. To hear him *threaten* the French, as he did some time ago, with chastisement by foreign armies, 1,200,000 in number of men, was natural enough; but, to hear him now talking of their *sorrow* at his departure, and of their *joy* at his return, is calculated to fill one with admiration at the impudence of his advisers. He knew well, that it was under the bayonets of foreigners *only* that he dared advance; that he, or any of his family, dared show their nose in France; and yet, even while he is following close upon the heels of those foreigners, he boasts of being the object of the *love* and *admiration* of the French people! No, no, Louis: you are restored, as you were last year, by *foreign bayonets*; and the question is yet to be decided, whether those bayonets will be able to *keep you on the throne*. You have yet a stormy time to pass. The battle between light and liberty, on one side, and darkness and despotism, on the other; that battle, which began in 1789, is still going on. It may rage less fiercely for a time; but, it will not be put an end to unless by the triumph of the former.

As to the conduct of Napoleon, upon this last occasion, it was useless for him any longer to attempt to support his authority as a *sovereign*; and, indeed, it would have been well, if he had resigned immediately after his return from Elba. This was fully expected by many men in England; and, it appears from his last act that we have yet heard of, namely, his *abdication in favour of his son*, that he was only restrained by his foolish at-

tachment to the Austrian and her child! After all his glorious deeds; after all his famous battles; after all his wise acts of legislation; all his magnanimous proceedings; all that he has done in the cause of mankind: after all this, how painful is it to see him vainly hankering after the preserving of a crown to his family! and, which adds to the mortification, to a son which he has had by the daughter of a king; and, of an Austrian too! It is melancholy to think of. If it had been the son of some tradesman's daughter! But to risk the freedom and happiness of that gallant nation, who had twice carried him victorious to Berlin and twice to Vienna; to risk the freedom and happiness of this brave people for the sake of the grandson of a king, and that king an Austrian king too, is horrible to think of. If, upon his return from Elba, he had frankly acknowledged his great error; namely, that of connecting himself with the old Royal Family; and had declared again for a Republic in name as well as in substance. If he had done this, and had called for the Convention, no power in Europe would have moved against France. But, when men saw, that the Emperor was still to remain; that they were again to have an Empress to maintain with all her Royal progeny; and that they were likely to descend in fee from father to son; when they saw this, they could not possibly feel any portion of the old Republican fire warm their hearts. Say what he would, still it was a battle between an Emperor and a King.

Then the new nobility. It was impossible to animate a people in their cause. They had suffered under the nobility before. It was difficult to see why a man should risk life or property for the sake of preserving to these gentry their titles. To see these old republicans forming a House of Peers, and calling themselves Dukes and Counts! This was, indeed, no more than a consequence of the Imperial part of the plan; but, it could not fail to fill with apprehension all those who wished well to the Republican cause, and who recollected, that it was under the banners of "Liberty and Equality," that Brunswick was chased out of France, and that the coalition of kings was covered with disgrace, in the memorable years, 1793, 4, and 5. The truth is, that to defend France against such a coalition all

the energy of a Republic was necessary in those years; and, it was become now as necessary as ever. But, such energy could not exist under an imperial and aristocratical government. The French people felt no more what they felt in the first years of the revolution. The proprietors were anxious about their land; but that alone was not sufficient.

Nevertheless, in spite of these errors of Napoleon, he is entitled to the gratitude of mankind. He pulled down the Pope, the monks in Spain and Italy, the Inquisition in those countries. He carried light and liberal principles to dark and enslaved regions. He formed a code of wise and just laws; or, at least, he confirmed those which had been passed by the Republicans. He was a soldier, too fond of military glory; but, without arms he could not have effected what he did effect in favour of civil and religious liberty in distant countries. Much of what he did will now be undone; but, it will be impossible for all the kings and priests in the world, to make men as ignorant and submissive as they were before he marched over the Alps. The enemies of freedom, the black-hearted friends of despotism, flatter themselves, that now they shall see mankind as superstitious and as slavish as they were a quarter of a century back. They will be deceived. They will never again see a touch of the "holy thorn" sought after in France as a cure for a cancer. The present race of perverse old women cannot live for ever; and they will have no successors. The young ones do not, and will not, believe, that holy water will preserve them from thunder and lightning; and, unless they believe this, there is no fear of their husbands becoming slaves. The common people in England believe in an Almanac, called "Moore's Almanac." They believe, that the cunning people who publish it, have a fore-knowledge of events of all sorts, and especially of the weather. Many of the farmers refer to this Almanac to know when they ought to cut their grass or to spey their pigs. You will hardly believe this, in America; but, I, in the face of my countrymen, assert it to be a fact. The men who sell this book find their accounts in it. It is sold by the Company of Stationers, who serve our rabble, in this respect, in the stead of priests. The people of France

are far more enlightened. The pairings of St. Andrew's nails, which used to be a most precious relic, would now be used only as manure in that country. The breeches of Pocomo, so wonder-working in former times, would now fetch only their worth as old rags. Napoleon (and that was his greatest fault) gave, in some sort, a sanction to falsehood and hypocrisy and impostor by *going to Mass*. He did not, indeed, compel any body else to go to Mass; but, his *example* in this was of evil tendency. The act was, besides, *compromise* with fraud.

Still the world owes him much, and particularly for having, by his return to France, left no doubt in the mind of any man, that, in the restoration of the old family the *French people* had no share. It was always asserted, that the French people longed for the return of the Bourbons. Louis was called *le désiré*. But, now it must be clear to every body, that he was, and now is, restored by FOREIGN FORCE ALONE. The case is now too plain to be confused or misrepresented. It is a triumph of kings or priests over republican institutions. None doubt of the triumph: no one can deny that: but, it is not the act of the *people* of France. They had tried the ancient dynasty before; they had tried the new order of things; the ancient dynasty was restored; and they again drove away the ancient dynasty, which is now again (by this time, I dare say) restored by the means of a combined foreign army, who have defeated the armies of France.

So sensible are the Aristocrats of this, that they, even now, are almost afraid of the ultimate consequences of their success. They do not see their way clearly out of the adventure. Are the foreign armies to be *kept up in France*? Is France to be *disarmed*? *How long* can either last? The truth is, France is too extensive and too populous to be long kept down. She is not, and cannot be, loaded with debts. The moral effects of the revolution cannot now be eradicated. It is useless, in short, to restore the King, unless they could also restore the breaches of St. Pocomo and the virtues of the *Holy Thorn*. These and *divine right* must rise together, or neither can stand for any length of time. The King, who will hardly call himself *le désiré* this time, has, in his proclama-

tion to his "loving subjects," denied that he ever meant to restore the *tythes* or the *feudal rights*; and yet these are of *older date* than his title to the throne. At any rate, he will never long maintain his throne without them. They are as necessary to his political power as food is to his body; or, rather, as swords, guns, and powder, are to the army now employed in his restoration.

So you see, that a counter-revolution is not a thing so easily accomplished as many seem to imagine. Your New England noblesse and priests will, I dare say, rejoice exceedingly at this triumph of the kings and priests in Europe; and we, in England, have in some sort, good reason to boast of it; but still, if Napoleon were to be murdered to-day, and all the old republicans hanged up to-morrow, the thing would not be more than a tenth part over. *Foreign armies must remain in France*, or there is no security for the king's remaining on the throne. When, then, is this state of things to terminate? Not, at any rate, before another hundred millions are added to the debt of England; and, even for years to come, it will be impossible for the allies, upon their principles, to *disarm* to any considerable extent. The whole of Europe is in a ferment. *Light* has gone forth, and it is impossible to put it out. Hanging and quartering will do nothing towards it. Men must again believe in the virtues of *Holy Water*. That was the main prop of the power of the Bourbons; and, without that they will in vain endeavour to keep themselves long upon the throne without the aid of foreign armies.

How a sensible man in France, quietly settled on his farm, must laugh at all that is passing! He must be highly amused at seeing us taxed a-new to the amount of a tenth part of our possessions for the purpose of forcing him and his countrymen to endure the sway of a Bourbon, a Bourbon *désiré* too! He must laugh to see how we are fretting and fuming, and arming and fighting, and paying away our money to prevent him from being a republican citizen. He must wonder what we are taking all this trouble, and incurring all this expence for. But, if he knew what *boroughs* were, his wonder would soon cease. If he knew what effect these have in making us so generously anxious about the regularly governing of other coun-



trics, he would soon cease to be surprised at our late zeal and our present joy.

You, in America, understand this matter well. I read with great pleasure, in many of your papers, the just descriptions which you give of *our motives in these wars*. But you may be deceived as to the effect of them. *Nations* are often ruined while their *governments* are gaining force. We are screwed up to a war pitch, and, while we are at war, we are strong. You saw how we were enfeebled by the last peace, short as was its duration; and, I assure you, that there is now, in this country, a general *dread of the effects of peace*. Our situation is this: the taxes on account of the Debt and the Army and Navy are, and must be, so great, that England must be the *dearest* country in the world. Even this second restoration of the Bourbons will, I should suppose, cost us about *four millions* of taxes annually FOR EVER, which alone is more than the whole of your revenue. As to *discontents* in England, think nothing of them. They are not worth your notice. But, income, ingenuity, industry, will all seek cheap living; and those who have to buy goods will go to the cheapest market. This debt and army will produce a serious change in our affairs, in a short time. We may, possibly, see the French people tolerably ill-treated; but that will not *pay our taxes*.

By these wars against the French, we have added nearly *fifty millions a year* to our *peace taxes*. And, what have we got which we might not have had, if we had remained at peace? The French had then a *king*; they then had abolished *feudal rights*; they then had abolished *tythes*. And have they not done so now? But, the noblesse are now to have their *titles*. The fools might have had their *chateaux and their lands*, if they had not run away to join the foreign armies; and now these are sold away from them. What, then, have we gained for our fifty millions of taxes to be paid annually in peace? Ask your New England *Right Honourables* this, and they will tell you, that we have got a great deal; for, that we have got "*regular government and social order*."

I am yours, &c,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, near Southampton,
5th July, 1815.

LORD COCHRANE AND THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

There never was, perhaps, a stronger instance of retributive justice, than in the late triumph of the cause of honesty and independence over infamy and corruption. The day on which that most injured and persecuted nobleman, Lord Cochrane, took his seat, for the city of Westminster, in the House of Commons; on that very day his single vote gave the death blow to one of the most impudent attempts at extortion that ever disgraced even the Castlereagh administration, and that is saying no little. I will explain this projected job in as few words as possible:—It appears that his Royal Highness Ernest Duke of Cumberland, Colonel of his Majesty's 18th regiment of Hussars, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, Ranger of Windsor Park, &c. &c. &c. has lately entered into the *holy* estate of matrimony with a certain woman, the daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and, consequently, niece to our most beloved and gracious Queen Charlotte, whom God preserve. This woman, it is understood, has already had *two* husbands. The first was the Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of the Duchess of York. It is said, that this marriage did not turn out *perfectly happy*, and the Prince, though a young and healthy man, yet, as we are all no doubt liable to, he unfortunately *died suddenly*. His widow soon after married another German Prince, called the Prince of Salm. But this marriage, like the former, was not described as being the most happy in the records of hymenial bliss; and this second husband, like the first, went the way of all flesh, and with, it is said, *no very long* illness either. Some time after this, his Royal Highness Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge, one of our beloved Regent's brothers, who is also a Regent of our new kingdom of Hanover, became enamoured of this twice widowed Princess. But, on *certain information* reaching him, which, it is said, was not of a nature the most *decidedly* flattering to the lady, he broke off the projected alliance, and would have nothing whatever farther to do with her. However, this did not prevent his Royal brother, the Duke of Cumberland, from trying his fortune; and as, perhaps, on acquaintance, the lady and gentleman, as Mr. Tierney called these illustrious personages, antici-

pating every prospect of happiness from a strong natural similarity of disposition, which they discovered to exist between them, a match was hastily concluded on, and the happy pair entered the silken bonds of hymen; the lady, as I have already said, for the third time. Neither of them are, however, absolute *chickens*. His Royal Highness, the Duke, being 45 years of age, and her Royal Highness, the Duchess, 34.—However, a most laudable custom has for some time existed, that when any of the branches of our most beloved and numerous Royal Family deign to gladden the hearts of this happy and flourishing country, by entering into the matrimonial state, the people are called upon to provide them with an additional sum out of the taxes, to support the necessary splendour of the new establishment; so, on this occasion, his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent was advised to send down a message to Parliament, calling on his faithful Commons to add a trifle to the 20,000 pounds (some say £25,000) per annum, which the Duke of Cumberland at present receives from the public. This gracious message was received with all due decorum, and the Ministers of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent proposed the sum of 6000 pounds sterling per annum, to enable the other Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to enter upon the marriage with additional comfort and magnificence. To this proposal some of, what are called, the independent members of the House of Commons demurred.—Several very impertinent questions, as appears by the reports in the *Times* newspaper, were asked relative to the character and claims of the lady and gentlemen, and, in the course of the debate, it came out, that Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen had been pleased to say, she would not receive her Royal Niece, and daughter-in-law at Court.—These family quarrels are sad things, particularly among such great folks. Many other disrespectful insinuations were thrown out against these royal personages; and, on the first division, ministers had a majority of 17 for the grant. On the second division, it was reduced to 12; and, on Monday last, thanks to the honest and upright member for Westminster, the persecuted Lord Cochrane, ministers received a most decided and conclusive defeat, for the bill

was rejected by a majority of *One!*—Thus these men, who had been, for so long a period, adding injury to injury, upon this most oppressed nobleman, find, on the very day of his taking his seat, that his first vote is to save his country the sum of 6000 pounds per annum. What a triumph is this to innocence! to a man who, after being sentenced to the scandalous and disgraceful punishment of the pillory, which, by the bye, for *certain* reasons, was not inflicted; after being confined in prison in a loathsome dungeon; fined one thousand pounds in money to the king; disgracefully removed from that service in which he had attained such high honors, and rendered to his country such essential services; his escutcheon kicked out of Westminster Abbey; his Order of Knighthood, the well merited reward of his distinguished gallantry, taken from him; in short, after having had every possible indignity, which the most malignant imagination could invent, leaped upon him, in every way, *his single vote, on the very first day of his returning to his parliamentary duties, is the means of obtaining a signal victory over those under whose persecution he had been so long suffering!* And this in a cause in which the whole Court was concerned; wherein every engine and influence was brought into play, and employed to obtain the desired purpose; where the Royal name was used to carry the point, which, it was openly avowed, was a favorite object even of the Regent himself! This is certainly then a triumph! In the course of the different debates, many dark and mysterious hints were thrown out against both the Duke and his new Duchess. For my part, I should much rather have preferred that the honorable Members had spoken out. I should rather that they had given their reasons, openly and fairly, for not thinking the Duke of Cumberland worthy of this grant. I know little about him; but I confess my curiosity is excited, and I should like to be informed what all these insinuations mean? I remember, that a few years ago, His Royal Highness was understood to have been attacked in his bed by his German valet, a man named Sellis, or some such name, and that the Duke received some awkward blows in the affray, which ended in Sellis being found with his throat

cut, as it was understood, by his own hand. But I see nothing very extraordinary in little gambols of that kind. I have also understood that his Royal Highness is a little whimsical in the government of his regiment, in which he might, perhaps, be more popular than he is said to be with the men and officers. But the *privileged orders* are allowed to be a little frolicsome. They possess, by *divine right*, advantages over the rest of mankind. I, therefore, repeat, that I much wish the gentlemen in the honourable House had spoken out, and declared, manfully and fairly, why, and wherefore they had formed so outrageously bad an opinion of this Royal Personage? I wish it had been openly and unequivocally declared why this Royal Duke is not suffered to reside here? for, by the Times newspaper report, it appears to have been so stated in the honourable house. I do not like these side-wind insinuations. As was said on the ever memorable occasion of the investigation relative to another of their Royal Highnesses, the Duke of York, things ought to be put in "*a tangible shape*." One could then understand matters better. I have no doubt his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland will be decidedly of my opinion on this point; and as his character has been a good deal be-deviled on this occasion, I should suppose he will have the business cleared up, and that he will demand, as his Royal Brother of York did, an investigation into his conduct. I have seen a good deal of parliamentary censure. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, the two independent representatives of that most independent body of men, the electors of Westminster, have been a little entangled in this way.—What will the University of Dublin say to this? What will that learned body say to the attack, sanctioned as it is by a solemn vote of parliament, which has been made upon the character of their Chancellor?—Will they consider him, whose morality has been so severely scrutinized, as a proper person to continue to preside over an institution, where the youth of the sister kingdom are to receive their first impressions, and where the lessons of virtue are to be instilled into the rising generation?—Or, did Lord Castlereagh extinguish, at the Union, the spirit of Ireland; and has its University, its only seat of learning, no will of its own? But, what-

ever may be in this, Lord Cochrane has gained a complete triumph over his enemies. What is now become of the base and slanderous stories, that his Lordship would not be suffered to take his seat in the House of Commons? that he was *degraded, lost, ruined, fallen, sunk, incapacitated, damned for ever!* One proud answer will suffice for these corrupt calumniators. He has taken his seat in the House of Commons; and his first vote overcome the favourite Prince of the mighty Regent, aided and supported by the whole formidable bevy of placemen, pensioners, court sycophants, and government retainers!

NO. III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE WAR OF ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, PRUSSIA, DENMARK, SWEDEN, HOLLAND, SARDINIA, THE POPE, NAPLES, SICILY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, BAVARIA, WURTEMBERG, &c. &c.; WITH AN ARMY OF ONE MILLION AND ELEVEN THOUSAND REGULAR SOLDIERS, AGAINST NAPOLEON AND FRANCE.

MILITARY CONVENTION OF PARIS.

War Department, Downing Street, July 7, 1815.

Captain Lord Arthur Hill arrived last night with dispatches, of which the following are an extract and a copy, addressed to Earl Bathurst by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Gonasse, 2d and 4th instant:—

Gonasse, 2d July 1815.

The enemy attacked the advanced guard of Marshal Prince Blücher's corps at Villars Coterets, on the 28th; but the main body coming up, they were driven off, with the loss of 6 pieces of cannon, and about 1000 prisoners.—It appears that these troops were on the march from Soissons to Paris, and having been driven off that road by the Prussian troops a Villars Coterets, they got upon that of Meaux. They were attacked again upon this road by General Bulow, who took from them five hundred prisoners, and drove them across the Marne. They have, however, got into Paris. The advanced guard of the Allied Army under my command crossed the Oise on the 29th, and the whole on the 30th, and we yesterday took up a position with the right upon the height of Rochebourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy. Field Marshal Prince Blücher

having taken the village of Aubervilliers, or Vertus, on the morning of the 30th June, moved to his right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain as I advanced, and he will this day have his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles. The enemy have fortified the heights of Montmartre and the town of St. Denis strongly; and by means of the little rivers Rouillon and la Vielle Mar, they have inundated the ground on the north side of that town, and water having been introduced into the canal de l'Oureq, and the bank formed into a parapet and batteries, they have a strong position on this side of Paris. The heights of Belleville are likewise strongly fortified, but I am not aware that any defensive works have been thrown up on the left of the Seine. Having collected in Paris all the troops remaining after the battle of the 18th, and all the depots of the whole army, it is supposed that the enemy have there about 40 or 50,000 troops of the line and guards, besides the national guards, a new levy called Les Tirailleurs de la Garde, and the Federes. I have great pleasure in informing your Lordship that Quesnoy surrendered to his Royal Highness Prince Frederick of the Netherlands on the 29th June. I enclose the copy of his Royal Highness's report upon this subject, in which your Lordship will observe with satisfaction the intelligence and spirit with which this young Prince conducted this affair.

TRANSLATION.

Petit Wargnies, June 28, 1815.

On the day before yesterday, I had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter, dated Joncourt, 26th inst. sent by your Aide-de-Camp, Captain Catheart, whom I have requested to inform your Excellency, that Marshal Count Rothallier had arrived this morning to summon the place in the name of Louis XVIII. He entered into a negotiation with Lieutenant-General Desprax, Governor of Quesnoy. The only result, however, produced by this was a very singular reply from the Governor, from which it appeared to me that he might possibly be induced to capitulate, and I determined at once on firing some shells and shot into the town, and of advancing our tirailleurs to the very glacis, to annoy them in every quarter, with a view of making some impression

on the Commandant, and endeavouring by that means to excite to revolt the National Guards and inhabitants, who are said to be well-disposed toward us.—From the information collected as to the fortifications, there appeared to me no reasonable chance of taking it by escalade, the ditches being filled with water, in addition to the inundation which had been made. At eleven o'clock at night, I ordered five howitzers and six 6-pounders to open on the town, and I continued the fire until three o'clock at day break. The town was at one time on fire in three places, but the fire was shortly extinguished. Some men were killed in the town and several wounded, which appears to have produced exactly the effect which I wished. Last night General Anthing, who commands the Indian brigade, sent an officer with the proposals to the Commandant, according to the authority which I had given to him, and coupled with a threat of bombardment and assault. Upon this a negotiation was entered into, which ended in the signing of the following capitulation, this night; that is to say, that he would send an officer, with an Aid-de-Camp of General Anthing, to Cambray, to ascertain the fact of the residence of the King of France in that town, and the abdication of Bonaparte in favour of his son, and that, thereupon, he would give us this night at six o'clock possession of the Porte des Forets, to be occupied by a company of artillery, and that the next morning the garrison should march out of the town; the National Guards to lay down their arms and return to their homes; the Commander, and that part of the garrison who were not National Guards, were to go and receive the orders of Louis XVIII. in whose name we shall take possession of the town.

Gonasmé, July 4, 1815.

MY LORD—Field Marshal Blucher was strongly opposed by the enemy in taking the position on the left of the Seine, which I reported in my dispatch of the 2d instant, that he intended to take up on that day, particularly on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon, but the gallantry of the Prussian troops, under General Zie, then, surmounted every obstacle, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights of Meudon, and in

the village of Issy. The French attacked them again in Issy, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, but were repulsed with considerable loss; and finding that Paris was then open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was opened between the two Allied Armies, by a bridge which I had had established at Argenteuil, and that a British corps was likewise moving upon the left of the Seine, towards the Pont de Neuilly, the enemy sent to desire that the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, with a view to the negociation, at the palace of St. Cloud, of a Military Convention between the armies, under which the French army should evacuate Paris. Officers accordingly met on both sides at St. Cloud; and I inclose the copy of the Military Convention which was agreed to last night, and which had been ratified by Marshal Prince Blucher and me, and by the Prince d'Eckmühl, on the part of the French army. This Convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, and touches nothing political. General Lord Hill has marched to take possession of the posts evacuated by agreement this day, and I propose to-morrow to take possession of Montmartre. I send this dispatch by my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Lord Arthur Hill, by way of Calais. He will be able to inform your Lordship of any further particulars, and I beg leave to recommend him to your favour and protection. I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

This day, the 3d of July, 1815, the Commissioners named by the Commanders-in-Chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the Baron Bignon, holding the Portefeuille of Foreign Affairs; the Count Guilleminot, Chief of the General Staff of the French army: the Count de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl, Commander-in-Chief of the French army on one side; and Major-General Baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of his Highness the Field-Marshal Prince Blucher, Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian army; Colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, Commander-in-Chief of the English army, on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the Allied Armies commanded by his Highness Prince Blucher and his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, and the French Army under the walls of Paris.

Art. II. The French Army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

Art. III. The French army shall take with it all its material, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depots shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration, which belong to the army.

Art. IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the Commander-in-Chief of the English and Prussian armies.

Art. V. The military and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty immediately after their recovery to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

Art. VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French Army, shall be at liberty to remain in Paris.—The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

Art. VII. The officers of the line employed with the *Fedres*, or with the *Tirailleurs* of the National Guard, may either join the army or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

Art. VIII. To-morrow the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Dennis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

Art. IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal guard.

Art. X. The Commanders in Chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

Art. XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the Government, or depends upon the Municipal Authority, shall be respected, and the Allied Powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

Art. XII. Private persons and property shall

be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

Art. XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect on the contrary the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

Art. XIV. The present Convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days before hand.

Art. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present Convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army, and of the city of Paris.

Art. XVI. The present Convention is declared common to all the Allied Armies, provided it be ratified by the Powers of which these armies are dependant.

Art. XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

Art. XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present Convention.

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the Commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

(Signed) The Baron BIGNON.
Count GUILLEMONT.
Count de BONDY.
The Baron De MUFFLING.
F. B. HERVEY, Colonel.

Approved and ratified the present Suspension of Arms at Paris, the 3d of July, 1815.

Approved,

(Signed) Marshal the Prince D'ECHMUHL.

War Department, Downing-street, July 3.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an extract, was received last night by Earl Bathurst, addressed to his Lordship by the Duke of Wellington, dated Orville, June 28, 1815:—

The citadel of Cambray surrendered on the evening of the 25th inst. and the King of France proceeded there with his Court and his troops on the 26th. I have given that fort over entirely to his Majesty. I attacked Peronne, with the first brigade of

Guards under Major-General Maitland, on the 26th in the afternoon. The troops took the hornwork, which covers the suburb on the left of the left of the Somme, by storm, with but small loss; and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms and be allowed to return to their homes. The troops upon this occasion behaved remarkably well; and I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of a battery of artillery of the troops of the Netherlands. I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the King of the Netherlands. I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the King of the Netherlands. The armies under Marshal Blucher and myself have continued their operations since I last wrote to your Lordship. The necessity which I was under of halting at Cateau, to allow the pontoons and certain stores to reach me, and to take Cambray and Peronne, had placed the Marshal one march before me; but I conceive there is no danger in this separation between the two armies. He has one corps this day at Crespy, with detachments at Villars Coterets and La Ferte Milon; another at Senlis; and the fourth corps, under General Bulow, towards Paris: he will have his advanced guard to-morrow at St. Denis and Gonasse. The army under my command has this day its right behind St. Just, and its left behind Taub, where the high road from Compiègne joins the high road from Roye to Paris. The reserve is at Roye. We shall be upon the Oise to-morrow. It appears by all accounts, that the enemy's corps collected at Soissons, and under Marshal Grouchy, have not yet retired upon Paris; and Marshal Blucher's troops are already between them and that city.

THE KING TO THE FRENCH.

The gates of my kingdom at length open before me. I hasten to recal my deluded subjects, to soften the evils I wished to prevent, to place myself once more between the Allied Armies and the French, in the hope that the regard, of which I may be the object, will turn to their welfare. It is the only manner in which I have chosen to share in the war. I have not permitted any Prince of my family to appear in the ranks of the foreigners, and I have kept down the courage of those of my servants who had been able to range themselves round me. Returned to the

soil of my country, I take pleasure in speaking confidentially of my people. When I re-appeared among them, I found their minds agitated, and hurried away by contrary passions. The eye beheld on every side only difficulties and obstacles. It was probable my Government might commit faults—perhaps it has done so. There are times when the purest intentions do not suffice to guide, when they sometimes even mislead. Experience alone can warn—it shall not be lost. I desire every thing that can save France. My subjects have learned by cruel trials that the principle of the legitimacy of Sovereigns is the soul of the fundamental basis of social order, the only one on which a wise and well regulated liberty can be established among a great people. This doctrine has just been proclaimed as that of all Europe. I had previously consecrated it by my Charter, and I intend to add to this Charter the guarantees which may ensure its benefits. The unity of the Ministry is the strongest which I can offer. I intend that it shall exist; and that the free and firm conduct (*marche*) of my Council shall guarantee every interest, and calm every apprehension. There has been much said of late of the re-establishment of the tithes and of feudal rights. This fable, invented by the common enemy, has no need of refutation; it will not be expected that the King of France should demean himself to calumnies and falsehoods. The success of the treason has too clearly pointed out their sources. If the possessors of national property have conceived apprehension, the Charter ought to have sufficed to quiet them. Have I not myself proposed to the Chambers and caused to be executed sales of these estates? This proof of my sincerity is unanswerable. In these latter times my subjects of all classes have given equal proofs of love and fidelity. I will have them all know how sensible I have been to them, and it is among all the French that I shall take pleasure in choosing those who are to approach my person and my family. I shall exclude from my presence those men whose renown is a subject of grief to France and of dread to Europe. In the plot which they have framed I see many of my subjects misled and some guilty. I promise (I who have never promised in vain, as all Europe knows) to pardon to the misled French all that has passed since the day that I quitted Lille, amid so many tears, till this day that I have entered Cambray, amid such acclamations. But the blood of my children has flowed through a treason, of which the annals of the world afford no example. This treason has called the foreigners into the heart of France. Every day reveals to me a fresh disaster. For the dignity of my

throne, the interest of my people, and for the repose of Europe, I must therefore except from this pardon the instigators and the actors of this horrible plot. They will be pointed out to the vengeance of the laws by the two Chambers; whom I propose immediately to assemble.—Frenchmen! such are the sentiments with which he returns to you, whom time has been unable to change, misfortune to fatigue, and injustice to cast down. The King, whose ancestors have reigned over you for eight centuries, returns to dedicate the rest of his days to defend, to console you. Given at Courtray, 29th June, 1815, the 21st year of our reign,

LOUIS.

The Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

Prince TALLEYRAND.

LOUIS, by the grace of God King of France and Navarre,

To all our faithful subjects, health. At the time when the most cruel of enterprizes, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, compelled us to quit momentarily our kingdom, we informed you of the dangers which threatened you, unless you hastened to shake off the yoke of a tyrannical Usurper. We were not willing to unite our arms, nor those of our family, to the instruments which Providence has employed to punish treason. But now that the powerful efforts of our Allies have dissipated the satellites of the Tyrant, we hasten to re-enter our States, there to re-establish the Constitution which we have given to France; to repair by all the means in our power the evils of revolt, and of the war, its necessary consequence; to reward the good, to put in execution the existing laws against the guilty; in short, to call round our paternal throne the immense majority of Frenchmen, whose fidelity, courage, and devotedness have brought such pleasing consolations to our heart.—Given at Cateau-Cambrésis, 25th June, in the year of Grace, 1815, and our reign the 20th.

(Signed) LOUIS.

By the King,

The Minister of War, Duke of FELTKE.

PROCLAMATION.

Frenchmen!—Europe united at the Congress of Vienna has informed you of your true interests by the acts of the 13th of March and the 12th of May. It comes in arms to prove to you that it has not spoken in vain. It desires peace; it has need of it; it must be confirmed by its amicable relations with you: it can have none, it never can have any, with the man who pretends to

govern you. A fatal infatuation may have made the French soldier forget for a moment the laws of honour, and have extorted a perjury from him. An ephemeral power, supported by all kinds of illusion may have misled some Magistrate into the path of error: but this power totters, soon it will wholly disappear. The combined Army of the North convinced you of it on the day of the 18th of June; our armies are marching to convince you of it in their turn. Frenchmen, it is still time!—Reject the man who again, chaining all your liberties to his car, threatens social order, and brings into your native country all nations in arms. Be restored to yourselves, and all Europe salutes you as friends, and offers you peace. It does more:—From this moment all it considers all Frenchman who are not ranged under the standard of Buonaparte, and who do not adhere to his cause, as friends. We have consequently the order to protect them, to leave them the peaceable enjoyment of what they possess, and to support the laudable efforts which they shall make to replace France in the relative situation which the Treaty of Paris had re-established between her and all the European nations. God, Justice, the wishes of all nations, second us, Frenchmen, come to meet us; our cause is yours; your happiness, your glory, your power, are still necessary to the happiness, the glory, and the power of the nations who are going to combat for you.

(Signed) Marshal Count BARCLAY DE TOLLY.
General in Chief of the Imperial Russian Armies.

Head-quarters, Oppenheim, June 23.

Order of the Day. Head-quarters, June 24.

Soldiers of the Austrian Army of the Rhine! Napoleon, whose ambitious plans and lust of conquest armed all Europe against him, was conquered by you and your Allies. Returning from the exile into which the generosity of the victors had sent him, he again attacks the repose, the welfare, the peace, the security, of all states; provokes, by his guilty arrogance, the armies of United Europe to combat for the inviolability of their frontiers, the honour of their country, the happiness of their fellow citizens; these most sacred of all possessions, which this man, to whom nothing is sacred, and who has become the scourge of humanity, has been attacking and endeavouring to destroy for so many years. Thus, brave soldiers of the Austrian army, a new and vast career of glory is opened to you. I know, that you will distinguish it by new victories, and that your new needs in arms will render still more dear to me the proud satisfaction of calling myself your General. It is as honourable to you

as agreeable to me, that I have only to recall the remembrance of your ancient exploits to animate you to new ones. The victories of Culm, Leipzig, Brienne, and Paris, are so many illustrious garlands that crown your standards; continue worthy of your glory by combating, as you did formerly, and by adding fresh laurels to those you have already gained. Great things have been already performed; your brethren in Italy have, with their arms, opened themselves a way into the heart into the enemy's country, and their victorious banners wave in the capital of the kingdom of Naples. Those in Flanders gained on the 18th instant, one of the most memorable victories recorded in history. Those victorious armies have their eyes fixed upon you, and summon you to *similar exploits*. Let the recollection of what you have been on so many a hard-fought day—let the feeling of what you owe to yourselves animate you to become constantly more worthy of your ancient glory, by embarking for your Emperor, your honour, and your country.

SCHWARTZENBERG, Field-Marshal.

LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER AT WAR TO LORD WELLINGTON.

Head-quarters at La Vilette, June 30, 1815.

MY LORD—Your hostile movements continue, although, according to their declarations, the motives of the war which the Allied Sovereigns make upon us no longer exist, since the Emperor Napoleon has abdicated. At the moment when blood is again on the point of flowing, I receive from Marshal the Duke of Albufera a telegraphic dispatch, of which I transmit you a copy. My Lord, I guarantee this armistice on my honour. All the reasons you might have had to continue hostilities are destroyed, because you can have no other instruction from your government than that which the Austrian Generals had from theirs. I make the formal demand to your Excellency of ceasing all hostilities, and that we proceed to form an armistice, awaiting the decision of Congress. I cannot believe, my Lord, that my request will remain ineffectual; you will take upon yourself a great responsibility in the eyes of your noble fellow-countrymen. No other motive but that of putting an end to the effusion of blood, and the interest of my country, have dictated this letter. If I present myself on the field of battle, with the idea of your talents, I shall carry thither the conviction of there combating for the most sacred of causes, that of the defence and independence of my country; and whatever may be the result, I shall merit your esteem. Accept, I beg you, my Lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

The Marshal Prince of ECKMÜHL,
Minister at War.

The same letter was written by his Excellency to Marshal Blücher.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE.

Although little doubt remains in my mind, that the Allies will be able, by force of arms, to replace Louis the Eighteenth on the throne of France, notwithstanding all the solemn professions,

and protestations which have been made to induce the world to believe, that *force* would not be employed to accomplish this; although from the tenor of the dispatches of Lord Wellington, relative to the towns which have surrendered to the Allies, it is very clear, that it is the wish of our government, at least, to restore the Bourbons; and although Louis *le desiré* has distinctly stated, in one of his numerous proclamations, that it is his intention to dissolve the two Chambers, called together by Napoleon, and to assemble two others, more subservient to his views, we yet find the Duke of Wellington, and Marshal Blucher, acknowledging the authority of the present Chambers, by entering into a Military Convention with them, the 10th article of which engages "to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the *actual authorities*, so long as they shall exist."—Connecting this fact with the *silence*, uniformly maintained by all the Allies, in all their proclamations, issued, even since the battle of Waterloo, respecting the claims of the Bourbons, one might suppose, that Great Britain *alone* had pledged herself in support of their cause. Whether there is any thing to warrant this speculation, or whether the mission of Lord Castlereagh to the Continent be not, as some suppose, to overcome, by certain *weighty* arguments, any scruples of conscience that may be entertained by our high Allies, time alone can disclose. For my part, I am quite satisfied, that the arguments, with which Lord Castlereagh has been furnished, are perfectly sufficient to reach conviction to the minds of those for whom they are intended. They have convinced before. I see no reason why they should not convince again. So late as the 6th of May, Lord Clancarty, in a letter from Vienna to Lord Castlereagh, gave the following as the "general sentiments of the Sovereigns and their Ministers" in the war which they had resolved to renew against France: "In this war, they do not desire
 "to interfere with any legitimate right of
 "the French people; *they have no design*
 "to oppose the claim of that nation to
 "choose their own form of Government,
 "or intention to trench, in any respect,
 "upon their independence as a great and
 "free people: but they do think they have
 "a right, and that of the highest nature,

"to contend against the re-establishment
 "of an individual as the head of the
 "French Government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated, that
 "in such a situation he will not suffer
 "other nations to be at peace—whose
 "restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for
 "the rights and independence of other
 "States, must expose the whole of Europe
 "to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation. *However general the feelings of the Sovereigns may be in favour*
 "*of the restoration of the King, they no*
 "*otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French in the choice of this*
 "*or of any other dynasty, or form of Government,* than may be essential to the
 "safety and permanent tranquillity of
 "the rest of Europe: such reasonable security being afforded by France in this
 "respect, as other States have a legitimate
 "right to claim in their own defence,
 "their object will be satisfied; and they
 "shall joyfully return to that state of
 "peace, which will then, and then only,
 "be open to them, and lay down those
 "arms which they have only taken up for
 "the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them on the
 "part of their respective Empires."—The countenance which has been given by us, and by Prussia, to Louis XVIII. seems to belie these professions; at least in so far as these two powers are concerned. It is a *possible* case, however, that the other powers may not concur, and circumstances may induce our minister, as they did before, in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, to adopt a different line of policy. In that view the proceedings of the two Chambers, composing the present Legislature of France, may be considered highly interesting, as from the complexion of their discussions a tolerable idea may be formed of the nature of that government which is likely to be established in France. It will be seen by the report of the proceedings, which I have annexed to this article, that even at the moment when the enemy was under the walls of Paris, a letter, signed by the Minister of War, by Vandamme, General in Chief, and several other celebrated general officers, denouncing the Bourbons, in the strongest terms, as unfit to govern France, was read in the Chamber of Representatives, and received with the "liveliest applause."

CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES—SITTING
OF JULY 1.

Some grenadiers of the 11th Legion, under arms at the barrier of La Villette, beg the assembly to order that the well inclined men taken from the National Guard be sent by detachments to the posts which they can occupy. The letter contains some reproaches of the chiefs of the petitioners, for delay in the execution of the orders given.—An address was read from the Federates of the town and district of Chalons-sur-Saone. In this they say: "The constitutional law which we have accepted, proclaimed, and sworn to execute, *interdicts to us all the power of recalling, and even of thinking of the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne; and if the French constitution had not thus decreed, the happiness and glory of the country would command this ostracism, as politic as merited.*" They conclude with declaring their resolution to defend the country against foreign and domestic enemies. Honourable mention in the minutes.

A letter was then read from M. Bardier, Ex-librarian of the Emperor Napoleon, stating, that "his Majesty, some days after his abdication, testified a wish of taking with him into his retreat, the library of the palace of Trianon, consisting of about 2,200 volumes, with the grand descriptions of Egypt, and the Greek Iconography of M. Visconti. The printing of these two latter works was due to the magnificence of the Emperor, and it was very natural he should wish to preserve a copy. As to the library of Trianon, it formed only a very small part of the books collected by his orders in the Imperial palaces."—The letter was sent to the Commission charged to report on the fate of Napoleon and his family.

The Commission of Government communicated by the following telegraphic dispatch from the Duke of Albufera, transmitted from Lyons on the 30th of June:

Chambery, June 29.

The Duke of Albufera to the Minister at War.—On the 27th the Austrians attacked on all the line; they were repulsed with a loss of 250 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and I in vain endeavoured at an armistice with General Bubna. On the 28th the enemy attacked upon Confians and Aiguebele; he lost 1,500 men; and we took 500 prisoners.

At one in the afternoon I renewed the proposal for an armistice, which was accepted. In pursuance of this armistice I have consented to return within the limits of the treaty of Paris. I sent at the same time a flag of truce to the General in Chief, Frimont, near Geneva: he has replied to me, that animated by a desire to anticipate by preliminary arrangements those which may take place between the Allies, he consents to an armistice to the 2d of July, the period when I hope to have received the answer of the government.

M. BERY DE ST. VINCENT then gave an account of the visit of himself and his colleagues, Garat, Mornay, Bugnet, Hellet, to the army at Vilette. He described the soldiers as animated with the greatest enthusiasm, though some of the National Guards complained that they had not been supplied with arms and ammunition. General Diricau was at the head of 7,000 tirailleurs of the federates. The enthusiasm of the army was at its height, and that of the whole population of Fauxbourgs was not less ardent.

A Secretary read the following letter:—

Representatives of the people.—We are in presence of our enemies: we swear before you and the world to defend, to our last sigh, the cause of our independence, and the national honour. It is wished to impose the Bourbons upon us, and *these Princes are rejected by the immense majority of Frenchmen.* If their term could be subscribed to, recollect, Representatives, that you would sign the testament of the army which for 20 years has been the palladium of French honour. There are in war, especially when it has been long conducted, successes and reverses. In our successes we have been seen great and generous; in our reverses, if it is wished to humiliate us, we shall know how to die. *The Bourbons present no guarantee to the nation.* We received them with sentiments of the most generous confidence; we forgot all the calamities they had caused us, by their rage in wishing to deprive us of our most sacred rights. Well; what reply did they make to this confidence? They treated us as rebels and vanquished. Representatives, these reflections are terrible, because they are true. Inexorable history will one day relate what the Bourbons did to replace themselves on the throne of France; it will also tell the conduct of the army, of

that army essentially national, and posterity will judge which best deserved the esteem of the world.

Camp at Villette, June 30th,—3 in the afternoon

(Signed) The Marshal Prince of ECKMÜHL
Minister at War.

Count PAJOL, commanding the 1st
Corps of Cavalry.

Lieut.-General Baron FRESSINET.

Count D'ERLON, commanding the
right wing.

Count ROQUET, commanding the Gren-
adiers of the Guard.

Count HARLET, commanding the 5d
regiment of grenadiers of the Im-
perial Guard.

General PETIT, commanding the 1st
division of Chasseurs.

Baron CHRISTIAN, commanding the
2d regiment of grenadiers of the
Imperial Guard.

Baron HEURION.

Major-General BRUNET

Lieut.-General GUILLEMAN.

Major Lieut.-General LUCETTE.

Major Lieut.-General AMBERT.

Major-Generals MARIUS, CLARY,
CHARIRAIN, CAMBRIELLE,
and JEANNET.

Count VANDAMME, General in Chief.

The liveliest applauses succeeded to the
reading of the above letter, which was or-
dered to be printed and sent to the armies.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.—SITTING OF THE 1ST OF JULY.

Marshal GROUCHY expressed his regret
at the language which had been used with
respect to his account of the situation
of the army of the North. That he had
never ceased to write, that it contained a
mass of more than 20,000 infantry and
5000 cavalry, with 100 pieces of cannon.
He demanded a publication of the reports
which he had made of his march from Na-
mur to Rheims. When he arrived there
with his brave army, he received orders to
conduct it to Soissons, (where the Duke
of Dalmatia was re-organising the wreck
of the army which fought at Waterloo),
there to take the command of the army of
the north and to march on Paris. Com-
piègne, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, had not
been occupied. The enemy was master of
them: he was nearer to the capital than I
was. I could not arrive there in time
except by the most rapid march, and ex-
posing my flank for 18 hours to the enemy.
I determined, therefore, to file off the
troops which I brought from Rheims,
covered by the troops which came from
Soissons. By this arrangement they ar-
rived at Paris without firing a musket.

My left wing was attacked on the march
at two points: some pieces of cannon
were taken; the soldiers deserted their
ranks, and I was less satisfied with the
troops of this left wing, than with those
I brought from Namur. No considera-
tion shall make me conceal the truth, es-
pecially when the safety of the capital
requires the best considered measures of
defence. The Marshal concluded with
claiming credit for having brought 40,000
men to Paris, whom he had resigned to
hands more able than his own. After
some conversation, this appeal of the
Marshal was ordered to be inserted in the
minutes.

In the sitting of the 3d two letters were
read; one from General Vandamme, the
other from General Lacroix. Vandamme
solicits the favorable attention of go-
vernment to his corps, which, he says, has
supported the national honour, and whose
arrival under the walls of Paris must
necessarily contribute to the obtain-
ing of more advantageous terms from
the enemy, if it should be necessary to
treat. He says that his army has been
constantly victorious; that their retreat,
compelled by events, has been protected
by brilliant successes, and forced the
enemy to respect them; and he concludes
by observing, that all his troops are ready
to second the intentions of government,
and that they would never act except for
the interests of the country. The letter
is dated from Petit-Montrou, July 2.
Thanks were voted to Vandamme and his
army, and the President was directed to
address a letter to him explanatory of the
satisfaction of the Chamber.

The other letter from Lacroix, Chief of
the Staff to General Reille's corps, con-
tradicts in very pointed terms a report,
that the division of Reille was demoralised.
He states, that this corps had been
particularly and strenuously engaged on
the 16th and 17th; that it cut in pieces a
Scotch regiment, and the troops of Bruns-
wick Oels: that it killed the Duke of
Brunswick, General Picton, and many
other officers of rank, and wounded the
Prince of Orange. Its own loss, out of
25,000, on the first day, was 4,125. Its
4th division, which had been detached
under the orders of General Girard, lost
its brave chief, two major-generals, and a
fourth part of its forces. On the 18th,
the same corps is stated to have begun the

battle, and to have maintained it till night in the greatest order. It lost on that bloody day more than 5,000, and half its Generals and Officers. Under these circumstances he insists that the division of Reille cannot be said to be demoralised, and he calls for a retraction of that assertion. Dated La Chapelle, July 1.

M. LE GUETTE-MORNAY, who, it appears, had been the cause of the report thus alluded to, immediately rose and acknowledged the justice of the appeal in the letter, and at his motion thanks were voted to the division of Reille.

The only business in the Chamber of Peers was the adoption of two resolutions sent from the Representatives; one declaring that the officers and soldiers of the army and the national guards, who had contributed to the pacification, have deserved well of their country; the other authorising the commission of government to put at the disposal of Napoleon Buonaparte the library of the Trianon Palace, a copy of the grand description of Egypt, and of the Greek Iconography of M. Visconti.

ADDRESS OF THE CHAMBERS OF REPRESENTATIVES AND PEERS TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

FRENCHMEN, — The Foreign Powers proclaimed in the face of Europe that they were only armed against Napoleon; that they wished to respect our independence, and the right which belongs to every nation to choose the Government suitable to its manners and its interests. Napoleon is no longer the Chief of the State: he has renounced the throne, and his abdication has been accepted by your Representatives. He is removed from us. His Son is called to the Empire by the Constitutions of the State. The coalesced Sovereigns know that. The war ought then to be terminated, if the promises of Kings be not vain. However, while Plenipotentiaries have been sent to the Allied Powers to treat for Peace in the name of France, the Generals of two of those Powers have refused any suspension of arms. Their troops have hastened their march, under the favour of a moment of trouble and hesitation. They are at the gates of the capital without any communication having informed us for what object the war is continued. Our Plenipotentiaries will soon declare whether we

must renounce peace. In the meantime resistance is as necessary as legitimate; and humanity, in requiring an account of the blood uselessly shed, will not accuse those brave men who only combat to repel from their homes the scourges of war, murder, and pillage—to defend with their lives the cause of liberty, and of that independence, the imperscriptible right of which has been guaranteed to them even by the manifestoes of their enemies.—Amidst these grave circumstances, your Representatives cannot forget that they were not chosen to stipulate for the interests of any party whatever, but for the whole nation. Every act of weakness, while dishonouring them, would only serve to compromise, during a long period, the future tranquillity of France. In the mean time, then, that the Government is employing all the means for obtaining a solid peace, what more advantages to the nation can be done, than to collect and establish the fundamental rules of a *monarchical and representative government*, destined to secure to all citizens the free enjoyment of those sacred rights, which sacrifices so numerous and so great have purchased—and to rally for ever under the national colours, that great body of Frenchmen, who have no other interest, and no other wish than to enjoy an honourable repose and a just independence. Meanwhile, the Chambers conceive, that their duty and their dignity require them to declare, that they will never acknowledge as legitimate Chief of the State, he who, on ascending the Throne, shall refuse to acknowledge the rights of the nation, and to consecrate them by a solemn compact. The Constitutional Chart is drawn up, and if the force of arms should succeed in temporarily imposing upon us a master—if the destinies of a great nation are again to be delivered up to the caprice and the arbitrary will of a small number of privileged persons, then, in yielding to force, the National Representation will protest in the face of the whole world, in support of the oppressed French people. Your Representatives will appeal to the energy of the present and future generations to renew their claim both to national independence and the rights of civil liberty. For these rights they now appeal to the justice and the reason of all civilized nations."

LETTER VI.

TO LORD CASTLEKEAGH.

On the contrast between the Return of Napoleon and that of Louis; and on the Question of what is now to be done with France.

MY LORD,—There you are, then, once more at Paris. And what will you *now* do? But, before I come to the discussion of this important question, let me beg your observance of the contrast, the great and striking contrast, exhibited in the return of Louis and that of Napoleon.

Last year, it was asserted that *all France* was for the Bourbons. We were told, that the people were so *happy*, so *sincere in their joy*, so *unanimous*, that they sighed so deeply for the return of their *paternal* governors, and that they so lamented their absence, that the fact was, at last, proved beyond all contradiction, that the principles of the Revolution, that is to say, the principles of liberty *were held in execration*, and that the cause of kings and priests was, forever, assured of triumph. The death-blow was, by the partizans of the borough-mongers, said to be given to those opinions and doctrines, which had caused the French people to rise against feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny. That populous, ingenious, industrious, and gallant people, who inhabited the fairest part of the whole world, and who, under the banners of the rights of man, had first repelled the aggression, and then overrun the countries, and brought to their feet all the old families of the continent of Europe; we were told that that people, after having given a trial to political, civil, and religious liberty, had, at last, come to their senses; had acknowledged that their old despotism was the best of the two; that they had called back the Bourbons with unanimous acclaim; and that all that appertained to the revolution was now held in abhorrence. The conclusion drawn from these premises by the base and infamous traffickers in boroughs, and by their no less

base and infamous literary partizans, was this: that political, civil, and religious liberty were worth nothing; that they were a mere dream; and that all endeavours to preserve or to recover them, by any sort of reform, were not only useless, but tended to mischief, and proceeded from factious, if not seditious and treasonable motives.

Seeing the wicked ends to which this conclusion so directly pointed, the friends of freedom deeply lamented, that the question in France was involved in a good deal of confusion; and that though all the world saw, that the Bourbons were carried back, surrounded by forests of foreign bayonets; though all the world saw, that the king was put upon the throne while immense foreign armies garrisoned the capital of France; though all the world saw, that those immense armies remained in France till the restored family had had time to put itself in possession of all the powers and all the treasures of the nation; though these facts were notorious, still it was *not proved*, that the people of France *would not* have received the Bourbons back without the presence of those foreign armies. There could, indeed, be no doubt that the people of France, if left to themselves, would not have received them back; there could have been no such doubt in the minds of any sensible man. But still the fact was not proved; the people of France had not had the power to *choose* between the old and new order of things. It was manifest to the whole world, that *compulsion was ready at hand*; but still there was no *positive proof*, that the Bourbons would not have been received back without resort to that compulsion. And, thus, this great and most interesting of all questions was left undecided: the friends of freedom contending, that the Bourbons were *forced* back upon the French, and the friends of bribery and corruption contending, that they were received back by a people, tired of revolutionary principles, and sighing for the return of that family and that order of things, which had been proscribed by the revolution. Hence

B

Louis was called, by the parasites of despotism and of priestcraft, the *desired*.

Thanks to Napoleon Bonaparte! this question has now been decided. Thanks to his bravery; thanks to his fortitude; thanks to his unsubdued soul and his resources of mind, this great question has now been decided in favour of those principles, without the operation of which, man is the most despicable of all the animals of the creation, none of whom besides himself, with a knowledge of their strength and of their means, voluntarily submit to the trammel or the lash.

The Bourbons were seated on the throne of France; they had taken possession, in virtue of what they called divine right, of the throne, the country, the resources, the powers of France. The foreign armies, seeing them, as they thought, thus safely in possession, withdrew leisurely and cautiously from the scene; the *paternal* government of the Bourbons goes into execution; the ancient despotism is not, however, restored; feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny are not re-established; the most essential changes worked by the revolution, are confirmed, by promises, at least; the mass of laws enacted chiefly by the republicans and embodied into a code by Napoleon, remain, and the upholding of them is solemnly promised; the blessings which the French are enjoying under the Bourbon family, compared with the miseries they suffered under the new order of things, are chaunted from the lips of every slave from one end of Europe to the other. "Here," said they to the friends of freedom, "look here, and behold a great nation, full of wise and brave men, who have discovered, after twenty five years trial of what they called freedom of one sort or another, down, at last, upon their bare knees, ASKING PARDON OF GOD AND MAN, for their past follies and crimes, and putting up most fervent thanksgiving, that Providence had vouchsafed to restore unto them their ancient masters and their ancient teachers, and praying that, in future, they may never be deprived of the blessings flowing from the Bourbons and the priests."

I am sure, that your Lordship will not deny, that this was the language in the month of February last. I am sure that you will not deny, that I have by no means over-charged that language. Very

mortifying was it, indeed, for the enemies of bribery and corruption; for the enemies of religious fraud and persecution, to hear this language; to hear these impudent assertions, which, though they knew them to be false, they had not the means *positively* to disprove; when, all of a sudden, Napoleon Bonaparte, sincere thanks and the gratitude of ages be yielded to him for it, furnished, by his bravery and his intelligent mind, those invaluable means. He lands, almost alone, at the distance of nearly five hundred miles from the capital of France, where the Bourbons, surrounded by guards, in number amounting to a large army, and partly composed of hired foreigners, were seated on their throne, whence they had distributed their trusty servants, military and civil, throughout the whole of the country. He proceeds on to that capital, not only unopposed by any part of the *people*, but amidst unanimous acclamations. One garrison alone marches forth to oppose him. He leaves his followers behind him at a distance; walks up to them alone; bares his breast at the point of their muskets; says, "if there be a Frenchman, if there be a *single Frenchman*, to whom my return is not welcome, here is my heart, let him pierce it, and spare the effusion of French blood." The soldiers throw away their arms and embrace the handful of their comrades who are found in his suite.

Is it *thus*, my Lord, that Louis has made *his* entry into France? Is it thus that he has put the love of the French people to the test? Is it thus, that he has made his *appeal* to them? Is it thus, that he has given them their *choice*? No. He has not entered France alone; he has not bared his breast to the first Frenchman that rejected him; he has not even ventured to go in the company; he and his followers have not even ventured to form themselves into a battalion of the victorious and over-whelming foreign invaders, No! He comes in the *rear* of those over-whelming foreign armies, who have first cut a road for him through the bodies of those whom our infamous writers have the audacity to call his faithful and *loving subjects*. Louis and the Bourbons, seated at Paris in the plenitude of power, with two hundred thousand men in arms, and with all the treasures of their country at their command, are unable to

prevail upon one single man to oppose the progress of Napoleon, who is hailed as the deliverer of his country, and who enters Paris after a journey across three fourths of France, *without having caused one drop of French blood to be shed*. I do not say, my Lord, that Louis has now actually caused French blood to be shed by the hands of the foreign invaders of France; but this I know, that our newspapers tell us that rivers of French blood have flowed on account of the opposition to the Bourbons. These papers tell us, that numbers of French people, in towns as well as villages, have been put to death, by the Austrians, the Prussians, the Bavarians. That towns and villages have been burnt, and that the punishment in the way of plunder has been enormous; and for what? because the people thus punished, endeavoured to defend their country against its enemies, whose object was the restoration of the Bourbons.

At last, Louis arrives at Paris. But under what circumstances? Paris had prepared for a siege against the armies under whose protection he came. Paris is surrendered to those armies by a convention. The French army retires to take up a position behind the Loire, protesting against the restoration of the Bourbons. The assembly, chosen by the French people, continue to protest against that restoration till foreign soldiers surround the very hall in which they are assembled. The Tricolor flag and cockade are hoisted by the national guard themselves till the last moment. Those colours are still flying every where, where *force* has not pulled them down. In the midst of innumerable hosts of enemies, patrolling the country, and pouring into it, in every direction, those colours, the symbols of liberty, the symbols of unquenchable hatred to feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny, are hoisted, and exciting the spirit of the people even after the Bourbons and the invading armies are well known to be in possession of Paris itself; and the Bourbons remount the Throne of their *ancestors*, as they vainly call it, while the protests against them, by the assembly, by the army, and by the people, are ringing in their ears.

Was it *thus* that Napoleon re-entered Paris amidst the acclamation of all ranks of people. No convention preceded his re-entry. No battles were necessary to clear the way for him. No towns and vil-

lages were burnt. No towns-people or country-people were put to death. No murder, no plunder, no brutal violence were his harbingers. He re-entered Paris amidst the joyous shouts of a people, who, notwithstanding his faults, felt grateful to him for his services; felt that he was entitled to their love on many accounts; but, above all, for having delivered them, as they thought and hoped, for ever, from the sway of that family, under which their forefathers had groaned for so many ages, and who, as the people reasonably feared, had brought in their train that system of feudal and priestly tyranny, those grinding oppressions, that degrading superstition, those hellish persecutions, under which the French nation had so long lived, covered with misery and dishonour.

Such is the contrast which the return of Napoleon and that of the Bourbons exhibit. And, notwithstanding all the sanguine hopes now entertained, and expressed by the sons and daughters of corruption, the friends of freedom, who have a right to triumph in this contrast, feel no hesitation in predicting, *as I now predict*, that the Bourbons will never be able to restore all, nor even any considerable part of the feudal and priestly tyrannies, formerly existing in France; and that all the armies of Europe will not be able to keep them another eleven months upon the throne, if they dare essentially to violate that code of laws and those principles of government, which the revolutionary assemblies enacted, which Napoleon confirmed and established, and which he immortalized by his name.

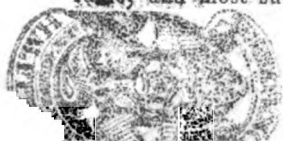
It is very difficult for any one, not present upon the spot, to judge of the conduct of the actors at Paris, in this great scene. There may have been some faults committed by the assemblies, by the commission of government, by the generals, or by others. Where such immense means of purchasing treason exist, and such powerful motives also for procuring that treason, it would be too much to suppose that all had remained faithful. But the declarations and the protests of the commission of government, of the assemblies of the generals, of the municipal bodies; the bold language of the different persons in power, the hardihood with which they have braved not only the proclamations of Louis but the bayonets of foreign armies. All these

tend to produce the belief, that they apprehend very little danger from the vengeance either of Louis or the Allies; and that though the soil of France has been extensively invaded, though her capital is in the possession of the combined kings of Europe, whose armies are subsidized by England, the spirit of the people of France, so far from being subdued, has risen under the bayonets of their foes.

What, then, *is now to be done*, my good Lord? The Times newspaper, who calls you an able and faithful negotiator, recommends to you, *first*, to cause the leading rebels, as this bloody writer has the folly to call them, to be hanged up. *Second*, to cause the French army to be disbanded. *Third*, to take away all the statues, pictures, and trophies, won by the glorious military achievements of the French nation. *Fourth*, to take away part of the French territory. *Fifth*, to compel the King of France to take such ministers as you may point out to him. *Sixth*, to take care to see, before you come away, that all places of trust, civil and military, are filled by such persons as *England* can confide in. *Seventh*, that you will be sure to put all the venerable, ancient, paternal Noblesse into their family chateaus. *Eighth*, though he does not insist upon the absolute restoration of all the monks and friars to their convents, and to their means of debauchery and persecution, the vile hypocrite does seem to insinuate, that you ought to do something considerable in behalf of the venerable teachers, as he calls them, of religion and *morality*. *Ninth*, he is prepared, it seems, to execrate *you*, even you, unless you cause to be “crumbled to dust,” the statue, or statues, “of VOLTAIRE;” while he would consent to your “paying respect to the memorials of the *pious* and *venerable* FENELON.” In imposing this last task upon your Lordship, the silly babbler gives us a pretty true picture of his own mind and wishes. He would preserve and perpetuate the praise, which ignorance and superstition have bestowed upon, probably, a fraudulent, and, at least, a pretty stupid, *priest*; and he would have you eradicate from the mind of man the recollection of the fact, that the brightest genius that ever the sun shone on, was also the most zealous, the most inexorable, and most successful enemy of all

sorts of tyranny, political, civil and religious. This vile hypocrite knows well what powerful effect the writings of VOLTAIRE have had in destroying superstition and priestcraft. These invaluable writings have taken the people of France, and of a great part of the rest of the world, *out of the hands of fraudulent priests*. He observed in his history of the horrid murder of CALAS by the friars of Thoulouse, that truth had begun to attack superstition, and that the latter was making prodigiously violent struggles in its defence. The monster, after these struggles, received its mortal wound in that famous decree of the National Assembly of France, which drove the idle and profligate monks and nuns from their convents, which relieved the fathers of families from the intermeddling of officious and greedy priests, which proclaimed the perfect liberty to all men to worship, or not to worship, just as they pleased, to write or to say what they pleased, upon the subject of religion, and which thus left religion, like astronomy, or another science, wholly to the test of reason. This decree, as confirmed by all subsequent acts, is still in force; if your Lordship procures its repeal, I will acknowledge you to be the real eighth wonder of the world; and if you do not, we shall be, as to the *real object of the war*, just where we started in the year 1793, before a shilling of the eight hundred millions of debt, besides the annual war taxes, was contracted or imposed.

A great deal is said, my Lord, about conquering France; and, the parliamentary reporter made Mr. Banks say, the other day, amidst loud cheers of the Honourable House, that he hoped, that the great Wellington monument about to be erected, would be “ornamented with some of the things found in the *twice conquered* city of Paris.” These are old-fashioned ideas, my Lord. They belong to half a century ago, when men were led to have their brains knocked out for *the glory of a grand monarch*. The French are not *conquered*, though Mr. PERRY, to make his peace with the party to which he wishes to return, says they are, and “*fairly*” too. They have been fighting for *freedom*. Their struggle has been, and *is*, against feudal, ecclesiastical, and monarchical tyranny; against seignorial



courts, convents, tythes, frauds and persecutions of priests, *corvées*, game laws, privileges of Noblesse and Clergy; and, until they be compelled to submit to these again, they are not *defeated*, much less are they *conquered*. I dare say, that your Lordship sees enough about you to convince you, that the French are not a conquered people. And, I dare say, too, that you do not know what to do with them half so well as you did with the people in Ireland. It appears very clear to me, that, in your doings, with **ALL YOUR MEANS** (and they are mighty), you will not be able to give John Bull satisfaction; and, I am sure you will not be able to satisfy the sons and daughters of corruption. You cannot kill all the French. You cannot knock their fore-teeth out. You cannot keep the sun from shining in France. No; nor can you impose even *tythes* upon the cultivators. You must leave them nearly as they are; or, if you prevail upon the Bourbons to do any outrageous act against the people, you must keep up all your subsidized armies in France, in order to prevent another revolution, which might burst forth against "regular government" with increased means. The John Bulls thought, that, when the armies reached PARIS, *all would be over*. You will find, that it was not all over. More armies, we are told, are *still marching on*. And more will certainly be necessary, if any attempt be made to produce a counter-revolution, and to re-establish the *old regime*. And yet, until this is done, *nothing* is done.

I am, &c.

WM. COBBETT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The communication from the *City of Albany* shall be noticed in my next.—The Inscription for the Monument of GENERAL PAKENHAM should be sent to Mr. GASCYONE, Member for Liverpool. He is the great man in this way; and, I dare say, would be gratified very highly, if some one would send it him direct from America. I hope some one will do it. I must keep the copy sent to me; and, if I were to send him a *transcript*, he would, perhaps, think it spurious, and call it a libel, merely because it came from me. It is as neat a little thing as I ever read.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

There is reason for believing, that this great man, great even in his misfortunes, has made his retreat good from France, where to have continued, after the disaster which happened his army, and after, what he must have foreseen, the return of the Bourbons, would have been certain destruction. Two frigates were assigned by the Provisional Government, on the 25th June, to enable Napoleon to carry his views into effect. As a precautionary measure, an application was made to the Duke of Wellington to grant a passport for him to proceed to the United States; but this was *refused*. The following is the letter, which the Duke wrote to Count Lignon, in answer to the one written by the latter for the passport:—"Head-quarters, June 28th—Monsieur le Comte, "I have had the honour to receive your "Excellency's letter of the 25th. I have "already written to the Commissioners "named to treat with the allied powers "for peace, upon the proposition for a "suspension of hostilities; a reply which "your excellency has seen, and to which "I have nothing to add. As to what regards a passport and protection for Napoleon Bonaparte to go to the United States of America, I must inform your "Excellency that I have no authority "from my government to give any sort of "answer whatever to that demand. I "have the honour to be Mons. le Comte, "with the highest consideration, your "obedient servant, WELLINGTON."—I shall not pretend to say what our government would have done with Napoleon had they caught him. They certainly had something *grand* in view, if we may judge from the active measures which they have taken to stop him in his flight. According to our newspaper accounts, nearly the whole British navy, which had been lately laid up in our harbours, was put in commission, to intercept the fugitive!—"Honest John Bull," will, I know, be much disappointed if the "Corsican Monster" is not taken, and brought into an English port. He calculated on a *raze-show* at least; on seeing the fallen Emperor carried about, like one of Pidcock's wild beasts, in an iron cage, and exhibited at all the fairs in the kingdom; and, after public curiosity had been fully gratified, after every country bumpkin had stared his eyes out,

and torn his cheeks asunder, in viewing the "savage," and laughing at the *fun*, which this spectacle afforded, the "ferocious tyrant" was then to be hung on a gibbet, as high as Haman's, as a necessary peace offering to the wounded feelings of the "friends of social order, and of our holy religion."—When a report lately prevailed, that Napoleon had actually fallen into our hands, nothing was heard but the cry of "send him to the Tower, send him to the Tower;" and, I am told, that so confident were people of all ranks of his being on the road to London, that thousands left their occupations, and went many miles into the country, to see him approach. Never losing sight of the "main chance," always disposed to "make the most of every thing," it was even said, that a dispute was on the eve of taking place, between the keepers of the different jails of the metropolis, as to who was to pocket the fees arising from the exhibition of Napoleon. Poor Johnny Bull! how sadly must you be disappointed when you find, that this slippery fellow has escaped; notwithstanding all the wise precautions of our Ministers, and the extraordinary exertions of our invincible navy board, headed by that penetrating, active, and sagacious Secretary, Mr. Croker. But never mind Johnny; do not despair. Napoleon is not *dead*. You will probably very soon hear of his landing in America, where new scenes, for the exercise of his active genius, open before him, and where, it is at least, possible, our fleets and our armies may be again called to achieve fresh deeds of glory, in consequence of some new attempt of this extraordinary man, to destroy our power and influence, even in that distant part of the world. I see it stated in the Paris papers, that "Napoleon Bonaparte" was very careful in providing himself "with good books upon America, before his departure from Malmaison. He asked for a great many, and went himself to see that they were put into his carriage. He said to those who were near him, that he *renounced for ever the tumult of the world and of business*, and that he had no other wish but to end his days peaceably in the United States of America, amid a free and hospitable people."—But the same thing was said of him when he was at Elba. He had there "*renounced, for ever, the tumult of the world and of business*," and was

wholly occupied in writing a history of his life. The events of the three last months shew how well founded were these assertions.—It may take longer time in America to mature his plans than it did in his last retreat; but I cannot suppose that a man of his active and enterprising disposition will, in the very vigour of life, feel much disposed to renounce the tumult of the world. On bidding adieu to France, where he will be remembered with regret by all who experienced the beneficial effects of his excellent institutions, Napoleon addressed the following proclamation to the army. It is altogether characteristic of this wonderful man:

Malmaison, June 25, 1815.

NAPOLEON TO THE BRAVE SOLDIERS OF THE
ARMY BEFORE PARIS.

Soldiers! While obeying the necessity which removes me from the brave French army, I carry with me the happy certainty that it will justify, by the imminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers, I shall follow your steps though absent: I know all the corps, and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it shall have displayed. Both you and me have been calumniated. Men very unfit to appreciate our labours have seen, in the marks of attachment which you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object. Let your future successes tell them, that it was the country above all things which you served by obeying me, and that if I have any share in your affection I owe it to my ardent love for France, our common mother. Soldiers!—Some efforts more and the coalition is dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are going to strike. Save the honour, the independence of the French—be to the last the same men that I have known in you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

DEFEAT OF THE ALGERINE FLEET BY
THE AMERICANS.

Our base newspaper writers are so much occupied with enforcing the necessity of cutting the throats of all the Jacobins in France, that they cannot spare a moment to think, far less to write, on the signal triumph of America, which her invincible fleet has just obtained over the European pirates. This great achieve-

ment of the real sons of liberty against one of the "legitimate Monarchs," does not, I dare say, go well down with our corruptionists; but that is a principal reason why I should not lose sight of it. While all the regular governments of Europe were acknowledging their *inferiority*, by sending annual presents to the Dey of Algiers, the Americans fitted out a squadron to annihilate this *Royal* pirate. The Algerine fleet was discovered on the coast of Spain. It was attacked by the Yankee fleet without any hesitation. The Americans took the admiral's ship, a frigate of the largest size; drove another on shore and destroyed her; the rest escaped only in consequence of a calm, which enabled them to use their oars. This is certainly a proper method of treating these royal nuisances. But we do not see that this *civilized* part of the world are disposed to consider them in that light. They have shewn no inclination to assist the Americans in driving them out. Perhaps they are too much occupied at present with *delivering France*, to think of *delivering Europe*. However, I am quite satisfied that the Americans are able to do the business without them. I should not be surprised, indeed, if things would take a different turn. I would not wonder, after what I have seen; after the assistance we have given to restore the *shore of Babylon*, the Inquisition, and the lazy voluptuous nuns and friars to their former power and ease; if a treaty offensive and defensive had been concluded between the Autocrat of Algiers, the Autocrats of Russia, Prussia, &c. &c., and that the Americans were to find themselves involved in a war against these powers, who may probably afford a powerful contingent to their *Royal Ally*.—But even this will be of little consequence. After the American seamen gave such a lesson as they did to the boasted "sovereigns of the sea," there can be no apprehension as to the result of any war which may occur with the whole maritime force of the world.—There is an energy which liberty gives to its champions, that renders its cause invincible when opposed to tyranny; and the extirpation of the royal nest of African pirates, is an act which will be recorded in the page of history to the eternal honour of the American people, while the long endurance of this

haughty and barbarous race, will for ever reflect disgrace on the nations of Europe.

THE FRENCH ARMIES.

It is clear that, up to the moment in which I write (Friday) no part of the army of France, at least no considerable part of it, has returned to, what is called, its allegiance to its ancient monarchs. We have accounts from Paris so late as *Tuesday* last, in which it is stated, that, so far from the soldiers declaring, as was lately said, for the king, "a sanguinary action" has taken place within 20 leagues of "Paris, between the corps d'armée of General Lamarque and a Prussian corps. The castle of Vincennes continues to refuse to submit to the king. It is said that the army under the command of "General Rapp, has effected its junction with the army of the Loire."—But this is not all. The PEASANTS and the National Guards have shewn resistance to the Russians in their advance.—"The advanced guard of the Russian army, which had been stopped at Chateau Thierry, by the resistance of several thousand peasants and National Guards, who thought they could dispute with it the passage of the Marne, has surmounted those obstacles and continued its march towards Paris."—The reader will observe that these accounts are given in papers now under the controul of the Bourbons, and, therefore, that they cannot be supposed to be telling us any thing not true, unfavourable to the royal cause. They appear, indeed, to be concealing, rather than exaggerating the truth.—They tell us of a "sanguinary action" with the Prussians, but they do not say how this terminated. They speak of the resistance of the peasants to the Russians, but they give us no particulars of the conflict. If these are proofs of the attachment and love of the French people for the race of the Bourbons, I should like to be told what name ought to be affixed to the reception which the whole French nation gave to Napoleon when he returned from Elba?

DISSOLUTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY. —ENTRANCE OF LOUIS XVIII. INTO PARIS.

I closed the sketch of the proceedings of the French Legislature, given in my

last, with an account of what had passed in both Chambers up to the 4th inst. On that day, the most animated and interesting discussions took place. The sittings in both houses opened with reading the following message from the Provisional Government:—

M. PRESIDENT.—When the Representatives of the People confided to us the Government we accepted it, but we did not know the extent of the evils which have befallen us. In vain have we attempted to repel the storm—in spite of all the heroic efforts of our troops, and the entire devotion of the National Guard, we have found it impossible to prevent the Allies penetrating to Paris, either by force or negotiations. We have preferred the latter measure, not to compromise the fate of the capital by a precarious combat against superior numbers, hourly receiving reinforcements. Under these circumstances, we have the pleasure to announce to you, that in avoiding the effusion of blood we have neither sacrificed the principles of our political Government, nor the glory of the French arms.

On the message being read in the Chamber of Representatives, *M. Garat*, in an animated speech, compared the then situation of France to that of England during the reign of William III. when the Bill of Rights was obtained. “It was a shield,” (said the speaker) “to prevent the usurpation of William III. who had himself strove against Louis XIV. and arrested his victories. This parliamentary statute is the *Pharos* of British liberty. I have every confidence in the Allies, particularly the English, to whom we have paid the compliment of following their example. Yes! we *will* have the liberty of choosing our own Constitution.—I wish, therefore, at this moment, to give the nation something like that Bill of Rights which is the glory of the English.” *M. Garat* then read a series of articles, entitled, *Declaration of the Rights of the French People*. These were referred to a Committee, and on the 5th, after long debates, the Declaration was adopted, and an Address to the French People, in name of the Government Commission, ordered to be printed. The Chamber of Peers also concurred in these measures. The following are copies of these interesting documents:—

DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The troops of the Allied Powers are going to occupy the capital. The Chamber of Representatives will nevertheless continue to sit in the midst of the inhabitants of Paris, where the express will of the People called together its delegates. But under the present important circumstances, the Chamber of Representatives owes to itself, to France, to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and of its principles. It declares then that it makes a solemn appeal to the fidelity and to the patriotism of the Parisian national guard, charged with the protection of the national representation. It declares that it reposes with the highest confidence on the principles of morality and honour, on the magnanimity of the Allied Powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so positively expressed in their manifestoes. It declares that the Government of France, whoever may be its chief, ought to unite the wishes of the nation legally expressed, and to assimilate itself to other Governments to become a common bond, and the guarantee of peace between France and Europe. It declares that a monarch cannot offer substantial guarantees unless he swears to observe a Constitution deliberated upon by the national representation, and accepted by the people. Therefore, every government which shall have no other titles except acclamations, and the will of one party, or which shall not be imposed by force: every government which shall not adopt the national colours and shall not guarantee—

- The liberty of the subject;
- Equality of civil and political rights;
- The liberty of the press;
- The liberty of worship;
- The representative system;
- Free assent to levies of men and taxes;
- The responsibility of ministers;
- The irrevocability of the sales of national property, whatever its origin;
- The inviolability of property, the abolition of tythes, of the old and new hereditary nobility, and of feudality;
- The abolition of all confiscation of goods;
- Entire oblivion of political opinions and votes given up to this time;
- The institution of the Legion of Honour.
- The compensation due to officers and soldiers;
- The aid due to their widows and their children;
- The institution of juries;
- The irrevocability of judges;
- The payment of the national debt;
- The Government which shall not guarantee all

these, will only have an ephemeral existence, and will not secure the peace of France and Europe. Should the basis laid down in this declaration be disregarded or violated, the representatives of the French people acquitting themselves this day of a sacred duty, protest beforehand in the face of the whole world, against violence and usurpation. They confide the maintenance of the principles which they proclaim to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberty, in fine, to future generations.

(Signed) LANJUINAIS, President.

DUMOLARD,
BEDOCK,
CLEMONT, (of Doubs) } Secretaries.
HELLO,

PROCLAMATION OF THE COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT TO THE FRENCH.

FRENCHMEN,—In the difficult circumstances when the reins of the State were confided to us, it was not in our power to master the course of events, and to remove all dangers; but it became our duty to defend the interests of the people and of the army, equally compromised in the cause of a Prince, abandoned by fortune and the national will. It became our duty to preserve to the country the precious remains of those brave legions whose courage is superior to reverses, and who have been the victims of a devotedness which the country now claims. It became our duty to guarantee the capital from the horrors of siege, and the chances of a battle, to maintain the public tranquillity in the midst of the tumult and agitations of war, to support the hopes of the friends of liberty, in the midst of the fears and inquietudes of a suspicious fore-sight; above all it became our duty to stop the useless effusion of blood: it was necessary to choose an assured national existence, or to run the risk of exposing the country and its citizens to a general subversion, which would have left neither hope nor futurity. None of the means of defence which time and our resources allowed, nothing that the service of the camps and of the city required was neglected. While the pacification of the West was finishing, Plenipotentiaries repaired to the Allied Powers, and all the documents of their negotiation have been laid before your representatives. The fate of the capital is settled by a convention. Its inhabitants, whose firmness, courage, and perseverance are above all praise, form its guard. The declarations of the Sovereigns of Europe should inspire too much confidence, their promises have been too solemn, to excite a fear that our liberties and our dearest interests can be sacrificed to victory. In a word

we shall receive guarantees which will prevent those alternate and temporary triumphs of factions that have agitated us for five and twenty years, which will terminate our revolution, and confound in a common protection all the parties to which it has given birth, and all those which it has combatted. The guarantees which hitherto have only existed in our courage, we shall find in our laws, our constitution, and in our representative system; for whatever may be the intelligence, the personal qualities of the monarch, they are not sufficient to put the people out of the reach of the oppression of power, the prejudices of pride, the injustice of courts, and the ambition of courtiers. Frenchmen, peace is necessary to your commerce, to your arts, to the amelioration of your manners, to the development of your remaining resources; be united, and you reach the end of your miseries. The repose of Europe is inseparable from yours. Europe is interested in your tranquillity, and your happiness.

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO, President.

Next day, the 6th, after some resolutions had been agreed to respecting the pay of the army, *M. Dupont* spoke as follows:—"When in your memorable sitting of yesterday, you solemnly proclaimed your political principles, it was not merely your intention to give the nation a new pledge of fidelity—you wished to make known at the same time your sentiments to the Allied Sovereigns, and the high confidence which you entertain in their justice and magnanimity. They will hear your language with a noble interest, for it is worthy of them and of the nation whom you represent. They have more than once announced their wish to respect the independence of the French people. It would be insulting them to fear that they wish to impose on us a Government by force of arms, or to favour a party who might attempt to prevent the wishes of the nation, and to substitute the acclamations of a few individuals to the free expression of the general wish. It appears to me necessary, therefore, in order that your declaration should produce all the effects which you have a right to expect from it, that it be carried to the Allied Monarchs by a Deputation chosen from yourselves. The French people will see in this solemn proceeding a new proof of your patriotic solicitude. The High Powers will also

"find the most striking testimony of your unbounded confidence in their declaration."

The proposition was unanimously supported and adopted, and ordered to be printed; after which, the House proceeded to consider the project of a new Constitution, when *M. Manuel*, in name of the Committee, submitted the following report:—

Men (said he) are not a sufficient guarantee for States, a durable security can alone be found in Institutions. For twenty-five years France has been the victim of factions and despotism; in Institutions alone she must seek an asylum against the disorders and the abuses to which she has been a prey. To rally themselves under a Constitution, has, for a people, the double advantage of attaching them to a fixed point, and giving a strength to them of which their enemies may be in awe. History informs us that by the mere force of their institutions, nations in antiquity were enabled to give laws at the very moment when they were vanquished. The twenty-five years which we have passed are twenty-five ages of experience. But the labours of your Committee were full of difficulty, from the number of opposite principles, and of different interests to conciliate. We have not aimed at an imaginary perfection: Utopia has given rise to too many errors. We are destined to give laws not to an uncreated world, but to France, such as it is, in its vast social reports. The mode of Government must offer by guarantees and mutual concessions a just equilibrium between the popular power and that of the Monarch, nothing could be established were we not to consult the public opinion and the general spirit which is diffused. Those who give laws to a people, that they may be durable, ought to follow to a certain point the movement and the inclination of that opinion. This has been proved by experience. A sage combination in public transactions, and a reciprocal guarantee between the people and the Monarch, are the safeguards of liberty and stability; for if one power preponderates, it can only be obtained by a revolution. Fortunately we have profited by our experience; our enthusiasm is calmed, and social reason is unfortunately seated at present on numberless ruins; this reason demands mutual sacrifices; on this basis the present system rests. The form of Government could not be doubtful. A Republic might seduce elevated souls; but it does not suit a great people in the present state of our societies. A Constitutional Monarchy was alone fit for France, and we propose it to you. The division of the

legislative power into two Chambers, has suited every opinion: but shall there be an upper Chamber? A Chamber of Peers? Shall the Peers be for life? Shall they be hereditary? Some conciliatory means have been proposed: your wisdom will decide respecting them. However, the Committee is of opinion that a hereditary peerage, both for the interest of the people and the Monarch, is the institution which presents the greatest number of obstacles in the way of the abuse of power. The suppression of the ancient and modern Noblesse has appeared necessary, and such was your opinion in your sitting of yesterday. The Monarchy, however, requires this sort of institution, and the difficulty is perhaps resolved in the institution of the peerage, a species of privilege conceived in such a manner that it does not present the inconveniencies of the ancient institutions, while it preserves the real advantages. The Committee was of opinion that they ought to be hereditary and unlimited in point of number, to form a necessary counterpoise between the monarchical and democratical part of the Constitution. With respect to the additional guarantees, *M. Manuel* observed, first, that neither the Monarch nor the presumptive heir could command the armies; we shall no longer then have to dread the misfortunes which we have so recently experienced. The suppression of the Noblesse offers, for the reasons above assigned, an additional guarantee to the rights of all the citizens. Another guarantee was, that no officer should be deprived of his rank without a previous judgment. Finally, *M. Manuel* observed, that the Committee recommended the abolition of the Slave Trade.

The rest of the sitting was occupied with discussions on the different articles of the Constitution. Next day, the 7th, the discussions were resumed, during which the following message was received.

M. President—We have hitherto had reason to believe that the intentions of the Allied Sovereigns were not unanimous respecting the choice of the Prince who is to reign in France—our Plenipotentiaries, on their return, gave us the same assurances; however, the Ministers and the Generals of the Allied powers declared yesterday in the conferences which they had with the President of the Commission—that all the Sovereigns had engaged to *replate Louis XVIII. on the throne*; and that he is to make his public entry into the capital this evening or to-morrow. The foreign troops have just occupied the *Tuilleries*, the seat of the Government. In this state of things, we can do no more than form wishes for our country; and our deliberations being no longer

free, we think it our duty to separate. Marshal the Prince of Eckmühl and the Prefect of the Seine, have been charged with the preservation of public order, safety, and tranquillity. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO,
COMTE GRENIER,
QUINETTE,
CARNOT,
CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.

Paris, July 7, 1815.

In the Chamber of Peers, where a similar message was read, the members rose spontaneously, and retired without any deliberation.

In the Chamber of Representatives, *M. Manuel* proposed that the Chamber should continue its sitting, and await the result, whatever it might be. "One or two things will happen," said he; "either the enemy will respect your independence, and if the words of Kings are not vain, all hope would not be forbidden; or they will forget what they have declared; they will expel the national representation from this place. Let us, then, repeat an expression formerly employed, and which resounded throughout all Europe—We were sent hither by our constituents, and nothing but bayonets shall remove us."—His proposal was loudly applauded, and after a few remarks from some of the members the Chamber passed to the pure and simple order of the day on the subject of "this message."—The discussions on the Constitution then occupied the house, and the sitting closed with a determination to resume the subject next morning at ten o'clock. But in this they were prevented; for, at break of day (as triumphantly stated in the *Times* newspaper) General Desolles, the Commander of the National Guard, took the liberty of locking up both the Chambers."—This locking up of doors is certainly, to say the least of it, a *summary* proceeding, particularly when all the bridges of the city were bristling with British and Prussian cannon. There is no use in appealing to Vattall, or Montesquieu, or Gratius, in opposition to such powerful arguments as these. They are quite convincing. It does not appear, however, what became of the members of either of the Chambers. They were composed of unquestionably the ablest men in France; and if Louis means

to convoke a new Chamber of Representatives, there can be no doubt that the nation will return these very same members. If so, a more conclusive proof of the opinion of the people as to their late conduct cannot be given.

Louis XVIII. entered Paris on the 8th.—The following account of this event is given in the *Moniteur*, which again announces itself to be "the only official paper."

Paris, July 9.—Yesterday the King made his public entry into his capital at three o'clock in the afternoon. His Majesty left St. Dennis at two o'clock. Numerous detachments from the National Guards of Paris went to meet the King, and to range themselves among the faithful adherents who served to form his Majesty's retinue. No ceremonial had, however, been ordered. The public enthusiasm and brilliant testimonies of general joy alone embellished this family festival. The King's carriage was preceded and followed by his military household. Around it we observed several Marshals, followed by a great number of General Officers, who had always accompanied the King. The inhabitants of Paris and the neighbouring towns covered the road. All, as well as the National Guard, had assumed the white cockade, making the air resound with cries of *Vive le Roi!* Count Chabrol, Prefect of the Seine, accompanied by the Municipal Body, waited the arrival of the King at the barrier of St. Denis. At four o'clock the acclamations of an immense multitude announced the approach of a procession, which defiled amidst a thousand times repeated cries of *Vive le Roi!* His Majesty's carriage having reached the external boundary of the city, the Prefect approached and addressed the King in the following speech:—

SIRE,—One hundred days have passed away since your Majesty, forced to tear yourself from your dearest affections, left your capital amidst tears and public consternation. In vain did the Municipal Body of your good city of Paris raise the unanimous cry of faithful subjects. They announced to all Frenchmen the imminent evils with which they were menaced. But there are moments in which Heaven does not permit the voice of Magistrates to be heard. It was not in their power to prevent an error which has proved too fatal. The unchaining of the passions, the destructive disturbance of public tranquillity,

the interruption of commerce and industry, the withdrawing of labour from agriculture, the draining of the treasury,—civil war and foreign invasion, brought on by the force of circumstances, have at once afflicted your people. Heaven, Sire, is overcharged with vengeance, and restores you only to pardon us. Your Majesty interposes between Europe and your people, to give them peace, and to reconcile them anew to all nations. Your Majesty will hasten to gather together and re-unite the dispersed elements of the political body. Why cannot citizens, Frenchmen, united by the same character, and by the same language, restrain the passions which were appeased? Would these soldiers, so long glorious by their triumphs, now tear the bosom of their country, and become public enemies? No, Sire, the passions are calmed in generous hearts, which are open to more gentle sentiments. Reason is heard, and love of our country and our King will complete the rest. A period of 25 years marked by so many vicissitudes, and like all epochs of history, by glory and reverses, cannot be preferred to the recollection of eight centuries, which have revolved under the sceptre of our Kings, counted by long intervals of prosperity, marked in all times by the moderation and the bounty of the Sovereigns of your august dynasty. Frenchmen, in every part of the Kingdom, if the example of the capital, which has always been of such great weight, can still guide you, you will see it on the day which has followed these storms, calm amidst the numerous efforts which have been made to agitate it; forgetting all discords, abjuring the spirit of party, and hastening around a king, who, as a first pledge of his return, has proclaimed new guarantees for your happiness, and the establishment of institutions calculated to secure a wise liberty and the welfare of France. Let us protest to him, according to the wish of his heart, that the passions are about to be tranquillised, that the children of the great family are about to approach him, and will henceforth only have one rallying cry—*Vive le Roi! Vive Louis XVIII. Vivent les Bourbons!*

The delivery of this speech was followed by the loudest transports of joy. His Majesty appeared to feel sensibly the sentiments which had been expressed. He intimated his wish to speak, and the following words delivered in the most gracious and touching accents, were listened to amidst the most profound silence:—

In removing from Paris I experienced the greatest sorrow and regret. Testimonies of the fidelity of my good city of Paris reached me. I

return with emotion. I foresaw the misfortunes with which it was threatened; it is my wish to prevent and repair them.

The procession proceeded through the Fauxbourg St. Denis and the Boulevards. The whole population was directed to the road by which the King came, and his Majesty alighted at the Thuilleries, having heard only an uninterrupted continuation of prayers and acclamations. In the evening the whole town was spontaneously illuminated in the most brilliant manner. Numerous groups passed through the streets, calling *Vive le Roi!* There was dancing in all the Fauxbourgs. The air *Vive Henri IV.* was every where heard, and was intermixed with popular extempore songs, suited to the occasion. The rejoicings were continued to a late hour.

The first, as it was the most necessary, act of Louis's government, was to appoint minister's. The following is the decree by which they were nominated:—

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, &c.—Wishing to give our Ministry a character of solidity and unity, which will inspire our subjects with a just confidence, we ordain as follows:—

Prince TALLEYRAND to be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Baron LOUIS, Finances.

Duc d'OTRANTO, Police.

Baron PASQUIER, Justice.

Marshal St. CYR, Secretary at War.

Comte JAUCOUPE, Marine.

Duc de RICHELIEU, Household.

Baron PASQUIER will hold provisionally the Office of the Interior.

Given at Paris in the 21st year of our Reign.

LOUIS.

By the King, Prince TALLEYRAND.

Our vile newspapers, particularly the *Times* and *Courier*, are furious at the Duke of Otranto (Fouche) holding so conspicuous a place in this list. There is no bounds to their abuse. It even surpasses all the low and vulgar language, which they formerly used in speaking of Napoleon. They talk of the "true features of sovereignty." But there is no mistaking this. With these base calumniators it means, to cut the throats of every one who had been any way concerned in the return of Napoleon. To cut off every head that had been decorated with a tri-coloured cockade, would, indeed, have displayed in very striking colours, what these hirelings call the "true features of

sovereignty." It does not, however, appear at present, to be the intention of the Allied *Deliverers* to make the experiment. They will have enough on hand, while they remain at Paris to preserve what is called, "the tranquillity of France."—It will be sometime before we are well acquainted with the precise form of government, which is meant to be imposed upon the French people. But if it is again attempted to establish an absolute monarchy; to give to Louis the power which he recently exercised so much to the general dissatisfaction, if the order of things is to be restored which occasioned his expulsion, and which renders the Bourbon name so unpopular in France, it will require no great penetration to discover that the struggle betwixt despotism and the rights of the people, will be far from being at a close. Even the disasters of the French armies, these very disasters, which our corrupt press exultingly holds up as a proof of the *entire subjugation* of the country, and the utter extermination of light and liberty in Europe. These very calamities have proved the means of opening the eyes of the people, of disclosing the true principles of freedom, and of giving these principles a more extensive circulation in France, and in all Europe, than what they would have had even under the sway of Napoleon. His overthrow, therefore, in producing this happy effect, ought to be looked upon as a great advantage, and a legitimate ground of exultation to the friends of liberty. The long and ruinous contest in which the enemies of France have been engaged, for the purpose of forcing a Government upon her, has only served to shew the weakness of their efforts, and the extreme folly of waging interminable war with opinions. These *must* prevail. The eternal and irrevocable laws of nature have so regulated it, in spite of all the attempts of priests and kings to arrest the progress of truth. The sword, drawn against the independence of nations, may be powerful for a season, in the hands of a barbarous and unlettered soldiery. But mankind do not always continue in that state, nor does the human mind retrograde. Accustomed to hear the principles of liberty discussed, men soon acquire a relish for them, and although this may not have the immediate effect of inducing them to revolt against their leaders, or to abandon any enter-

prize in which they may be engaged, it must finally lead them to assert their own independence. Such was the effect which the American war had upon the soldiers of France, and such, it is fair to presume, will be the effect of the present war upon many individuals in those foreign armies which now occupy her soil. Whether the allied Sovereigns, dreading this effect on their troops, may be disposed to abandon their pretensions, and to allow the people of France to exercise their natural rights, is a point yet to be determined. But it is not the less certain, that light and liberty will prevail over darkness and despotism, and that the more the patriot and the supporter of liberal principles is traduced and persecuted, the more has he reason to expect that these principles will ultimately triumph.

THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS AT PARIS.—JOY OF THE PARISIANS.

The Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia are now at Paris, with Prince Blucher, the inimitable the gallant Prince Blucher, and the *immortal* Wellington, giving eclat to the return of *Louis le Desiré* to the throne of his ancestors, their most Catholic Majesties the Kings of France. What a pity it is that our *beloved* Prince Regent is not there, to receive the *fraternal* embrace of these mighty conquerors. I hope his Royal Highness is not tainted with *jealousy*, otherwise it is possible that he might envy the felicity, which his brother monarchs must, at this moment, be enjoying in the heart-felt gratulations of the Parisians, who, according to the Paris journals, are now more devoted than ever to their lawful sovereign, and more enraptured than they were last year, with their *deliverers* from the yoke of Napoleon. It is said in the *Gazette de France* of the 11th inst. that "during the whole of the preceding day, the air never ceased to resound with cries of *Vive le Roi!* A great number of young men walked in a body with white streamers and white flags, on which were designed different emblems of the kingdom. Almost all were decorated not only with white cockades, but with large tufts of white ribbons. Some even bore the portrait of the King. This *joyful* column, which occupied the whole length of the terrace of the Cas-
tle, several times crossed the Rue de

"Rivoli, and assembled in the Garden and on the terraces. The people, the women, young persons, and men themselves, formed dances and rings, in which were manifested the most *lively gaiety* and the most *pure joy*. This *gaiety*, this *enthusiasm*, proceeded from the *heart*; there was neither music, illumination, or any distribution of catables; nothing to surprise the imagination. The King showed himself several times, and sentiments of affection, the *most unequivocal* burst forth on his appearance." One would have thought that joy like this, that *pure joy*, *gaiety*, and enthusiasm, which came from the *heart*, and which could not fail to be highly gratifying to the adored king, would, in some degree, have composed the perturbed spirits of our antijacobin scribblers, and led them to forget, in the general joy, their late incessant and reiterated calls for blood. But no; nothing less will satisfy these wretches than the complete degradation of France, the putting to death its most useful and valuable artisans, and the subjecting it to the government of men chosen by this country. In short, France, according to them, ought to be treated as a *conquered* country.—The *Courier* of last night has a long article upon this subject, in which, after insinuating in pretty plain terms, that the Emperor Alexander, and the Emperor Francis, were mere "auxiliaries" in the business, and that Great Britain and Prussia were entitled to *claim* "the fame of having put down Bonaparte's power, and taken the French capital;" this prostituted journal concludes its philippic in the following strain—a strain which if it does not merit attention here, is at least entitled to the attention of the *people* of France.

Before we conclude this article, we must press two points most earnestly. One is, that the Allied Cabinets will resist all attempts made by any party in France to sow jealousy and discord among them. That such attempts will be made, they must be prepared to expect. They will be made by the discomfited Bonapartists and Jacobins: they will be made even by the *Royalists*, who may hope to obtain better terms from any opposition between the views and principles of the different Monarchs. All the manœuvres of M. de Talleyrand's bureau may be expected to be put in motion. Any praise of magnanimity which the Allies may deserve on the part of France, can only be purchased at the expence of the real and

permanent security and independence of Europe. —*Union and Promptitude!* should be their motto—No lingering negotiations—no deferring the final arrangement to distant Congress. Let the work be done at Paris and without delay. They have France now under their *absolute control*, and when persons insist upon the *parcere subjectis*, we say the business now is *de bellare superbo*. We all recollect the language and pretensions of the French after the peace of Paris last year—their anxiety for war, their opposition to their Sovereign, solely because he wished to remain at peace. *Let us now put it out of their power to go to war whatever may be their inclination.*—The second point relates personally to the King of France—Let him not give himself up too absolutely to the professions and promises, the *Henry quatres* and the *Vire le Rois* of the Boulevards, and the Squares and the Theatres. The Parisians are an inconstant race. They have always a *Vire* ready; and their throats which are now strained for the King, have been as loudly strained for any and all the tyrants that have vexed the world for the last quarter of a century. They did nothing to prevent the King's departure in March—did nothing to accelerate his return in July. They huzzaed Bonaparte at the Champ de Mars; and after his return from the slaughter of a whole army, he was suffered to walk about Paris just as if he had been the most innocent being existing. Equally distrustful should the King be of the prime agents of Bonaparte. What necessity exists for this second admission of so many of them into his cabinet we know not—we cannot conceive. It must be a strong one indeed. The majority of his Ministers have been Bonaparte's agents. Besides Talleyrand, and Fouché, and St. Cyr, we now find that we were mistaken in supposing that Jaucour and Pasquier have not held places under the revolutionary regime—Pasquier was Prefect of the Police."

CLOSE OF THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.—JULY 12.

At two o'clock, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent entered the House of Lords. The Usher of the Black Rod was immediately dispatched to the House of Commons, requiring their attendance. The Speaker and a great number of Members accordingly made their appearance in a few minutes. As soon as the Speaker had reached the bar, he pronounced the following speech:—

May it please your Royal Highness,
We His Majesty's faithful subjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in obedience to your Royal Highness's commands, attend your

Royal Highness; and, according to our ancient privilege, we crave leave to present with our own hands our grant of supply, which concludes the labours of the session. In the ordinary course of our proceedings, much of our time has been occupied in discussing measures of great importance to the State, with respect to its agriculture, shipping, and finances. We have endeavoured so to regulate the corn laws with prudence and firmness, that protection and encouragement may be given to the agricultural interests of every part of the United Kingdom, without endangering the prosperity of our trade and manufactures. We have endeavoured also to derive new means of maritime strength from the valuable resources of our Indian possessions; and after devising and preparing such plans for adjusting the public revenue and expenditure, as might suit a period of returning peace, we have been called upon by unlooked-for events, to renew our exertions and sacrifices upon the most extended scale of war. Scarcely had we closed our contest with America, and scarcely had the Congress of Vienna laid the first foundation of those arrangements, which were destined to consolidate the peace of Europe, when, in direct contravention of the most solemn engagements, the disturber of Europe, and destroyer of the human race, re-appeared upon the throne of France, and the world was once more in arms. In the short space of three months, by rapid strides, the fate of Europe has been again brought to issue; and the conflict was tremendous, but the result has been glorious. The most warlike nations, headed by the most renowned commanders have met in battle; and as Britons, we have the triumphant satisfaction to know (however much that triumph may be saddened with private grief), that it is now no longer doubtful to what name, and to what nation, the world will henceforth ascribe the pre-eminence for military skill and unconquerable valour. To consecrate the trophies, and perpetuate the fame of our brave countrymen who fell in that unrivalled victory, we have declared it to be our ardent desire, and it will be the distinguishing glory of your Royal Highness's days, to erect in the metropolis of this empire, such a lofty and durable monument of their military renown, and our national gratitude, as may command the veneration of our latest posterity. Great however and glorious as this Victory has been in itself, it is not to the joint exertions and heroic achievements of the British and Prussian arms in that memorable conflict, that we must limit our admiration. We have also to contemplate with equal pride and satisfaction its immediate consequences, military, political and moral.

We have seen the illustrious Commanders of the Allied Armies advancing at once into the heart of France; and Paris twice conquered, has again opened her gates to the conquerors. The Usurper of a Throne, which he has twice abdicated, has sought his safety in an ignominious flight, and the rightful Sovereign of France has once more resumed the Sceptre of his Ancestors. With these awful scenes passing before us, we may presume also to hope, that the period is not now distant, when the hand of Providence will finally extinguish the remaining effects of that guilty and perfidious spirit of domination which has so long raged without controul, and restore to desolated Europe the blessings of peace and justice. But, Sir, whatever may be the final issue of these great transactions, we look forward with confidence to their satisfactory conclusion, under the auspices of your Royal Highness; and we doubt not of the happiest results, from the same councils which have planned, and the same hands that have executed, those wise and vigorous measures which have hitherto been crowned with such signal success. On our part, it is our humble duty to strengthen the means of your Royal Highness's Government; and towards effectuating that purpose, we, his Majesty's faithful Commons, do this day present to your Royal Highness a Bill, intitled 'An Act for enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of Six Millions for the Service of Great Britain.' To which, with all humility, we intreat his Majesty's Royal Assent.

The public business having thus been completed, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent addressed both Houses in the following terms:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I cannot close this Session of Parliament without again expressing my deep regret at the continuance of His Majesty's lamented indisposition. At the commencement of the present Session I entertained a confident hope, that the Peace which I had concluded in Conjunction with His Majesty's Allies would meet with no interruption; that, after so many years of continued Warfare and of unexampled calamity, the Nations of Europe would be allowed to enjoy that repose for which they had been so long contending; and that your efforts might be directed to alleviate the burthens of His Majesty's people, and to adopt such measures as might best promote the internal prosperity of his dominions. These expectations were disappointed by an act of violence and perfidy of which no parallel can be found in history. The usurpation of the Supreme Authority in France by Bonaparte, in consequence of the defection of the French armies from their legiti-

mate sovereign, appeared to me to be so incompatible with the general security of other countries, as well as with the engagements to which the French nation had recently been a party, that I felt I had no alternative but to employ the military resources of his Majesty's dominions, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, to prevent the re-establishment of a system which experience had proved to be the source of such incalculable woes to Europe. Under such circumstances you will have seen with just pride and satisfaction the splendid success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless His Majesty's arms and those of his Allies. Whilst the glorious and ever memorable Victory obtained at Waterloo, by Field Marshals the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blücher, has added fresh lustre to the characters of those great Commanders, and has exalted the military reputation of this country beyond all former example, it has at the same time produced the most decisive effects on the operations of the war, by delivering from invasion the dominions of the King of the Netherlands, and by placing, in the short space of fifteen days, the city of Paris and a large part of the kingdom of France in the military occupation of the Allied armies. Amidst events so important, I am confident you will see how necessary it is, that there should be no relaxation in our exertions, until I shall be enabled, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, to complete those arrangements which may afford the prospect of permanent peace and security of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons.—I thank you for the very liberal provision you have made for the service of the present year. I deeply lament the continuance and increase of those burthens which the great military exertions of the present campaign, combined with the heavy arrears remaining due for the expenses of the former war, have rendered indispensable, and which his Majesty's loyal subjects, from a conviction of their necessity, have sustained with such exemplary fortitude and cheerfulness. You have already seen, however, the fruit of the exertions which have been made; and there can be no doubt that the best economy will be found to result from that policy which may enable us to bring the contest to the most speedy determination.

My Lords and Gentlemen.—The brilliant and rapid success of the Austrian arms at the opening of the Campaign has led to the restoration of the kingdom of Naples to its ancient Sovereign, and to the deliverance of that important portion of Italy from foreign influence and dominion. I have further the satisfaction of acquainting you, that the authority of his Most Christian Majesty has been again acknowledged in his Capital, to which his Majesty has himself repaired. The restoration of peace between this country and the United States of America has been followed by a negotiation for a Commercial Treaty, which I have every reason to hope will be terminated upon conditions calculated to cement the good understanding subsisting between the two countries, and equally beneficial to the interests of both. I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the labours of the Congress at Vienna have been brought to a conclusion by the signature of

a Treaty, which, as the ratifications have not yet been exchanged, could not be communicated to you, but which I expect to be enabled to lay before you when I next meet you in Parliament. I cannot release you from your attendance without assuring you, that it is in a great degree to the support which you have afforded me, that I ascribe the success of my earnest endeavours for the public welfare; and on no occasion has that support been more important than in the course of the present Session. In the further prosecution of such measures as may be necessary to bring the great contest in which we are engaged to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion, I shall rely with confidence on the experienced zeal and steady loyalty of all classes of his Majesty's subjects; and they may depend on my efforts to improve our present advantages in such manner as may best provide for the general tranquillity of Europe, and maintain the high character which this country enjoys among the nations of the world. Then the Lord Chancellor, by the Prince Regent's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen.—It is the will and pleasure of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 22d day of August next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 22d day of August next.

ON HEARING OF THE SURRENDER OF PARIS.

"This is the last act of the French Revolution."
CARNOT.

And ends it thus indeed?—O direful close!
When beauteous France lies prostrate to her foes:
To numerous hordes from Europe's northern bound,

Who tread with rapid step her holy ground;
That land, where Freedom late her altar rear'd,
Her banner—proudly waving—once appear'd,
And like a meteor thro' the vault of night,
Drew the long blaze to cheer the wondering sight.

—Ye lifeless martyrs of your country's cause,
For ye my heart still beats with warm applause;
If your blest shades this final act may know
(Forseen how little in these realms below!)
Some sorrow on your heavenly joys may steal!
For patriot shades may patriot sorrows feel.—
With anxious mind, since France her shackles broke,

When liberty for her in thunder spoke,
Betray'd by treachery, or by tyrant's press'd,
My hopes, thro' all her trials, she possess'd.
—But say, by whom is France to slavery driven?

With what dread power so long hath freedom striven?

For vengeance thirsting, and for patriot blood,
What rancorous nation hath so long withstood.
The crime of freedom for her murder'd sons?

—..... comes!—and all the horror owns!

With stupid joy, the brutal triumph claims,
AND STANDS THE FIRST OF EUROPE'S DESPOT NAMES.

9th July, 1815.

J. M.

TO CORRESPONDENTS

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Botley, near Southampton, 16 July, 1815.

Since my last address, under this title, I have received the following letter from the *City of Albany*, in the State of New York, accompanied with the *suit of clothes* therein mentioned. I insert my *answer* here below, the main object with me, in all these cases, being to produce some effect, if possible, on the public mind; to give to knowledge and truth some small degree of circulation, which they would not otherwise obtain.

"Albany, April 10, 1815.

"SIR,—As a Committee in behalf of a number of the republican citizens of the City of Albany, we request you to accept of a suit of clothes, made of cloth *manufactured in this State*, from wool *grown within it*.

"This small present is intended as a tribute of respect, for the able, independent, and masterly manner, in which you have edited your Register.

"Had your advice been followed by the statesmen of England, the war, which has just terminated, never would have taken place; but, then, we should not have been able to afford such clear demonstration of the benign effects of the war on the manufactories of this country.

"Permit us to express our deep regret at the * * * * *, set on foot against you; and, at the same time, our admiration of the talents, fortitude, and perseverance, with which you have defended the principles of liberty and the rights of man in both hemispheres.

"With high respect and consideration,

"We are, your obedient servants,
Peter P. DAX,
Philip S. PARKER. } Committee.

To Mr. Wm. Cobbett, England.

ANSWER.

Botley, near Southampton, 16 July, 1815.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg you to communicate my thanks to the Republican Citizens

of ALBANY, and to assure them, that I think myself highly honoured by their present, especially when I take into view the grounds, on which it has been presented, and the enlightened state of the public mind, in the country whence it has traversed the ocean to find me in this obscure village.

Certainly, if my advice had been followed by the Statesmen of England, the late war with America would never have taken place. But, I am far from certain, that, seeing the result, the war has not been, or, at least, will not prove in the end, beneficial to mankind; that is to say, beneficial to the cause of *freedom*; and, that is to say, beneficial to the real representative, or, *self-government*. For, without freedom, what is man better than the beasts of the field. These have an abundance to eat and drink, to wear, and whereon to repose; and, therefore, are not in any wise surpassed in happiness or in dignity by the subjects of despots, whatever names or forms, the despots or the despotism may assume. And, without *real representative government* freedom cannot exist. There are only two states in civil society: one, in which the governed give their assent to the laws; the other, in which laws are made without their assent. The first is a state of freedom; the other a state of slavery. In the one case the people submit to rules agreed on by *themselves*; in the other they submit to a *master*.

The suit of clothes, which you have sent me (which, by the bye, fit me exactly), prove very clearly that you can make as fine and as beautiful broad-cloth as any in the world. Those, to whom I have shewn it, say it is the very finest they ever saw. But, though I rejoice exceedingly at your astonishing progress in this and other branches of manufacture, which, for the reasons given by me in my preface to a republication of Mr. LIVINGTON's work on sheep, I look upon as a change in the affairs of the world, singularly favourable to the happiness of all people, and as unfavourable to the cause of despotism;

still the war has been more beneficial to mankind in another way, the events and the termination of it having clearly proved, that, to defend a country against the most powerful and active and best disciplined enemies, there need neither standing armies, privileged orders, titles, decorations, nor expensive government; provided the *people* be the makers of their own laws, the choosers of their chiefs, and be, at the same time, enlightened in their minds. This is the great, the important, the most useful fact, which the late war has established beyond all dispute.

The pensioned BURKE talked of *titles and privileges* as the *cheap defence of nations*; as if he had forgotten the immense sums of money, with which these are always accompanied. You will see, that nearly a million of dollars have been voted to one of our commanders for one victory, besides nearly two millions before for other military services. These sums would make a deep cut into the whole of your country's revenue for a year. But, while this is going on, it has been stated in Parliament, that the county jails are filled with debtor farmers; and the country swarms with paupers. If, indeed, the pensioned BURKE had seen you, with a PRESIDENT costing 25 thousand dollars a year, and with generals and commodores, unpensioned, untitled, urged on solely by the love of freedom and a sense of duty, not only defending the sacred soil of their country, but performing deeds of heroism without a parallel in the annals of European nations, with all their titles, decorations, and pecuniary rewards: if he had lived to see this; if he had seen the war wound up by a *village-lawyer*, at New Orleans, with a band of raw militia, whose officers even were scarcely in uniform, by defeating, and putting to flight, after an immense slaughter, superior numbers of the best disciplined and bravest and best commauded invaders that Europe ever had to boast of; if he had lived to see this, and to see your brave countryman, JACKSON, without title or pecuniary reward, return, perhaps, again to his occupation at the Bar; then, indeed, the pensioned BURKE might well have exclaimed: *behold, here, the cheap defence of nations.*

It is by establishing, and making known, throughout the world, facts like these; it is by affording such lessons and such examples to mankind, that the late war has

done a good, which far outweighs all the temporary misery which it occasioned. Those lessons and those examples must, in the end, produce their due degree of effect. But, give me leave to avail myself of this opportunity to express my anxious hope, that it will be the constant object, the never-ceasing care, of the people of America, to guard, as they would guard the apple of their eye, those principles of their constitution which forbid the creating of *privileged orders*. To you the introduction of *titles* would be the death of freedom. The very first step towards that fatal measure would be followed by a corruption of manners and every evil of civil society. Whenever men in such a state as your's begin to wish to place themselves and families above the mass of their fellow citizens, they start without restraint in the career of all sorts of baseness. The appellations and epithets of *Squire and Excellency* and *Honour and Honourable*, given amongst you, without thought in general, have a mischievous tendency. What have you to do with these old badges of the feudal times, on these modern inventions of European Courts? The President, the Governor, the Members of Congress, the Secretary, the Ambassador, the Commodore, the General, the Judge, the Sheriff, the Mayor, the Justice, the Doctor, the Priest, if you have one, are sufficiently designated and sufficiently honoured, when they are called by the name of their office. Any thing further smacks of *Aristocracy*, which, wherever great riches are accumulated, requires to be watched as narrowly as those weeds, which, if not checked in time, would completely overtop, subdue, and destroy the crops destined for the food of man.

The happiness of America arises *chiefly* not from the great learning possessed by any part of her citizens, but from the enlightened state of the minds of the *whole population*. This has arisen from the means of education which *all* possess. These means arise, not so much from the superior industry of Americans (for they labour less, far less, than the people of England) as from the cheapness of their government, which may *safely* be cheap, because it is strong in the good sense, the information, freedom, and happiness of the people. Next to your enlightened state of mind comes, as a cause of your happiness, that *moderation* in the desire to amass wealth,

which is the natural consequence of an absence of titles and family distinctions. All the money of Peru would not place either of your sons above the son of your poorest neighbour. Since, therefore, no great end is to be obtained by the possession of wealth, men are less likely to use unjustifiable means in obtaining it, as well as less likely to apply it to a corrupt use, or, to heap it on one child to the ruin of all the rest. Hence that equal distribution of property; hence that stubborn spirit which makes the labourer refuse to call his employer *master*; hence that consciousness of self-worth, which makes meanness and crimes so rare; and hence, in the Americans, that fidelity to their country and their colours, and that contempt for their enemies, which naturally must produce, and which already have produced, such wonderful effects.

Introduce family distinctions and primogenitureship, and all these blessings vanish at once. It would not take ten years after that to fill your country with sinecure place-men, and pensioners, political spies and informers, hired writers, fraudulent and servile domestics and labourers, and paupers too base to be numbered amongst men. If you want an instance of the lengths, to which a thirst after titles and family distinctions will lead men, look at Napoleon. See that wonderful man; that matchless soldier; that wise law-giver; the brave, the generous, the acute, the experienced Napoleon; see him, even to the very last moment of his power; and when he knew that that power was just departing, in all human probability, for ever, from his grasp, still clinging to his unfortunate desire to have *royal descendants*. There can be no question, that it was this desire, and the acts which it produced, that finally have led the kings and their subsidised armies to Paris. When the French people had been used to an *Emperor* for some wars, they were no longer ashamed to sink of receiving a King. The Emperor, by moulding the republic into an empire, prepared it to become a kingdom. This he manifestly did for the sake of *family*; from that accursed motive of *vanity*, which has ruined the reputation of so many really great men, and has plunged so many nations into misery. Guard against the indulgence of it in your country, I beseech you. You are, happily, free from

titles and family distinctions. Make it a rule to look upon every one as an enemy of the country, who makes the smallest attempt to introduce them; and, thus will you keep the scourge from amongst you.

Another evil for you to guard against, is, any increase in the power of the *priesthood*. If you look at Europe, you will see the amount of the evils, which this power has produced. The struggle now in France is, in fact, between the priesthood and freedom of thought. If the enemies of France do not restore the power of the Priesthood, they will do nothing at all, at last, towards the accomplishment of their great object: that is, the eradicating of what they call the Jacobin system. Whenever the Priesthood have power, that power is sure to be employed on the side of what is called "*regular government*;" that is, the keeping of men in order by coercive means. It is very odd, but the fact is so, that even you find priests of all denominations pull together in *this way*, though they are daily and hourly *accusing each other of teaching false doctrine*. Each tells you, that it is sinful not to believe in what he teaches, while he tells you that all other sorts of Priests are to be listened to also, though all those others tell you that he is in the wrong. How can you account for the wonderful zeal of the Protestant clergy of Europe to restore the Pope and Catholic religion? Does not this zeal put the subject in a light so clear as to make it impossible longer to misunderstand it? Does it not shew, that Priests of all denominations, though they pronounce the creed of each other to be damnable, make common cause as towards the people? Does it not show, that they are all on the side of "*strong government*?" Therefore, take care to give them no means of possessing an influence in your political affairs.

Along with your highly valued present came, from London to me at Botley, a present which gave me, I must say, still greater pleasure: I mean a copy of my *Letter to the Cossack Priesthood* of New England, republished at Boston in the form of a Pamphlet, and of which Pamphlet, a note informs me, *five thousand Copies had in several editions been sold*. This has given me singular satisfaction. At the time when I was writing that particular Letter, I thought it was calculated to produce a good effect as far as it went. I

felt inexpressible indignation at perceiving that, amongst the brave, the patriotic, the kind and hospitable, the enlightened and virtuous people, of New England, there should be found men to put up from the pulpit thanksgiving for the fall of him, who had put down the Pope and the Inquisition, and who, to the full extent of his great power, had abolished religious persecution, rooted out superstition, established liberty of conscience and of worship, and had apparently for ever put an end to the frauds, extortions and cruelties of Monkery. This indignation I could not refrain from publicly expressing, and I am uncommonly gratified at perceiving that so large a part of the people of New England entertained the same feeling.

By the same conveyance I received a printed copy of proposals for re-publishing, in an Octavo Volume, by Messrs. BELDEN and Co. of NEW YORK, my *Letters on the late War*. This also has, as may be supposed, given me great pleasure. It is another striking instance of the great power of the *Press*; and it is a proof to me, that my labours are not thrown away. It is another motive to industry. When, after long tugging against wind and tide, the almost exhausted and despairing mariner sees his little bark begin to make a head, courage returns to his heart and strength to his arms; he makes new and greater exertions; and, finally, he overcomes all obstacles. So, I hope, it will be with me. I now see that I have forced great and valuable truths amongst the millions of freemen, who inhabit America, as well as amongst my own countrymen. I feel pride, which I cannot, and which I do not wish to disguise, when I reflect, that what I write in this little village, is, in a few weeks afterwards, read by many millions of people here and in another hemisphere, and those, too, the most enlightened of mankind. I must be, and I am, proud to see these Essays of mine, written, sometimes, in the space of a day, and amidst cares innumerable, and pursuits that demand and receive my attention from daylight to dark, thought worthy of being moulded into Pamphlets and Books. And this gives me the greater pleasure, when I reflect that, no *advertisements*, no *puffs*, no *reviews*; that no extraneous aid of any sort, has ever been resorted to by me; but that my Essays unsupported and un-

protected have been sent forth to find their way throughout the world.

In adverting to the concluding part of your obliging letter, you must have been gratified to see, that what you have so justly characterised in *letters* (and the place of which letters I have supplied by *stars*) did not produce its intended effect; and, while you have, I hope, proofs of its not having either subdued or enfeebled my mind, you will be glad to hear, that I have never experienced one hour of *bodily* illness from the moment of my commitment to prison to this day. The mention of this event of my life puts me in mind of a request, which, I think, I am entitled to make to MR. BELDEN; which is, that, at the head of his intended republication of my *LETTERS*, he will insert the *account of my imprisonment*, which he will find in *all* the numbers of the Register, published in the months of *July, August, September, October and November, 1812*. It is very short, but it contains an account of the *cause of my suffering*, of the *extent* of that suffering, the names of the *Judges and Jurors*, those of the *men in great power* at the time, and other particulars, which, in bare justice to me, ought to be recorded at the head of *every* work of mine, re-published in America; and especially at the head of a work, the first part of which was written, and dated from *Neregate*. That there may be no difficulty in obtaining this account, I will insert it, immediately below this letter; and I shall be obliged to any of the Journalists of America, who will give it insertion, at any time when they may have a spare column. I have also to request, that the republisher of any work from my pen, will be so good as to send a copy for each of my four sons, some one, or more, of whom will, I hope, be able, in time, to make up by the vigour of their minds, for that decline, which must necessarily attend the mind of their father. To them I shall bequeath, above all other things, my hatred of fraudulent tyranny and of priestcraft, and I have the inexpressible satisfaction to feel assured, that it will prosper in their hands. Gentlemen, conceive the pleasure (for I cannot express it), that I experienced at hearing their wonder, that a suit of cloths should have been sent me from America! They read your letter.

The youngest asked *where Albany was*. He ran to the Map. And then the little Pamphlet from Boston. They looked into it. They saw the same thing, which they had, one or the other of them, written, at my dictation, only a few months before. Who would barter such pleasures for all the wealth and all the titles in the world?

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I shall announce, through this channel, my intention to put into execution a measure, which I have long had in view, which I am certain would be greatly beneficial to the people of America, which I had actually began while in prison, and which was laid aside on account of the war. I have perceived, from several American writings on *agriculture*, and especially from *Mr. Livingston's work on sheep*; and, indeed, I know the fact from my own observation, that your *long winters* and *late springs* are a great impediment to the keeping of so large numbers of all sorts of animals which afford sustenance to man, and especially of *sheep*, as might otherwise be reared and maintained. I am of opinion, that it is in my power to teach you, speaking always from my own knowledge and actual experience, how to remedy the defect of a want of abundance of suitable food for all such animals during these seasons. I mean to say, that if any farmer, who now farms in the *old way*, as I saw it in *Pennsylvania*, will follow my instructions, he will be enabled, with scarcely any additional capital or expence, to double the quantity of live stock upon his farm. A book, having this object in view, is now preparing by my eldest son, and will be sent to be published in Philadelphia in the month of *November* next. I mean, the manuscript will go hence in, or before, that month. And, as it may be of great importance, to prevent loss of time, I will, before that month, find the means of sending to you some *seeds* of my own raising, and others raised by a neighbour under my own eye; with this request, that you will, if you do not use them yourselves, put them into the hands of such persons, without regard to politics or party, as are most likely to propagate and to distribute them as extensively as possible. That *population* always treads closely upon the heels of *sustenance* is a maxim universally true, and of the truth of which your country is

a most striking and magnificent instance. But, it does not follow, that to add to the quantity of sustenance is *always* a good; because in many, and, unhappily, in most countries, to cause an increase of population is only to cause an increase of human misery. Better, far better, is it for man to live and end his days in celibacy, than to be the progenitor of an offspring of slaves, of half-famished wretches, born to toil, or shed their blood, for an insolent and tyrannical master, and to be cajoled and terrified their lives long by fraudulent priests. To add to the quantity of human sustenance in your country, is to add to the numbers of *freemen*, to extend the means which that country already possesses of affording an asylum to the needy and persecuted, to widen the sphere of her illuminating principles, and to give additional weight to the grand example which she tenders to all the oppressed nations of the earth.

With these views, gentlemen, and not with the views of our *agricultural societies*, whose minds seem, in general, to partake essentially of the earth, whence they take their appellation, I propose to communicate the intended instructions on *the culture and preservation of winter and spring food for cattle and sheep*; and, if the communication should be attended with success, it will always be a gratification to me to reflect, that it will be justly thought to have arisen, in some degree, or, at least, to have been accelerated, by the gratitude which has been excited by your obliging and public-spirited letter.

I cannot even here conclude without congratulating you most cordially on the *defeat of the Algerines* by the gallant Decatur and his no less gallant companions. Even in *this* your republic gives a blow to tyrants in general. Even in *this* your example is of great weight. Even in *this* does the world see a proof of those sound and just principles, which are the basis of your political institutions. To free the captive from the lash of barbarians; to restrain them from future cruelties; to punish them for past torments inflicted on the innocent; to make the sea the safe high-way of nations; to avenge the insults and the violences committed against freemen: these are motives of war worthy of America. A Louis, King of France, acquired the title of SAINT Louis, because, at the instigation

of the pope and the priests, he fought against these same Algerines to make them change their *religion*. Your ground of war is very different: it is that of a free and enlightened people, drawing the sword in the cause of unequivocal justice and humanity. Our newspapers, and so will it be with the reviews and magazines, (except the *Monthly Magazine*) are very *dry* and *shy* upon this subject. They notice the account of your victory, but they do it in a way, which clearly shews, that they are *very sorry for it*. They do not say this in so many words; but, that this is their feeling is manifest. The truth is, they feel it to be a blow against tyranny generally; and, they also smell danger, though distant, in the encouragement which it will certainly give to the *growth of your navy*, which, to them and their supporters, is the most hideous of all ideas. They think, and indeed, they say, that *France will now be crippled for a century*; and, I shall not be at all surprised, if they soon begin to inculcate the necessity of *crippling you for a like season*. I will take care to convey to you an account of their proceedings: and, once for all, let me beseech you most earnestly TO READ THIS ACCOUNT WITH ATTENTION.

Be you *united*, however, and you have nothing to fear. No compromise with *traitors*; no compromise with men who *clearly* aim at the subversion of your *freedom*; but *moderation* towards all who honestly differ in opinion. *Mutual concession* there must be amongst those who honestly differ, or your country will be *divided* and *enslaved*. Let not a consciousness of your valour *lull you into a false security*. You are all armed, can all shoot, are all willing to fight; but there wants *organization*. You want adopted, and that too, *directly*, the plan of *Major Cartwright*, detailed in a little work called "ENGLAND'S ÆGIS." That is, the means of *effectually defending the country without a standing army*. I wish this work were in the hands of your Governors and President. Once organized, according to the plan of that work, you might set all the world at defiance: without such organization, the time *may* come when your country will be in imminent danger.

The duty of every free man, and his *very first* duty, is to prepare himself for

the defence of his freedom. To *say*, that he is always *ready to fight* in that defence to his last breath, is not enough. Actually to *be* ready to do this is still short of the mark. He should not only be ready and willing so to fight, but, he should be *able* to fight, to exert his courage and patriotism to the *greatest possible advantage*. And this is not to be accomplished without *organization*; without *constant attention* to this great duty; without *cheerful submission* to regulations agreed on; without an *ever-active* vigilance; without, in short, making *all private concerns give way* to this paramount consideration. This is the way to preclude the necessity of a standing army with all its accompaniments of heavy taxes, dissolute manners, and insidious distinctions; this is the way to live, in safety, at peace with all the world; this is the way, and the only way, to preserve inviolate your political institutions, to prevent the prodigious increase of your population and your wealth from endangering your liberties, and to hand down to posterity that happiness and freedom, that ease and plenty, which you have received from the hands of your wise and gallant fathers.

With these reflections deeply impressed upon my mind; with an anxious desire that they may awaken attention in your country; with sincere wishes for the happiness of your country in general, and of yourselves in particular.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

To Messrs. PETER P. DAX, }
and } Albany.
PHILIP S. PARKER, }

P. S. I shall be much obliged to you to send me, by some person going to *London*, half a dozen ears, not more, of the *dwarf* kind of *Indian corn*. I brought an ear from America, and cultivated it with great success at Botley, so as always, in the season, to have plenty of roasting ears, and to save enough for seed besides; but, while I was in *prison*, my gardener neglected it in a way to deprive me of the sort. The *large* sort does not ripen here, nor does it come to any useful state. I want the sort which they cultivate on the banks of the river St. John, and, I believe, in all the northern part of the United States. In New Brunswick, we used to call it *six weeks corn*.

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,
As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of William Cobbett.

In order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the *COURIER*:—
 “The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket, on their return to Bury.”—That on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the *Political Register*, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the *Political Register*, that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King’s Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King’s Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two

years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings, in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3000 pounds, and two sureties in the sum of 1000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs, being my sureties; and the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputation from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was

given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn for more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militiamen at Ely, and respecting the employment of German troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property, (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription) I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

LATE MR. WHITBREAD.

I can, for my part, see no reason whatever, which ought to restrain one from giving one's opinion freely as to the conduct, or the character, of the *dead*, which would not apply with equal force to the case of the *living*. For what are all the tombs, the epitaphs, the monuments, and other memorials, of the dead? Are they not intended to perpetuate the *praise* of the dead? And how is praise to live except on man's lips? History, where it dares speak out, spares not the dead; and what is *history* but the *record of the actions of men*? Why, then, this squeamishness in speaking of the *recent* dead, when all agree, that we may freely speak of those who died at a distant period? If, indeed, it be of *poor* persons, or, of those who come by their death in consequence of their *offences against power*, the press seems to be at full liberty to deal with them at pleasure; while, for years, at

least, the rich, or powerful, seem to find in the grave a complete shield from every thing but the praise of partial friends and hireling scribes.

Notwithstanding these reflections, however, I should not have noticed either the manner of the death, or even the public conduct of this gentleman, had not the press teemed with observations and assertions with respect to him, not only unsupported by any proof of their truth, but, as to many points, containing flagrant falsehoods.

MR. WHITBREAD was a man of great natural talents; his application to study and public affairs had been great; he was possessed of a large store of useful knowledge; he was acute in perceiving, clear and strong in his statements and reasonings, and eloquent in the conveying of his ideas to others. But, as to being the *patriot* that he has been represented; as to the *loss* which the country has sustained by his death; I recollect very few instances, in which he even endeavoured to accomplish for the country objects worthy of the exertions of a great mind. He never cordially and heartily co-operated with those who sought a reform in the House of Commons, and yet, he was too sensible a man not to perceive, not to be well convinced, that no object short of that was worth any serious effort; nay, he must have been well convinced, that his frequent contests about comparative trifles were calculated to amuse the nation with false notions and expectations; that he was drawing their attention from the true cause of their calamities; diverting the course of the public mind from its useful end; affording a shield to the citadel of political evil by wearying and exhausting the assailing force in skirmishings about forage, beyond even the foot of the glaci.

Vanity appears to have been his ruling passion. He was constantly in search after triumph. Nothing short of a daily victory seemed to suffice. This necessarily led him to pursue, in Parliament, *la petite guerre*. Nothing was too little for him; no subject too contemptible; no adversary too feeble; no quantity or kind of applause beneath his eager acceptance. The cheering of the Honourable House, the clappings of play-actors, the hum of the Bible Society; all were swallowed with equal avidity.

Much has been said about his *openness*

and *sincerity*. But it unfortunately happens, that this character has been given by *the most profound and most successful hypocrite upon the face of the whole earth*; and, indeed, he appears not to have wholly unmerited such praise at such hands. For where was his *sincerity*, where was his *principle*, when, after most furious attacks on *Perceval* and *Castlereagh*, he protested that he meant nothing disrespectful to them, and walked out of the House with them *arm-in-arm*. Either he believed what he had said of their conduct, or he did not; and in either case his *insincerity* was manifest. This was, too, calculated to produce a most pernicious effect on the public, who, after hearing him, for years, *accusing* *Perceval*, heard him amongst the foremost, saw him the very bell-weather of the flock in extolling his character and conduct, and in voting large sums of the public money as a compensation for his public services. If it be just to call such a man *sincere*, insincerity does not exist in the world.

I do not say, and I do not think, that he was *premeditatedly deceitful*. He was led away by his vanity. Having obtained, from one side, the praise due to a bold assailant and defeater of the minister, he next sought, from the other side, the praise of candour and liberality. His vanity was a soul-feeder, but it was admirably calculated to nullify all his attacks, and to keep alive a remnant of that popular delusion as to *party*, which had still remained after the coalition of the Grenvilles and the Whigs.

Amongst those who were at all under his power, he was intolerant. His vanity forced, where it had power, all to administer to it; and where it had not power to enforce it, it resorted to stratagems to gain its ends. That he was really *insane*, at the time of putting an end to his life, I have no doubt; and, it is a fact well known, that vanity is the most frequent cause of insanity as well as of suicide. Why do we hear of so many men killing themselves when they fall from great riches to poverty? It is not because they fear punishment, for they are sure to receive none; it is not because they fear that they shall want the means of existence, for the mere baubles in their families will afford them such means, not to say that it is time to die when those means fail; it is not because they fear the reproaches of

the world, for the world is too just to reproach men with their misfortunes: it is because they feel, with as much certainty as they feel the warmth of life within them, that the daily and hourly adulation, which has fed their vanity, has fled from them for ever. Never having contemplated the consequences of such a change in their circumstances, their minds are overpowered by the blow; they can no longer endure the world, and, in a fit of phrensy, they leave it.

To this cause I attribute the untimely death of Mr. Whitbread, who had manifestly begun to experience a great falling-off in the applause, to which he had long been accustomed, and who saw, in the events upon the continent, an endless source of triumph over him. He, who had never brought his mind to endure the absence of praise, who had enjoyed all that he wanted, except that praise of which he was never glutted, saw nothing left worth his living to enjoy. As a man possessed of great mental powers, I lament that he has ceased to exist. I lament more especially the cause and manner of his death, because they were derogatory to such a mind, and because they must necessarily have inflicted great pain on numbers, by whom he was, doubtless, beloved. But, in the teeth of fashion, good-natured ignorance, fraudulent cunning, and all-powerful cant, I must and will say, that I do not regard his death as the smallest loss to the public, being fully convinced, that his exertions, for some years past, have tended to prolong rather than abridge, the duration of the calamities of the country.

TYTHES.

The article which I have given below with this title, taken from the *Cork Chronicle*, I hope my friends in America will read with attention. It shews them what they are to expect, if their *Cossack Priesthood* should succeed in their attempts to establish a dominant church. Not only will they exact a tenth of their corn and their cattle, which grow, and are fed in the fields, but their fruit, their apples, their pears, their plumbs, and all those choice and delicious products which constitute the kitchen garden, and are so consoling to the heart of man, will be tythed by these rapacious fiends, who, as was the case in

France before the revolution, had the impudence there to assert, that the earth and its fullness is their heritage, and that the people, over which they had assumed a sway, were created merely to be fleeced by them. It is for this, and this only, that the priesthood in America are exerting themselves to overthrow the republican government. They feel, that under a frugal government, which is careful to teach every man his duty in society, without calling in the aid of *spiritual* teachers, there is no chance of their being able to establish an empire over the mind. This, the foundation of all their power, being unattainable, their grand object is to bring into discredit that system which presents so formidable a barrier to their encroachments. To effect this, they will stoop at nothing. That "the end sanctifies the means," is a maxim ever in the mouth of a priest, who aims at the establishment of, what he calls, "Christ's kingdom on the earth;" that is, to say, getting possession of the tenth of the produce of every man's farm, although he never pays a farthing towards the expence of feeding a bullock or a sheep, or growing an ear of corn.—We are told that these exactions are of *divine right*. So, it is said, is the title of kings to their thrones, although it is well known, that many of those who now reign in Europe, owe their crowns entirely to the sufrance of the people. I can very well understand a *Jewish* priest, when I hear him talking of levying tythes, *in the name of the Lord*, from the ignorant and filthy race to which he belongs; but when the same sort of language comes from the mouth of a *Christian* priest, I confess I am at a loss to discover the authority upon which he founds his pretensions. If he says that the founder of his religion established tythes, I challenge him to the proof. If he pleads the law of Moses, I then contend, that he is a Jew; for it is clearly taught by the established church, that all the *rites and ceremonies* of Judaism were *abolished*, and only the *moral* part of the law *retained* by Jesus Christ. He must, therefore, be a Jew and not a Christian, who pretends that tythes are authorised by revelation.

In the letters of VOLTAIRE, a translation of which was published in London in the year 1779, there is a very amusing story of the cause of the quarrel between Aaron, the high priest, and Korah, Da-

than, and Abiram, which, in the end, occasioned the total destruction of the latter, for daring to meddle with the affairs of the priesthood. I shall insert it here, for the edification of those who contend, that the example of the Jewish priests ought to be followed, as a proper example, in levying tythes upon the Christians. Perhaps the Irish parson, mentioned in the *Cork Chronicle*, had this pretty little story in his eye, when he determined on recovering tythes, in a court of law, from his friend the Quaker. The story, says Voltaire, first appeared in a book, written by a Jew, "perhaps more ancient than Homer."—It was reprinted at Venice in the fifteenth century; and the famous Gaumin, counsellor of state, enriched it with notes in Latin. It is as follows: "It was a poor widow who was the cause of the quarrel. This woman had nothing but a single ewe for her whole stock. She shored her ewe, and Aaron came, and said unto her, *it is written*, that the first fruits are the Lord's; and he took away the wool. The widow, in tears, went and complained to Korah, who remonstrated to the priest Aaron, but his remonstrances were of no effect. Korah gave four pieces of silver to the poor woman, and withdrew in anger. In a little time after, the ewe yeanned her first lamb. Aaron returned and said, My good woman, *it is written* that the firstling of every beast is the Lord's. He carried off the lamb and eat it. Korah remonstrated again, but to as little purpose as before. The widow in despair killed her ewe, and immediately Aaron was with her, and took the jaw, the shoulder, and the loin. Korah was angry with him, but Aaron said, that *it was so written*, and that he would eat the shoulder and the loin. The widow, being provoked to passion, swore and said, the Devil take my ewe. Aaron, who heard this, returned and said, *it is written*, that whatever is cursed is the Lord's, and he eat the rest of the poor ewe for his supper."

TYTHES.

(From the Cork Chronicle.)

BISHOP OF CLOYNE'S COURT.—Our readers may recollect that we called their at-

tention some time since to the subject of certain citations issued from this Court at the suit of the Rev. Thomas Carson, Rector of Kilmahon, for the recovery of tythe of green clover, apples, pears, plumbs, and cherries, which grew in a kitchen garden. On Tuesday last, the Court was crowded to excess, principally a very respectable number of gentlemen assembled to witness the proceedings. However, upon reading the citation, it was discovered that it was erroneously filled; so that the claim of the Rev. Pastor was dismissed, after going through part of the evidence. We have been informed that the Vicar-General took this opportunity of censuring, in very strong and energetic language, such novel modes of proceeding as the present, and expressed his hope that this would be the last time he should witness claims of this nature brought into his Court. However, we have been informed that the Rev. Mr. Carson declared in open Court his intention of re-commencing the suit. It was brought against Wm. Abbott, Esq. of Ballymalee, a young gentleman connected with the most respectable families of the Society of Friends throughout the country, and from whose well-cultivated farm of 233 acres the Rev. Pastor acquires a considerable yearly income in tythe. This gentleman has been remarkable for his very kind attention to a widowed mother, and a number of brothers and sisters, who were left a burthen upon him at a very early period of life. The same Rev. Gentleman was dismissed upon two other citations on the same day, one of which was for the tythe of a small quantity of flax which grew in a head-land of a corn-field, the tythe of which had been duly paid.

THE BOROUGH-SYSTEM.

“Nihil scriptum miracula causa.”—TACITUS.

Laemington Spa, July 15, 1815.

MR. COBBETT, — Having been at this charming place about a fortnight, one days ramble will, with your permission, furnish your Register with the following information:—Between here and Coventry there is a very large estate, on which many workmen are employed, and many alterations making. I asked some of the workmen the name of the village; they informed me Stonely!—Who orders you to build these lodges, and yon very large

bridge, which is being pulled down again? Who lays out these plantations, and turns these roads?—*Mrs. Leigh.* Then, said I, there must be great riches. Yes, said they; here, and in the neighbouring counties, they have estates *little short of one hundred thousand pounds per year!*—I suppose the tenants are well off, as this lady has so much? No; they grumble sadly ever since the other Mrs. Leigh died. But, I asked whether they thought there was room for grumbling? Two or three immediately replied, that they had no wish to change births, for a great man comes from London, when mistress pleases, to put up their rents. And is there ever any thing taking off? No; there is *too many of us* for that; the plan is pay or turn out. Do any turn out? Yes, a few; but many now will be sold out without great alteration. Are they strict about the fish and game? Yes. As I had formerly some transactions with the steward, I asked how they liked him? The reply was, that he was very well, but he had no power; he only paid and received; the mistress sees to every thing. Then, said I, you are kept close to your cake and milk? Yes, by G—d, pretty well for that. But is your mistress kind to your work people, and generous to the poor on the estates? Middling; not equal to the other Mrs. Leigh. What sort of a man is the parson? Nothing remarkable; not so good as him at Baginton, the next village. Our's is a magistrate, and likes to please mistress. Perhaps they are relations? No, I believe not. Do they visit? Yes. Does your mistress reside here long together? Yes, only when Parliament meets. Why, what has she to do with Parliament? Master is a Parliament man. What place does he represent? We do not know. But does not he interfere with you? No; for a good while, said one of the men, I did not know we had a master, until I saw the name on that very waggon, there going past. Did you never speak to him? No; only when he rides by as I pull my hat off to him. I wished these work people good day, being fully satisfied that “*the mistress was master there;*” wondering, at the same time, what important personage this gentleman could be, that is so much occupied with Parliament as not to be known at home. I could not recollect the name among our public speakers. But I referred to my *Red Book*, which I

always take with me in my gig, and found James Henry Leigh, Esq. to be Member for Bedwin; a place I am acquainted with. It sends two members to Parliament: this gentleman and the Right Hon. Sir John Nicholls, Knt. *Judge of the Arches, Lord of Trade, and other offices.* The patron of the borough is the Earl of Aylesbury, Treasurer to the Queen, &c. The members are chosen by the undermentioned, *free, loyal, and independent electors*, one of whom is the portreeve or mayor, chosen at the court leet of the lord of the manor, who is the patron: The Rev. J. Skey, Chaplain to the Earl of Aylesbury;

Mr. (late Edward) Eaton, game-keeper to ditto;

Mr. (late John) Wilson, house steward to ditto;

Mr. Collins, land steward to ditto;

Mr. Hill, grocer, &c. with a few others.

I shall leave your readers to make their own comments, as it would hurt my feelings very much to be *laughed at* by the Americans, or be called a *Jacobin* by my neighbours. Yet I have vanity enough to hope, that this communication will find a place in the future editions of the works of our political romance writers, either as a note, or in the appendix. I am yours, &c.

A REFORMIST."

STATE OF FRANCE.

MR. COBBETT.—The following extract from the Marquis de la Fayette's statement of his principles and conduct, published in London in 1793, may be useful, perhaps, to your readers at the present moment; they were written by M. La Fayette while in prison.—Speaking of France before the Revolution, he says (p. 26), "Whoever will consider the soil, the fertility, and climate of France, will not hesitate to imagine it as designed for a paradise of wealth and happiness, wherein no person could be supposed to experience the foreign nature of distress. But on viewing the miseries of its wretched inhabitants, he must stand confounded at this puzzling query—why are the people wretched?—In solving this query, he will readily acquit the bountiful hand of kind nature, and consider the country as the conquest of some hungry and cruel nation, the ava-

ricious wantonness of whose oppression had grown in proportion to the effect of the luxuries which its spoils afforded; yet, considering the trifling apparency of the numbers of their oppressors, he must be astonished to see so numerous and sensible a people suffer oppression so tamely at the hands of a few individuals, not being duly aware that *every inhabitant had a leech of some species fastened upon him, which sucked away the blood and vital juices also.* In those aristocratic days, the industrious husbandman was not allowed to enjoy the fruits of his honest labours. The insatiable want of a despotic government gaped for a large share of his golden harvest. The refined modes of aristocratic assiduity were ingeniously adapted to collect another share, with all the aggravations of insolence. Another share fell to sacerdotal drones of all degrees, from the haughty prelate to his pampered eminence the cardinal. The herbs of the field, and whatever was deemed refuse to the human appetite, were thought good enough for peasants. Their nutrition supported corporeal strength to a certain degree, from which resistance was not to be feared. To touch the fatted calf, lamb, or capon, amounted to something like sacrilege in him; his charitable eminence wanted more wine than he could waste himself, to distribute among those poor people who, he was assured, would return the favour with interest. Water was deemed folly sufficient for him—'Father Adam used no other, and he was a fair and robust man.' The holy saints and fathers of the church deemed wine an abomination; why then should an ill instructed peasant be so impious as to long for such abomination. If any extraordinary effort of industry afforded him a new garment, it was sure to attract some fresh insult, from insolence on the one side, or some keen persecution on the other. *Industry*, as an unavailable principle, languished and relaxed into a desponding state of slothful negligence. The gall, which makes oppression bitter, was fretted out of him. So habitual was the infliction of injuries on him as to become elemental, and so degraded was he in his own eyes, that he did not think himself entitled to the praise or blame of his own actions. Misery, sabots, and the servile obedience of a broken spirit, were all the inheritance he derived from his forefathers; these were the only entail;

all that he could with safety hold; all he could bequeath to his wretched race."

Mr. Birkbeck has shewn us a middle rank, springing into importance; a rank which cannot be again extinguished: and you say, with truth, that the people cannot be brought back to their former ignorance. I wish Mr. Birkbeck would take an opportunity of pursuing the routes of Arthur Young in France, and remarking the changes on the spot. This would be most useful; it should be done at the same seasons of the year.

ORDINANCES OF LOUIS XVIII.—SUBMISSION OF THE ARMY.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France, and Navarre.

Desiring to restore their true names to the ancient public edifices of our good city of Paris, and to give to the new ones such names as may recall only times of reconciliation and peace, or their particular utility to the inhabitants, We ordain as follows:

Art. 1. The squares (places), bridges, and public edifices of our good city of Paris shall resume the names which they bore on the 1st of January, 1790, and every inscription to the contrary shall be effaced.

2. In consequence, the bridge which leads from the street de la Concorde, and the Place Louis XV. to the Palace of the Legislative Body, shall resume its ancient name of Bridge of Louis XVI. That which leads from the Palace of the Thuilleries to the street du Bac, its name of Pont Royal. That which leads from the Quai de Bons Hommes to the Champ de Mars, shall take the name Pont des Invalides. That which leads from La Roquette to Jardin du Roi shall take the name of Pont du Jardin du Roi.

3. Our Ministers of the Interior is charged with the execution of our present Ordinance. Given at Paris the 9th day of the month of July, in the year of grace, 1815, and the 21st of our reign.

(Signed)

"LOUIS.

By the King, Prince TALLEYRAND."

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France, and Navarre.

To all those whom these presents concern, greeting:—We have announced that our intention was to propose to the Chambers a law for the regulation of the Deputies of the Departments. Our object was to modify, conformably to lessons of experience and the well-known views of

the nation, several articles of the Charter touching the state of eligibility, the number of Deputies, and some other dispositions relative to the formation of the Chambers, to the introduction of the laws, and to the manner of their deliberations. The misfortunes of the times having interrupted the Session of the two Chambers, we have thought that the number of the Deputies of the departments will now be found, from divers causes, too much reduced to represent the nation sufficiently; it is important above all, under such circumstances, that the national representation should be numerous, that their powers should be renewed, and that they emanate more directly from the Electoral Colleges; in short, that the elections should serve as the *actual expression and opinion of our people*. We have, therefore, determined to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, and to convocate, without delay, a new one: but the manner of election not having been regulated by law, except by the modifications made to the Charter, we have thought it just to the nation that the people should enjoy at the present moment the advantage of selecting a more numerous and less restrained Representation than the present eligibility allow; but willing, nevertheless, that in any case each modification in the Charter shall not become definitive, but after the Constitutional forms; the dispositions of the present decree shall have for its first object the deliberations of the Chambers. The Legislative Power, when collected, will enact upon the law of elections; upon the changes necessary to be made in the Charter of the country; changes which must only be taken in points the most urgent and indispensable; imposing on us obligations of reconciling, as much as possible, the Charter to the forms previously in use. To these causes, we have declared, and do declare; decree and decreed as follows:—

1. The Chamber of Deputies is dissolved.
2. The Electoral Colleges of the Arrondissements shall meet on the 14th of August of the present year.
3. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments shall meet eight hours after the opening of the Colleges of Arrondissements.
4. The number of the Deputies is fixed according to the table following this decree.
5. Each Electoral College of the Arrondissement shall elect a number of Candidates equal to the number of Deputies of the department.
6. Our Prefects shall transmit to the President of the Electoral College of the Department lists of the Candidates proposed by the Electoral Colleges of the Arrondissements; which lists shall

again be transmitted by the Presidents of the Colleges.

7. The Electoral Colleges of the departments shall chuse the least moiety of the Deputies from amongst these Candidates. If the total number of the Deputies of the department is odd, it shall partake of the advantage of the portion which should be chosen from the Candidates.

8. The Electors of Colleges of Arrondissements shall not take their seats till they have attained the age of 21. The Electors of Colleges of the Departments must be of the same age.

9. If the number of the Members of the Legion of Honour, who, conformably to the Act of the 22d of February, 1806, shall be added to the Colleges of Arrondissements or Departments, is not complete, our Prefects shall be able, upon the demand of the legionaries, to propose new adjunctions, which shall receive their provisional execution. Nevertheless the legionaries admitted to the Electoral Colleges of the Departments, ought, conformably to the 40th Article of the Charter, to pay at least 300 francs of direct contribution. All adjunctions made after the 1st of March, 1815, are null and illegal.

10. The Deputies able to be elected at the age of twenty-one.

11. Conformably to the anterior laws and regulations, all elections not made by the greatest moiety of the College shall be null. The absolute majority amongst the Members present is necessary for the validity of the election.

12. If the Electoral Colleges of Arrondissements have not completed the election of the number of candidates which they have to chuse, the College of the Department must not proceed to their operations.

13. The *proces-verbal* of the election shall be examined at the Chamber of Deputies, who will pronounce upon the regularity of the elections. The Deputies elected shall be held to produce at the Chamber their register of birth, and a *relevé* of their contributions, proving that they have paid at least 1000 francs of impost.

14. The articles 16, 25, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46, of the Charter shall be submitted to the revision of the Legislative Power in the approaching Session of the Chambers.

15. The present Decree shall be printed, and in the place of the Sitzings of each Electoral College. The Articles of the Charter hereabove mentioned, shall be printed conjointly.

16. Our Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present Decree. Given

at the Castle of the Thuilleries, the 13th of July, in the year 1815, and the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MARSHAL THE PRINCE OF ECKMÜHL, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF THE LOIRE, TO GEN. BAGOUIL, COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MAINE AND THE LOIRE.

Orleans, July 11, 1815.

M. GENERAL,—The army in quitting Paris to retire behind the Loire, according to the Convention of the 3d of July, had left with the Provisional Government Commissioners, charged with asking from it instructions in case a new Government was established. These Commissioners, in giving an account to the army of the affairs which have taken place in the capital, and of the entrance of the King, have communicated to me the overtures which were made to them, in order to engage the army to acknowledge that its union to the system of Government can alone prevent the dissolution of the State. The Commissioners, in their communications, give the assurance, that, under a constitutional Government no re-action is to be apprehended—that the passions shall be neutralized—that the Ministry shall be responsible—that men and principles shall be respected—that no arbitrary dismissal shall take place, either in the army or in the other ranks of society; and that, in short, the army shall be treated *consistent with its honour*. These are the simple terms transmitted by the Commissioners. As a pledge and a proof of what they advance they state, that Marshal St. Cyr is appointed Minister at War; that the Duke of Otranto is Minister of Police, which office he has accepted only upon the assurance, that the Government will conduct itself with that spirit of wisdom and moderation of which he himself has set the example. The sentiments of the army are well known; it has combated twenty-five years for France; often for disputed opinions. The only reward which it requires for the blood that it has spilt, is, that no citizen shall be molested for the opinions which he may have honestly entertained. On these conditions the national interest should unite the army freely to the King. This interest requires sacrifices, which ought to be made with a good grace, with a modest energy. The existing army, united in a body, will become, should our misfortunes increase, the centre and rallying point of all Frenchmen,

and of the most determined Royalists. All will speedily perceive, that union and oblivion of all dissensions can alone operate the salvation of France; which will be impossible if hesitation, differences of opinion, and individual considerations, should affect the dissolution of the army, either itself, or by a foreign force. Let us unite then closely—let us never separate. The Vandeaurs give us an affecting example; they have written to us with an offer to lay aside all resentment, and to unite with us in the patriotic view of preventing all dismemberments and all partitions of the country. Be Frenchmen—it was this sentiment, you know, that was always predominant in my breast, and will remain in it till my last breath. It is on this ground I claim your confidence. I am sure of meriting and obtaining it.

(Signed)

M. P. D'ECHEMILL.

DEPARTMENT OF THE MAINE AND LOIRE.

Angers, July 13, 1815.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

The French army has joined the King. France still expects assistance from its defenders. Let all dissensions, all differences of opinion cease; the interests of the country should unite all parties; the same sentiments should animate all hearts. The King promises to treat the army consistent with its honour; the promises of this good Prince will not be in vain; and I am sure that your devotion will realize what he expects of you for the honour and glory of France. The troops of the garrison and the National Guard will instantly hoist the white cockade, which henceforth will be the rallying point of all Frenchmen, and a symbol of the sincere and hearty union which is to reign amongst them. The Chiefs of Corps are responsible for the execution of the present Order.

Adjutant-General, commanding the department of the Maine and Loire. BAGNIOL.

MANIFESTO OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

St. Petersburg, June 17.—The following is the Manifesto published by his Imperial Majesty from Vienna:—

The sense of *Religion*, that rich source of national strength which has prevailed in Russia since the oldest times, was pushed, in the face of

the whole world, and for the deliverance of Europe, the destructive infidelity—the mischief-working corruption of morals—the sad deviation from the right path to which the human understanding is subject. This never-to-be-forgotten conquest and triumph, to which history furnishes no parallel, must, in justice, be ascribed to the generous sacrifices and heroic deeds by which the faithful sons of our country have testified their love and devotion. It united all European nations in indissoluble bonds, and harmonized all their views and prejudices, which till then had been at variance, by directing them to the only useful object, a desired and durable Peace, which might be firmly established in the legal advantages granted to each Power, and on internal institutions, protecting the welfare and independence of nations. With heartfelt joy we now announce to our beloved subjects, that all conventions tending to the good of the State have been concluded, in conformity with this principle, and the object which we propose. It is not a vain covetousness which has induced us to seek an extension of our frontiers—such a feeling would have been unnatural in one who had taken arms to defend the country, but not to make conquests. The unconquerable strength of the Russian Empire, founded upon religion, loyalty, and prosperity, cannot be increased by external acquisitions. The union of far the greater part of the late Duchy of Warsaw under one sceptre, has proved to be absolutely necessary for the establishment of a general balance of power and of order in Europe. By this measure, the safety of our frontiers is insured—a firm barrier is erected against interruption of peace and hostile attempts—and the bonds of fraternity formed between nations, united together by one common origin. For this reason we have thought proper to fix the fate of this country, and to establish the internal administration upon principles suitable to the language and customs of the inhabitants, and adapted to the local situation.—*Following the precepts of the Christian religion*, whose dominion extends over so many nations, yet maintains at the same time their distinguishing qualities and customs—we cherish the wish while we prepare the welfare of our new subjects, to inspire their hearts with sentiments of attachment to our throne, and thus to efface for ever the traces of past misfortunes, which were caused by fatal disunion, and the long struggle. But at the moment when we thought of returning to our happy country, and of enjoying the peace earned by such painful cares, a new war is kindled, pre-ordained by the impenetrable councils of the

Almighty. His kind providence, which rules over us, which even changes evil into good, permitted the rebellious spirit that was concealed in France to burst forth, just at the time when the Sovereigns and people, in a state of powerful preparation, were watchful; that by their united power, wickedness may be wholly extirpated, the harvest cleared from the weeds, and the precious fruit of inviolable peace flourish among the Powers who observe the laws of the Christian faith and truth. Russia, also, elevated by religion, is called upon to take arms; and, attentive to this call, again enters the career of glory. The perfidious plan of Napoleon Bonaparte—the treachery which has favoured his audacious enterprise—the rapidity of his pernicious progress, aiming at the overthrow of society, of religion, and of law; all these reasons forbid the authorities established by the Rulers of Empires to recognise, in the midst of general order, a Government which is founded on breach of faith and violence. For this reason, all the powers again form an indissoluble union, in order to annihilate the tyrannic power which has made itself master of France, and thereby to prevent fresh miseries. Not only the engagements of friendship, but also the honour of the empire call upon us to defend the rightful cause; it cannot be foreign to Russia, which, from time immemorial, has combatted for religion and fidelity. In obedience to this sacred voice, we go, with the help of the Most High, to new deeds. The fruit of such great and glorious victories will not be lost. Resolved to share every danger and privation with our victorious army, we place our firm confidence in the Lord of Hosts, in the Protector of the Just. It is, indeed, painful to our heart to prolong our absence from the country, but we firmly trust in the divine favour, which protects us, that this absence will be of short duration. The attachment and devotion of all the authorities in the Empire, animated by only one feeling, and the valour of our troops, will crown the work which we have before us with the desired success. —All the European Powers will act in concert with us. In the days of danger and of glory, when the raging enemy, who had penetrated over our frontiers, thought in his insatiation to strike a deadly blow against Russia—when Europe, subject to his yoke, rose against us—we invoked the Almighty, and implored him to turn his eye on the church in mourning, to deliver his inheritance, and endow us with strength to triumph over wickedness and deceit, to protect the independence of nations and their Rulers. The Most High heard the voice of our prayers, his right hand guided Russia in the career of glory; no, we will not deviate from it, and his gracious care for us will be completed."

SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

The French papers of Tuesday last contain the following articles respecting this terror of kings, and enemy of priest-

craft. It will not surprise me much if Napoleon, notwithstanding the ardent prayers, which have been offered up for his speedy execution, has been promised a safe asylum in this country.

(From the *Moniteur* of Tuesday last.)

"Measures had been taken to prevent the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and it will be seen by the following extract of a letter from the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort to the Minister of the Marine, that the result has been such as we had reason to expect.

"ROCHEFORT, JULY 15—10 IN THE EVENING.

"In execution of your Excellency's orders, I embarked in my boat, accompanied by Baron Ricard, Prefect of the Lower Charente. The reports from the roads for the 14th had not then reached me, but I was informed by Captain Philibert, commanding the *Amphitrite* frigate, that Bonaparte had embarked on board the *Epervier* brig, as a flag of truce; determined to proceed to the English cruising station.

"Accordingly, at day-break, we saw him manœuvring to make the English ship *Bellerophon*, commanded by Captain Maitland, who, on perceiving that Bonaparte was steering towards him, had hoisted the white flag at the mizen.

"Bonaparte, and the persons in his suite, were received on board the English ship. The Officer whom I had left to make observations communicated to me this important news, and General Becker, who arrived soon after, confirmed it.

(Signed)

"BONNEFOUX,

"Naval Captain, and Maritime Prefect."

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Foreign Office, July 21.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received from Viscount Castlereagh, dated Paris, July 17, 1815.

Since closing my dispatches of this date, I have received the accompanying communication from this Government:

(TRANSLATION.)

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that Napoleon Bonaparte, not being able to escape from the English cruisers, or from the Guards kept upon the coasts, has taken the resolution of going on board the English ship *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Le Duc d'OTRANTE.

To his Excellency Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

LETTER VIII.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Surrender of Napoleon. Short-lived triumph of John Bull. John's injustice in grudging to pay taxes. His disinterestedness. The Pitt System.

Bolton, 26 July, 1815.

MY LORD—At last, then, you have Napoleon in your power. That is to say, you have a composition of bones, skin, flesh and blood, warmed and kept alive by the vital principle; but this is all; and, whether this vital principle be now to be speedily extinguished, or the whole body be to remain a few years longer above ground, you have not the power, and you never will have the power, either to efface the memory of his deeds, or to destroy, or even to lessen, the effects of those deeds. A man is no more to be blamed for yielding to force, such as that which has come against Napoleon, than he is to be blamed for yielding to a thunder-bolt or a hurricane. You are, by some of our journalists, recommended to surrender Napoleon to Louis. By others, to imprison him for life. Do what you will, in this way; if you were to thumb-screw him, flog him, and, at last, cut him to mince-meat, you could do away not one jot of his military renown; his battles, his victories, his conquests, his mastership of all the old families of the continent, are recorded in a way never to be forgotten; they form a portion of the knowledge of mankind; they occupy a seat in all men's minds; and, as to his *fall*, why, we all fall at last; only the far greater part of us fall with little more noise than is occasioned by the fall of a bullock, whereas his fall is the subject of conversation amongst, and excites *strong feeling* of some sort or other in the breasts of, *all the people of the civilized world*. If the fame of all the other famous men that ever lived could be embodied into one mass, it would not equal his individual fame. He has excited more hatred, and more love, than all the other great men that have figured on

the stage of the world. The Prussians, with "*the HONEST old Marshal*," as our newspapers call him, at their head, may blow up the *bridge of Jena*; the Austrians may pull down the *column of Austerlitz*; and so on; but, they will do nothing to efface the memory of his valiant deeds, unless they can take out the *brains* of every human creature in the world; for all have heard of these deeds; all have felt their effects.

The baseness of those writers, who have the impudence to recommend you to treat Napoleon as a *criminal*, deserves some notice. They say, but they speak without authority, indeed, that he is to be *imprisoned for life*. And, under *what law*, I should be glad to know? If brought hither, or, if remaining in our ships, he can be considered only in the light of a *prisoner of war*. I defy any man to shew, that he can be considered in any other light; and, therefore, to treat him other than as a *prisoner of war* would be an act of injustice.

However, there may be opportunities to discuss this point hereafter. At present I have to speak to your Lordship upon the subject of the expectations, excited here by this event. The *Courier* says: "*The play is over: let us go to supper.*" And this is the general opinion. When men have long been intent upon one single object: when they have long bent their minds to one sole wish, they are always disappointed in their expectations, because they have not given themselves time to think of the consequences to be produced by the means which they make use of to obtain the accomplishment of that wish. Thus will it be with *John Bull*, who has been made to believe, that, if Napoleon could but be gotten rid of, England would be freed from all the calamities which she feels; that she would once more come back to her former state; and that the visits of the taxing people would cease to be as frequent as those of the apothecary. Napoleon is actually our prisoner, but still the taxing people come.

"*The play*" may be over; but, oh!

no! we cannot "*go to supper.*" We have something to do. We have *forty-five millions a year for ever to pay for the play.* This is no pleasant thing. But, indeed, the play is *not* over. The *first act* is, perhaps, closed. But, that grand revolution, that bright star, which first burst forth in the year 1789, is still sending forth its light over the world. In that year feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny, ignorance, superstition, received the first heavy blow: they have since received others; and, in spite of all that can be now done in their favour, they are destined to perish.

This 22 years of war, has it been to *put down one man?* Have we sent hundreds of thousands to shed their blood, and have we loaded ourselves with endless burdens, to put down *one little Frenchman?* Have we all been paying the greater part of our incomes, for many years, for *this purpose?* No: we are *now beginning to be told*, it was not for this; it was for the purpose of putting down *French principles.* And, what were they? Why, those very principles, which are at this moment more firmly than ever rooted in the minds of Frenchmen, and more generally imbibed throughout Europe. The bridge of Jena, the column of Austerlitz, all the memorials of French triumph, brought from Amsterdam, Naples, Vienna, Rome, Turin, Madrid, Munich, Berlin, Moscow, and dearest *Hanover*: all these may be destroyed; but, never will the whole world, combined in arms, be able to destroy the effects of those principles, which sent the conquerors forth, which first warmed their hearts with enthusiasm, and which are now become part of the settled possessions of their minds.

Show me, in France, a priest with his *relics*, or his bottle of holy water, able to extract a *sous* for either, as a preservative against the fatal effects of thunder and lightning, except from some crazy or perverse old woman; and, then, I will say, that there is some hope of success against *French principles.* Five hundred industrious priests would do more against French principles than five hundred thousand bayonets. But, alas! the former have now *no materials to work on.* These precious materials, ignorance, superstition, and human degradation and misery, have been driven out by the Revolution. Perhaps there are not, at this day, a hundred farmers in all the vast and fine coun-

try, in which you now are, who, if it were translated, would believe in *Moore's Almanack* as to the weather; or that would believe a gypsy-thief endowed with the faculty of telling them the future events of their lives. Peace and tranquillity are very good things; but, if degrading ignorance, brutal superstition, and their constant associate, base slavery, are not to be gotten rid of without even the most terrible convulsions amongst a people, those convulsions are to be wished for. Such was the state of France, that the good of the people called for a terrible convulsion: it took place, and the French nation has to congratulate itself on the event.

Our writers are eternally reminding us of the *cruelties* committed, during the *French Revolution.* That revolution has now been going on for 25 years; and, during the whole of this time, though so many foreign armies, though so many domestic wars, have been assailing the revolutionists, so many cruelties have not been committed, as during *one single year*, of the reign of Louis XIV. who committed his cruelties, too, in the name of *religion.* What are the sufferings of invasion? What are requisitions? What are military plunderings? These only last for a *time.* They bear no resemblance to the never-ending plunder and insult of domestic tyranny. The man of sense weighs very scrupulously the difference in the weight of *evils.* It is only the bawling, huzzaing, slave that brags about *national glory.* while the nation, properly so called, are treated like beasts of burden.

John Bull, my Lord, who, as you well know, is no conjurer, is puzzled beyond conception at seeing, that troops, horses, cannon, powder, and ball, are still going off to the army upon the Continent, even *now*, when we have got *Napoleon.* This puts him in a strange pose. He was dancing and capering and singing and bawling for three or four days, to a degree that seemed to indicate, that he had forgotten all his own domestic affairs, and that even the *taxing people* had, for forty-eight hours, escaped from his recollection. But, now, when he sees more troops going off, he does not know what to think. However, he consoles himself that the allies will "*now finish the job.*" The farmers hope, that you will do something to prevent abundant harvests in France; the

tradesmen that you will make things as dear as they are in England, to prevent their customers from emigrating; and there is another class, who, I dare say, are full as anxious, that you should re-establish tythes. How disappointed they will be! How short-lived will be their triumph! How they will stare at one another; how mutually insipid will be their talk, when they find, that the only real solid effect produced by this brilliant achievement, will be *an addition to their taxes!*

As to the *tradesmen*, however, there appears to be a plan in agitation for *forcing their customers to remain at home.* A Mr. THORNTON, a member of the *honourable House*, has given notice, that he shall propose a law for making all persons residing out of the country, pay a *tax*, during their absence, from which residents shall be *exempt.* Amongst all the novelties of the present age this will certainly be the most amusing. The "*machinery*," as the treasury calls it, of such a law will be a great curiosity in the fiscal science. In order to assess the tax, it must be *ascertained* that the party is gone out of the kingdom. And *how* is this to be done? How is the fact to be proved and recorded? Let me see. John Bull, Esq. lives at Bullock-Hall in the county of Hants, for instance. Timothy Touchem, the taxman, goes to his house to ask if he be in the United Kingdom. "Yes," says the servant; but the servant tells a lie. How is Timothy to find that out? This will not do. There must, in the first place, be *furloughs* granted to those who want to reside abroad. They must receive these from the taxing people, or from the government. These furloughs must be *recorded in some office*, and must be produced to warrant the assessment of the tax. Without such *furlough* no captain of a vessel, no owner of a boat, must take any person aboard, under a heavy penalty in case of violation of the law. Squire Bull himself must be exposed to a heavy penalty if he attempt to go without a *furlough.* This furlough must be to him *outwards*, what a *permit* is to brandy *inwards*, or about the country. When he comes here he must *report himself*, as the military phrase is; must appear in person, and get a *certificate*, or *acquittance*, of some sort, to put a stop to the effects of the furlough. Then, again, *merchants*

may want to go abroad. They must produce *proofs* of their being merchants: another set of *oaths.* Next, Americans and others, who, being foreigners, will have a right to go away when they please. They must *prove* that they are foreigners: more *oaths.* Then the *person* must be *accurately described* in the furlough; or, who is to know whether the bearer be really Squire Bull, or some other. Then there must be punishment for *forging furloughs*: more *hangings!* If such a law should be passed, I suppose the furlough would be somewhat in the following form:

"JOHN BULL, of Bullock Hall, in the County of Hants, Esq. is hereby permitted to proceed to countries out of his Majesty's dominions, there to remain for calendar months from the date hereof; and that all masters of vessels and others may be able to know the said John Bull, Esq. a description of him here follows, to wit: 5 feet 8 inches and a half high; face round and full; eyes grey; eyebrows whitish; dark wig with short grey hair under it; nose hooked; mouth wide; lips thick; cheeks red; chin double; narrow shoulders; big belly; thick thighs and legs; clumped feet."

Another scheme, which I have heard talk of, is of a more *summary* sort, and nearly approaching to military discipline. It is this: that the taxing people, in their several districts and divisions, should send notices to all the taxed people within their boundaries, to appear personally before them at stated times and hours: once a month, for instance, and, in case of non-appearance, to make them pay the absentee's tax for three or four months. This would be a sort of *muster*, or *calling of the roll*, by an alphabetical list, which might indeed, easily be done by causing the parties to stand in ranks and files, placing the A's upon the right, and going on towards the left to the Z's.

This scheme would, indeed, save all the complex machinery of furloughs and certificates and penalties; but still, it would be inconvenient, in many respects, especially in London, where the assemblage would be so large. However, I dare say that this Mr. THORNTON has thought of all these matters; and, therefore, I will indulge no longer in speculation upon the subject, but wait patiently for his plan. Of one thing I am very sure,

and that is, that if people are permitted freely to go and live where they can avoid paying their share of the *fifty millions a year*, which the late wars have imposed upon us, they will avail themselves of such permission, unless they have profitable business which requires their presence here. France is the country to which they will go. It is not only the cheapest and the most pleasant as to climate, but the people are the only people on the Continent fit to live amongst.

I do not say that such a tax is likely to be imposed. It is too much to suppose, even in these days; but, what a state must we be in, when such a tax can be *seriously thought of*, and even *spoken of in parliament*? It is very true, that the country will severely feel the effects of migration. The temptation to shake off the taxes is not all. There is the temptation to *live better* upon the *same income*. Who does not prefer riding in a carriage to walking on foot? And who can be justly blamed for such preference? Who does not like to better their lot in this world? And what right has any man to say to another, "you shall remain here, and be compelled to buy your food and raiment of me?"

It is curious enough, that, before the French Revolution, we never heard any complaints of our rich people going to reside and spend their money in France. The *Times* Editor, who is a great advocate for plundering Paris of its statues and pictures, ascribes the universal desire to go to France to these things, and says, that when our people, and other foreigners, go thither, the Parisians *seduce* them, and make them *irreligious* and *disloyal*.—Therefore he would have the pictures and statues removed by all means. Now, I do not say, that nobody goes to Paris from this motive; but, for one that goes from *England* to France to look at pictures and statues, ten thousand go to drink wine, and to eat capons and turkeys, at little expense. It was computed, that there were 40,000 families there, before the return of Napoleon. Many of them had taken houses and other premises *for years*, and a great part of them have remained. They were not in search of pictures and statues; but of *good living* at a *cheap rate*.

Before the French Revolution, living was not much cheaper in France than in England. The reasons why it is so now,

are; first, because France has been rendered more productive by the driving out of the feudal lords and the priests, who laid their claws so unmercifully upon all the products of the earth. And next, by the increase of our taxes, which are, and must be, nearly five times as great as they were before that revolution. This is an evil; but, the country has no right to complain. It has enjoyed all the *glories* of the war; it has put up *thanksgiving* for its successes; in short, it is proud of the war; and it would be excessively unjust to complain of the taxes, which, as all the world knows, were the cause of those successes. When I hear a man grumble at the taxing people and their frequent and heavy calls upon him, and, the next moment, praise the subsidizing of the German armies to pour upon the French, I could freely spit in his face. There are some of the *Squires* who even grumble at having their wives eclipsed by those of the new and numerous *knights of the Bath*. They like the war, they shout at the victories, they grin and shew their teeth and hold their big round bellies with laughing at the proceedings of good "Old Blucher;" and yet they would part with nothing to purchase all these fine things. A *monument*! Aye, they would have a monument as big as the tower of Babel; but, the devil a penny would they pay towards the building of it.

When the *Times* and *Courier* are recommending the stripping of Paris of its works of art, and the pulling down of monuments of victory, they always observe, in a very pointed manner, that *we* are quite *disinterested* in the matter; for, that the French have gained *no victories over us*; that they have been able to take nothing from us. This is *not true*. The French did gain victories over us at *Dunkirk* and the *Helder*, and they did this, too, without any body to *help* them. They have, to be sure, made conquests of no parts of these islands; but they conquered HANOVER, and they took away the *trophies* which they found there, and would have brought away the *plate*, had not the Duke of Cambridge, with laudable activity, baffled this part of their design. Let these writers, therefore, say no more about *disinterestedness* as to this matter. Besides, are we not, by the means of our Royal Family, *related* to Prussia, Brunswick, and the rest; and

do these scurvy writers not think that we ought to feel for them? Lord Grenville once said, that *Hanover* ought to be as dear to us as *Hampshire*. And yet we are quite *disinterested*! We have undergone no humiliations, though Hanover was conquered *even without a battle*, and though Napoleon ruled it for many years.

The *change of tone* in our news-papers, and, indeed, in the mass of the people, is well worthy of remark. Before the war began *Napoleon* was the sole object of abuse; or, at least, *he and the army*. Now *all France* is abused. *He* is now out of the question; and yet we hear of nothing but exhortations to cripple and dismember and ruin France. It is *now* the French people, who, we were told, were all, or, at least, a great majority of them, for the "*legitimate*" king, as goes the cant of the day. It was solely against *Napoleon* that we made war; but *now* we are to put it out of the power of the French to do us harm, *for a century*. Even the poor king does not escape the malice of these writers. They accuse him of *seeming to think* that the union of his people *will make him stronger against the allies*! Poor man! His situation is less enviable than when he was at Ghent, boasting of the numbers and valour of his allies. Monsieur Chateaubriand himself will soon become an object of abuse here, unless he hastens to write an ode, or some of his trash, in praise of Old Blucher, "the honest Old Marshal," the harbinger of the Bourbons. The Royalists, if they have any feeling but that of feud-like malice left; if their souls are not quite absolved in malignity against the people who freed themselves from their grasp, must feel ashamed at being numbered amongst those who are now treading their country under foot. But, as to *dismemberment* as to *pictures and statues*, as to every thing else that can be named, that Frenchman is a fool, who does not prefer them to the ancient feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny.

The *army* is, according to these writers, to be *disbanded*. Better cut their throats at once; for, what is the use of *disbanding* that which can be, the next day, called together? There is nothing short of actually *killing* one half of the people of France that will answer the purpose that these malignant men have in view; and that cannot be done. The Germans must

go home again *some time or another*, and the fine country where they now are must and will prosper. They cannot eat *all* the things in France. They will have, according to our news-paper accounts, a pretty good cramming; but they cannot eat all up. They cannot eat the ground and the fine sun-shine. They will go back with reluctance, but go they must.

And, my Lord, what is to be done *then*? What will the Pitt system *then* have accomplished? It will have put *Napoleon* in a state to be insulted by our writers of news-papers and their like. But, he was not known when the Pitt system of war began, and not for years afterwards. It will have *restored the Bourbons*. It will, indeed, have carried back some men of that name; but, it will have restored no part of the *Bourbon government*. It will not have put the feudal lords in possession of their courts and their power, nor will it have restored the Monks and Priests to their power and their tythes. If, in the year 1793, *Pitt*, in one of his flashy, sonorous speeches, had said: "Let us go hastily into the war; for, at the end of 22 years, by expending six hundred millions raised within the year, and by loading the nation with forty or fifty millions a-year for ever after, we shall certainly succeed in restoring the House of Bourbon:" if *Pitt* had, at that time, said this, how the Honourable House would have stared at him! And yet, even this has not yet been done. With half a million of foreign troops in France the Bourbons are not restored. Not half of France yet acknowledge their sway; and, when all France shall acknowledge their sway, that sway will not, in fact, be the *sway of the Bourbons*. The truth is, that we have, in the course of this long war, lost sight of its origin. We now rejoice at a result, which, at the outset, we should have deplored. We now feel happy to have *lost all but our lives*. We have been, of late years, so terrified, that we have thought nothing of our property. If *Pitt* had said, I must have a tenth of your incomes through the war and even after the peace; I must have a Corn Bill to enable the farmers to pay their taxes; I must load you and your children for ever with four or five times the taxes you now pay; I must have, by way of incident, a war with America, which will create a fleet

and manufactures in that country ; I must see that republic with ten millions of people, and with a most gallant and no very small navy : all this must be before I accomplish my restoration of the Bourbons : if Pitt had said this, would he have got many votes for the war ? How gladly would we be just where we were in 1793, and see France what she then was ! There are very few men, indeed, who would not wish this. But, the wish is vain. The injuries we can, with all our subsidized armies, inflict upon the French people, will be of short duration : those which we have inflicted on ourselves will last for ages, or will more speedily terminate after some great convulsion. The wasp can give great torment, for a while, to much larger and more powerful animals than itself ; but, by the very act, it loses its power to sting for ever after, and gives itself a wound which finally causes its own death.

Our news-writers and their stupid pupils talk of nothing but the *defeats* and *humiliations*, which they would make the world believe the French nation have experienced and are now experiencing. But, let them show one single instance, in which the French have been defeated by any *one nation*, or by any *two nations* ; let them shew one nation, in all Europe, whose armies have not, upon one or more occasions, been defeated by the French ; let them name one single sovereign upon the Continent who has not been compelled to bow to the French ; let them shew one nation who has made so gallant a defence against its invaders ; and then they may hope to persuade the world that France has been defeated and humbled. If four men each nearly as strong as yourself, aided by half a dozen weaker men, were to attack you, and that too, when you were badly armed and had one of your hands tied up, would you call it *defeat*, if they were to succeed in laying you under contribution ? Would you think yourself *humiliated* ? The whole world, and especially the French people, know well the history of these events. They know, that all the armed men in Europe, and all the treasures of Europe, have been employed in this invasion of France. They know that, according to your own statement, a *million of disciplined soldiers* have been sent against her, and that too, in the cause of her "*legitimate*" king, as he is

called, who, it was asserted, had more than half France with him. And is it, then, for us to pretend, that France has been *humbled* ? Do the Americans regard the burnings at Washington, the plundering at Alexandria, the acts at Frenchtown, at Hampton, and numerous other places, as *humiliating* to them ? No : nor does the world so regard them. For the moment, an irresistible force triumphed ; but, when pitted man to man, or ship to ship, the Americans had no defeat to deplore, or to humble them in their own estimation or in that of the world. Our triumph over the French is like the triumph of our *squadron* over the American *frigate*. When a man has been writing and publishing upon the subject of religion, for instance ; and when the only *answer* which his work receives, consists of a prosecution by the Attorney General *ex-officio* ; a verdict of guilty by a Special Jury, and a sentence of fine and imprisonment by the Judges ; such a man is said to have been *beaten* ; such a man is said to have been *defeated* ; his antagonists gain a *triumph* over him. But does such a man feel *humbled* ? Do the world look upon him as *humbled* ? Is he ashamed to look his friends in the face ? The pensioned BURKE having written a book against the French revolution, was *answered* by PAINE. That is to say, PAINE answered him with a *pen*. The pensioned BURKE did not attempt to return the blow in the same way, but pointed out his antagonist to the *Attorney General*, who prosecuted him, and the effects of which prosecution he avoided by *flying from the Country*. In this way PAINE was *beaten* ; in this way BURKE *triumphed* ; but was PAINE *humbled* ? Did the world look upon him as having suffered *humiliation* ? A base and corrupt court aided by a bloody Judge and a packed Jury, *triumphed* over SIDNEY. They answered his writings : they replied for FILMER by *chopping off Sidney's head*. But, was Sidney *humbled* in the eyes of the world ?

And, what do these writers promise us, as the effects of these mighty dings ? What advantage do they tell us we are to derive from them ? We are to secure *safety*, it seems ; that is to say, we are not to be *killed*, I suppose ; for, they do not pretend, that these victories will lessen the demands upon the fruits of our property or labour. And, have we



gained, at last, the mighty advantage of being secure against being *killed*? Is the great monument to record that we have gained this security? In justice it ought also to record the *cost* of this achievement. It ought to record the numbers of paupers created by the war, and the increase of misery and of crimes, during the same period. At the very moment that I am writing, I see in the *Times* newspaper of the 24th instant, the following passage:—“Some idea of the extent of emigration from Ireland may be formed from the following extract of a private letter, dated St. John’s, Newfoundland, 23d of last month:—“The arrivals from Ireland have exceeded any in the Custom-house books; exclusive of three vessels which have made no returns, are 3,026 men and 373 women to this harbour alone; but the numbers far exceed the returns, the Captains having brought out so many they are ashamed to return them. The wretched creatures are most dreadfully treated on the passage, one man declared to me, he was but three nights below decks the entire of the voyage, nor could he get down. Strange complaints have been made by a set of wretches who came yesterday, of the very nearly starving condition they were in; indeed Government must put a stop to such proceedings, or really a contagion will be bred in our streets, and what will become of them in winter God only knows.” This is a matter of much greater consequence than are the pictures and statues at Paris. Such poor creatures think little about the great intended monument. They, as well as those who go to other of our American possessions, at last find their way to the United States; they augment the population, the produce, and the power of that country. It is a fact worthy of remark that we have never heard of any such emigrations from France. Her emigrants have consisted of feudal lords and priests, the *consumers*, not the *creators*, of the products of the earth. The *people* do not migrate from France any more than they do from America. England, Scotland, Ireland and Germany are the countries from which men go to clear the lands and to add to the power of the Republic. These facts are of far greater consequence, in the mind of a real statesman, than are the disputes even about the division of territory in Europe. When peace, at last

comes (and come it must), it will soon be seen which are the countries that have gained by the war. Never will this kingdom be what it was in 1792. Since that time France has been changed into a country inviting to the rich of England; and America has risen into a great and powerful nation. A few years of peace will double the resources of the latter, and will greatly augment those of the former. The *Edict of Nantes* and the other cruelties of Louis XIV. sent the arts and population of France into Germany and England. The burdens, the crippling effects, which this war will leave behind it, bid fair to send the arts and the labour of England, Scotland and Ireland to fertilize and enrich France and America. It is in peace that we shall feel the effects of the war, as the patient feels the evils of a fever after it is passed. What a *langour* did the country feel from July 1814 to March 1815! People wondered that peace and the Bourbons had brought such a death-like state of existence; and, if peace with America had taken place at the same time, this wonder would have been increased. The time, however, cannot now be far distant, when experience will supply the place of speculation. I am, &c. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE RIGHT HON. H. GRATTAN.

SIR—Your most sanguine wishes are now gratified: all, and much more than all, you hoped for, has been effected by a single battle, which has included, in the space of one short week, the events of an age. The French army is subdued; Napoleon has surrendered himself to the honour of the British nation; and Louis the desired has recovered the pulchre of his ancestors.

With a presumption, which my friends could hardly pardon, I raised my feeble voice in opposition to the general cry. The carnage and devastation which I deprecated have taken place, and future historians will no doubt do justice to the principles of the contending powers. But amid this uproar, and in the intoxication of success, I suspect that you, and the rash majority to which you have newly attached yourself, experience some misgivings. The mischief is done. Thousands and tens of thousands, are bewailing the immediate consequences of this bloody catastrophe: the raging disease of taxation

will proceed among us in this nation with aggravated fury; and that country, whose hospitality you have so lately experienced, which might have been "as the garden of Eden," is likely to become a scene of desolation. These are the natural and necessary results of the measures you uphold; and, as they must have been taken into your calculation, you probably view them with philosophic complacency. In my former address, I enquired of you how many campaigns it might require to replace France in a condition to offer such a peace as she then offered in vain. Now that another hecatomb of lives has been sacrificed, and another hundred millions added to our burthens, I ask you the same question.

The destruction of armies, and the devastation of the fair face of nature, tend most powerfully, and I exult in the thought, to establish the principles of freedom, against which you combat. Hence the misgivings you experience in the midst of your success. The iniquity of that system which has so long oppressed the world, is more and more developed by the ensanguined fury of its supporters; and the misery which France is now doomed to endure, and the misery to be endured by other nations in inflicting it, will, I trust, eventually serve the cause of man. For, notwithstanding the temporary aberrations which are produced by the influence of passing events, the course of intellect is onward, and no earthly power can arrest it. Look into our own history; a short chapter in the grand volume of human records; there we shall see the principles of civil and religious liberty making their way, age after age, in spite of all obstructions; shining brightly, and then obscured for a time, only to break out again with increasing splendour, whilst the very efforts that were made for the support of tyranny and superstition have operated most regularly to their destruction. The savage bigotry of Mary extirpated the remains of papal influence; and the despotism of the Stuarts gave a death blow to the indefeasible claims of monarchy: thus were the iron sceptres broken by the hands which wielded them. And, could we turn over one page in advance, we might possibly see the sceptre of gold, under which we now groan, fall from the grasp that seems at present to have so firm a hold. So there is hope even in calamity.

As you, Sir, are a public man, and I am of that public, whom, in your legislative character you profess to represent, I make no apology for thus performing what I conceive to be a duty. In the cause of humanity, the most humble individual has a voice; and, unless he exerts it he betrays his trust. I am, &c. &c.

M. BIRKBECK.

Wanborough, July 23, 1815.

THE BOROUGH SYSTEM.

SIR,—I know you are one of the many who have long been a strenuous advocate for a Reform in Parliament; and as the cant term of the strenuous advocates of corruption has been "now is not the time," whenever called on to restore to us our liberties, I think, after the struggle for the Pension for the Duke of Cumberland, they never will have the assurance to tell us again "now is not the time." Look over the list of the voters for the measure on that occasion, and consult the red book, and then let us know if *now* is not the time to do away the detestable Borough Monger Faction. I perceive that the county of Berks has set the example of remonstrating with one of their Representatives, for not appearing in his place to vote against the pension, and I hope it will be followed generally, for no one can venture to say the measure was so hurried through that he could not be aware of the danger. There were some men of conscience, indeed, who declared that they would oppose the grant in every stage. Several very strong letters have appeared in the Reading Mercury, none of which has the Representative himself yet replied to; but, it appears there have been paragraphs inserted which were intended to persuade the freeholders that the health of the Member was not such as permitted him to go up to Parliament. However, it is now said by some, that no such *excuse* is authorized by him; yet they are told by others that such really was the case. If so, it is somewhat singular that the Member in question (who, I believe, *professes* to be a Whig), does not come forward himself and declare the truth! But no, they do not hear from him any apology whatever; but are told the fact *is so*. Some

who have been so impertinent as to enquire, still declare the fact is *not so*; nor will they believe otherwise unless the Member himself declares it. It is stated in a paragraph, in one of the Reading Papers, that satisfaction will be given to the freeholders if they will apply for it by *name*. Now, Mr. Cobbett, hopeless indeed is the cause of reform if a freeholder, whose interest is neglected by his Representative, is to run the risque of ruin, probably, for urging his complaint. Will the county of Berks submit to such an insult? Are the Freeholders not at liberty to ask a plain question of their Representative without being subject to the risque of a ball in the thorax, or the persecution of a man in authority? Is it a mode tolerable to the freeholders to be told, by an *unauthorised* person, that if they will come forward and give in their names, they shall be satisfied, and that next time the question is urged in Parliament, their Representative will *oppose the grant*, or, in order to get rid of the business, which I dare say is unpleasant enough to the member, that his health is very bad, and to be quiet and he will resign if it is not better; and all this while the Member himself is silent? Is this fair play to the freeholders of the County of Berks? Degenerate indeed are they become, if they tacitly submit to such contempt. The matter rests solely on this: will the Member come forward or not, and declare, on his honour, that his health was so very bad he could not appear in his place to oppose the grant? or will he *suffer* paragraphs, unauthorized by him, to be inserted, insinuating his health was so, if it was not so? If he does, he becomes an accessory to the fact to all intents and purposes. If he has justifiable reasons for the alleged neglect, why does he not give them? I confess I should, was I myself a Member of Parliament, feel happy to reply to any freeholder in the County I represented. There are times when Representatives can *ask questions* of them without *knowing their names*. So let them reply then. I perceive *Whigs*, like all other perishable commodities, lose their beauty by neglect of dressing frequently if wanted. I, therefore, hope this dressing will renovate this Whig, and make him as staunch a Whig in future as your humble Servant, a Whig, not without

A TALE.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

(OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.)

Admiralty-Office, July 25.

Extract of a letter from Captain Maitland, of his Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated in Basque-roads, the 14th instant.

For the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have to acquaint you that the Count Las Cases and General Allemand, this day came on board his Majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal for me to receive on board *Napoleon Bonaparte*, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. Conceiving myself authorised by their Lordship's secret order, I have acceded to the proposal, and he is to embark on board this ship to-morrow morning.—That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Cases, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but that all I can do is to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his Royal Highness may deem expedient.

REPORT PRESENTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE
MINISTER OF MARINE, BY THE CAPTAIN OF
THE FRIGATE, *DE RIGNY*, SENT ON A MISSION TO ROCHEFORT.

On reaching this port, on the 18th inst. I learnt that *Napoleon Bonaparte* had sailed for England in his Britannic Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland, the 16th July, at half past two P. M. My instructions ordering me to hold an official communication on that head with Admiral Hotham, commanding on the English station, I hastened to write to him, enclosing, at the same time, dispatches from Mr. Croker, Secretary of the British Admiralty, of which I was the bearer. It results from the different communications which I have had with the English Admiral and the Maritime Prefect, that *Napoleon* having reached Rochefort on the 3d, had established himself at the Prefecture until the 8th. Pressed by General Becker, who had been charged to escort him until he should be embarked, and by Baron Bonnefoux, Maritime Prefect, to profit by all the opportunities which wind and time presented, he at last resolved to embark in the boats which waited for him at every tide, and went on board the *Saul* at ten o'clock at night, and caused his suite to be divided between that frigate and the *Medusa*. The next day, the 9th, he landed on the Isle of Aix, and inspected its fortifications. The 10th, the

wind was favourable for sailing, but the English cruisers and the moon-light left but little hope that the frigates should escape. Between the 10th and 11th, Napoleon sent Generals Savary and Las Cases in a flag of truce on board the English ship, *Bellerophon*. This flag of truce returned on the 11th. Between the 11th and 12th, Napoleon learnt from his brother Joseph the dissolution of the Chambers and the entry of the King at Paris. Until that moment Bonaparte had frequently expressed his opinion that the Chambers would recall him, whether he wished to overawe the authorities by whom he was surrounded, or perhaps he really entertained such hopes. —The 12th, he landed on the island of Aix with his suit and baggage, and in the night between the 12th and 13th two boats with decks repaired to him from La Rochelle. It appears that Napoleon had caused them to be purchased with the intention of embarking in them, and endeavouring to gain, under the shelter of night, a Danish smack, with which it is supposed he had treated, and which was to wait for him 50 or 40 leagues off that sea. It is not known why he did not avail himself of these dispositions, but probably they appeared to him too hazardous. During the night of the 13th to the 14th, he went on board the French brig *l'Epervier*, and on the 14th, in the evening, General Becker, who had been with a flag of truce to the English station, having returned, Napoleon caused his suite and his baggage to be embarked on board *l'Epervier*. The 15th, in the morning, that vessel was despatched sailing as a flag of truce towards the English Admiral. The state of the sea, not allowing her to make a rapid way, English embarkations came to meet her, and conveyed the passengers on board the *Bellerophon*. On this occasion Lieut. Jourdan, who commanded *l'Epervier*, thought it his duty to ask, and obtained from the Captain of the *Bellerophon*, a written attestation of the transfer of Bonaparte to his ship. The same day an English frigate sailed for England. The 16th the *Bellerophon* set sail at half past 12, *p. m.* The weakness and the direction of the wind which has since prevailed, does not allow a supposition that she should reach the English coast before the night of the 19th to the 20th.

(The rest of the report then merely states, that on the 17th the white flag was hoisted at Rochefort on the forts, and on board the vessels in the port, without any opposition.)

EXTRACT FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE
MARITIME PREFECT OF ROCHEFORT.

July 18.

The following have been embarked on board

the *Bellerophon*, together with NAPOLEON BONAPARTE:—

Lieutenant-Gen. Count BERTRAND, Grand Master of the Palace.
The Countess BERTRAND and three children.
Lieutenant-General the Duke of ROVIGO.
Lieutenant-General LALLEMAND.
Mareschal-de-Camp, SEMERVILLE.
Count de LAS CASSES.
M. de RESIGNY, Chief d'Escadron.
M. PLANAT, ditto.
Lieutenant AUTRIC, of the Ordnance.
M. SCHULTZ, Chief d'Escadron.
Captain POINTKORSKI.
Captain MERCHER.
M. MAINGAULT, personal Surgeon of NAPOLEON.

Besides these, 40 other persons were embarked, as constituting the suite of BONAPARTE.

NAPOLEON'S LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS—A prey to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have ended my political career; and, like Themistocles, I seek an asylum among a foreign people. I place myself under the Protection of British laws, which I invoke from your Royal Highness, the most powerful, the most determined, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

These are all the official documents which have been published respecting this extraordinary occurrence. Our newspapers, as usual, have teemed with stories about Napoleon since he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, the greater part of which, I am persuaded, is entirely false, and even where we have any thing possessing the appearance of truth, is, more than probable, founded in conjecture, or report, more than in the personal knowledge of the relator. The following statement, which has appeared in most of our newspapers, seems as probable as any other. If the particulars are not altogether correct, they are, at least, interesting:—

II. M. Ship Bellerophon, July 24.

On the 16th of this month, a flag of truce arrived from Aix Roads (where there were lying two frigates, two corvettes, and a brig, which we were blockading) having on board the noted Savary, Duc de Rovigo; and the Count de Las Cases, Chamberlain to Napoleon; the object of

whose mission was to procure leave for Napoleon and his suite to proceed to America in one of the frigates, or in a merchantman, if that could not be allowed. This was immediately refused by Captain Maitland, notwithstanding Savary threw out a hint of the probability of the French squadron coming out and forcing their passage. We had, previously to this, been very actively employed with the squadron under Captain Maitland's command, in forming a most strict blockade before the ports of Bourdeaux, Basque Roads, and all the passages leading from it, and now, if possible, the Captain's exertions were doubled. He proceeded with this ship and the *Myrmidon*, and anchored just out of gun-shot of the Isle d'Aix; stationed the *Cyprus* off the Petit Breton Passage, the *Daphne* off the Marmazon Passage, the *Erne* and *Larne* off Bourdeaux, the *Cephalus* off the Nemissian Passage, the *Endymion* twenty leagues in the offing, while, with this ship and the *Myrmidon*, sometimes at anchor, and sometimes cruising between the two Light Houses, one on the Isle de Rhe, (Tour de Balaines) and the Casseron Light on the Isle d'Oleron, and the *Slaney* outside, (all placed with such judgment as to be able to communicate intelligence from one to the other in a very short time), he completely hermetically sealed the ports in such a manner, that it was impossible for any vessel to escape us. Captain Maitland having been an old cruiser here, was intimately well acquainted with every passage; and I never saw a man so indefatigable and zealous in his exertions, or whose judgment was so correct in the steps which he took with the small force under his command, to prevent the possibility of Napoleon's escape. We were kept constantly cleared and ready for action, night and day, and only the hammocks of the watch allowed below at a time. On the 14th, while at anchor about three miles from the enemy's frigates, we perceived a flag of truce again in the morning, on board of which were the aforesaid De Lascases, and Lieut.-Gen. Count L'Allemand, Aide-de-camp to Napoleon. After being some hours on board they departed, and then we learned, that probably we should have the satisfaction of receiving the Ex-Emperor. In the evening another flag of truce came out, on board of which were De Lascases and General Gorgand, also Aid-de-Camp to Napoleon, with two of his pages, and part of his baggage. We now became pretty certain of seeing him. Captain Maitland dispatched the *Slaney* immediately with this important intelligence, and with General Gorgand on board, with a letter from Napoleon to the Prince Regent direct to England. The following

morning at day light, we perceived a brig and a schooner working out of Aix Roads. The Captain dispatched the boats to them, and in the space of an hour the First Lieutenant Mr. Mott, returned in the barge, accompanied by the "once great Ruler of Half the World," with Lieut. General Count Bertrand, Savary (the Duc de Rovigo), General Count Montholon, and the Comtesses Bertrand and Montholon. When he came on the quarter deck, he said, in a firm and certainly dignified manner, in French, to Captain Maitland,—"I come to claim the protection of your Prince and of your Laws."

I observed his person particularly, and can describe him thus: he is about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned with great symmetry and strength, a small, round, and handsome foot. His countenance is sallow, and as it were deeply tinged by hot climates; but the most commanding air I ever saw. His eyes grey, and the most piercing that you can imagine. His glance, you fancy, searches into your inmost thoughts. His hair dark brown, and no appearance of grey. His features are handsome now, and when younger he must have been a very handsome man. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant, but he appears active notwithstanding. His step and demeanour altogether commanding. He looks about 45 or 46 years of age. He is extremely curious, and never passes any thing remarkable in the ship without immediately demanding its use, and inquiring minutely into the manner thereof. He also stops and asks the officers divers questions relative to the time they have been in the service, what actions, &c.; and he caused all of us to be introduced to him the first day he came on board. He has also asked several questions about the marines, particularly those who appeared to have been some time in the service, and about the warrant officers, midshipmen, seamen, &c. He was but a very short time on board when he asked that the boatswain might be sent for, in order that he might look at him, and was very inquisitive as to the nature of his duty. He dresses in green uniform, with red facings, and edged with red, two plain gold epaulettes, the lappels of the coat cut round and turned back, white waistcoat and breeches, and military boots and spurs, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour on his left breast. He professes his intention (if he is allowed to reside in England) to adopt the English customs and manners, and declares that he will never meddle with politics more. The army which left Paris, and united with others on the Loire, wanted him to

join them and resume his title, which he refused to do. He declares that not another "*goutte de sang*" shall be shrd on his account. Fortunate, indeed, it would have been if he really had been of this opinion some years back.

His followers still treat him with the greatest respect, not one of them, not even the Duke of Rovigo himself, ever speaking to him without being uncovered the whole time. He does not appear out until about half past ten, though he rises about seven. He breakfasts in the French fashion at eleven, and dines at six. He spends most of the day alone in the after-cabin, and reads a great deal. He retires to bed about eight. He has not latterly been much on the quarter deck. His suite is composed of fifty persons. General Bertrand appears to be a fine and faithful soldier. He has never abandoned Napoleon in his adversity or prosperity. He was at Elba with him, and, I believe, intends accompanying him (if permitted) wherever his destination may be. It was this officer who constructed the bridge over the Danube, from the Isle de Lobau, which saved the French army after the battle of Asperne. Madame Bertrand, I believe, was born in Martinique of Irish parents, and her maiden name was Dillon. She is extremely pleasant and affable, and greatly attached to Napoleon's interests. The Duc de Rovigo is a fine looking man, about 30, with a countenance expressive of superior talents. De Lascaisses is a little fellow, about 5 feet 2 inch, very clever. He is the author of the Historical Atlas, which I suppose you have seen. L'Allemand is considered an excellent officer, and commanded the light infantry of the Imperial Guard in the battle of Waterloo.

FRANCE.

ORDINANCE OF THE KING.—LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c. The law of the 21st of October, 1814, authorised the Director-General of the Book trade, and the Prefects of Departments, to watch the publication of works of 20 sheets and under; but we have ascertained that this restriction of the liberty of the press occasioned greater inconveniences than advantages, and we have therefore resolved to remove it entirely, depending on the zeal of our magistrates for the prosecution and repression, in conformity to the laws, offences which may be committed by those who shall attempt to abuse this full and entire

liberty. For these causes we have declared, and do declare, ordained, and do ordain as follows :

Art. 1. Our Director-General of Bookselling, and our Prefects, shall not exercise the privilege given them by arts. 3, 4, and 6 of the law of the 21st Oct. 1814.

2. All the other enactments of the law of the 21st Oct. shall be executed according to their form and tenour.

3. Provisionally, and until a law shall have regulated the prosecution of offences of the press our prefects and attorneys shall put in execution the existing enactments of the penal code against this species of offence.

4. Our Ministers of Justice, of the Interior, and of Police, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

Given at our Palace of the Thuilleries, this 20th of July, 1815, and in the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Another ordinance of the King recalls the powers which his Majesty, or the Princes of his blood had given to extraordinary Commissioners in different part of France, lest they should clash with the functions of the Ministers whom the King had chosen.

A third ordinance states in the preamble that the number of Officers of the Army are out of all proportion with the organization on a peace footing; that the exhausted state of the finances is such as to make it an imperious duty to adopt every measure of economy, consistent with the real wants of the State; and it decrees, that as a number of officers of every rank will be disposable in consequence of the new organization of the army, and wishing to call them as promptly as possible to titular employments, no proposition whatever shall be made by the Minister at War, either for nominations to office, or advancement of rank in the army, till the 1st of July, 1816.

A fourth ordinance relates to the Electoral Colleges. It states the importance of the Deputies being named by such a number of electors as may give to their election the necessary character of regularity; and in consequence of the power given to Government by article 27th of the Act of the 16th Thermidor, year 10 (4th Aug. 1802), it declares that the Prefects of the Departments are authorised to add to the Electoral Colleges, twenty Members for each College; ten among the thirty who pay the highest contributions, if they are not already Electors, and the ten others from those subjects who have rep-

dered services to the State. The Prefects are also authorised to add to every *College d'Arrondissement* ten Members, taken from the subjects who rendered similar services.

ADDRESS TO THE KING BY THE ARMY OF THE
LOIRE.

SIRE—The army, unanimous in its views and affections, in order to be brought to a free and simple submission to your Majesty's Government, has no need either of receiving any private impulse, or of altering its spirit or sentiments; it is enough for it to consult the sentiments that have animated it under all circumstances, and the spirit which guided it during the last twenty-five years of political storms. Its opinions, its acts, the conduct of each of its members, always had for their actuating cause that love of country, ardent, deep, exclusive, capable of every effort, of every sacrifice, respectable even in its errors and wanderings, which at all times commanded the esteem of Europe, and which secures to us that of posterity. The generals, the officers, and the soldiers, who now surround their colours, and who are attached to them with the greatest constancy and love, even when they are most unfortunate, are not men who can be accused of regretting private advantages. To other thoughts, therefore, to motives more dignified and noble must be ascribed the silence which the army has hitherto kept. From the lowest soldier to the officer of highest rank, the French army numbers in its ranks only citizens, sons, fathers of citizens; it is intimately connected with the nation; it cannot separate its cause from that of the French people; it adopts with them, it adopts sincerely the government of your Majesty; it will cause the happiness of France by generous and complete oblivion of all that has past, by effacing every trace of dissension, by respecting the rights of all. Convinced of this truth, full of respect and confidence in the sentiments expressed by your Majesty, the army swears to you, with entire submission, a fidelity, proof against all trial; it will shed its blood in fulfilment of the oaths which it this day pronounces to defend the King and France.

[Here follow the signatures.]

Head-quarters, near Orleans, July 14, 1815.

(A true Copy) The Prince of ECKMÜHL,
Marshal of France, commanding the
Armies of the Loire and the Pyrenees.

ADDRESS OF THE PRINCE ECKMÜHL TO THE
ARMY.

It is for you, Soldiers, to render this submission complete by your obedience—hoist the white flag and cockade. I know that I am asking of you a great sacrifice. We have all stuck to the colours we are now resigning for the last twenty-five years; but the sacrifice is commanded by the interests of our country. I am incapable, Soldiers, of giving you an order which should not be founded on those sentiments, or which should be contrary to honour. In the last year, under similar circumstances, a change having taken place in the Government of our country. I defended Hamburgh and Harburgh to the last moment in the name of Louis XVIII. listening to nothing then, as I do now, but the interest of our country. All my countrymen applauded my conduct—a fine army was preserved to France: not a single soldier deserted from the ranks; knowing that he is bound to serve his country, whatever may be its form of government; and that the army cannot be a deliberative body.—Soldiers, continue the same conduct; defend our unfortunate country in the name of Louis XVIII. This Monarch and all our countrymen will give us credit for it. We shall make a common cause with those brave Vandéens who have just given us an affecting example, by declaring that they will unite with us to fight against the enemies of France; and you will have, besides, preserved to the country a numerous and brave army. I expect from you the same spirit of discipline of which you have given proofs since your departure from Paris.

The Marshal Commander in Chief of the
Armies of the Loire and the Pyrenees.
The Prince of ECKMÜHL.

PROCLAMATION OF PRINCE BLUCHER ON ENTERING FRANCE.

The Field Marshal Prince Blucher to Messrs. the Administrators of the Departments, which will be occupied by the Prussian army which has entered France, to maintain the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814.—Gentlemen; I inform you, that I have appointed persons worthy of my confidence for the administration of the departments through which I shall pass, having entered France to maintain the treaty of Paris, I have given these persons sufficient power to make their authority respected; and I invite you, gentlemen, in so far as depends upon you, to assist them in every thing relating to the interest

and tranquillity of the country. The persons whom I have chosen, not only possess the public esteem and my confidence, but they are thoroughly acquainted with that part of France through which I shall pass. The power I entrust to them embraces the collective civil and financial administration. I shall see that my soldiers commit no excesses. I have published an order of the day, which forbids plundering under pain of death. I shall make war only against Bonaparte and his accomplices. The peasant shall not have to complain of my army. Those only shall feel the burthens of the war, who by their violation of their faith and their oaths, have brought us to the frontiers of France. For the support of my army, magazines shall be formed, and these shall be filled by requisitions, which shall be immediately paid in bons, or assignments upon the treasury of France, which bons are guaranteed by my army. These bons shall be taken in payment of the property belonging to the principal adherents of Bonaparte, which I shall confiscate, and which will be sold without delay. In the purchase of this property no other kind of payment shall be received, and only Frenchmen can be purchasers. This property shall be taken not only from those who follow Bonaparte as soldiers or National Guards, but also from those who support him in their counsels or influence. All soldiers and other persons who follow Bonaparte shall be summoned to return to their homes within a fortnight, otherwise their property will be declared national property, and immediately sold. These bons will be given in payment for all articles which the army may stand in need of. Those bons which are not employed in the purchase of confiscated property, shall be reimbursed after the war. In informing you, Gentlemen, of my sentiments, I wish you to publish them to your fellow-citizens, that they may know for what purpose the allied armies appear again in France. Destroy the opinion which the counsellors of Napoleon have spread; we come only to deliver the French from the most disgraceful yoke, and to fulfil the Treaty of Paris in every thing that concerns their rights and liberties.

LETTER FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PARIS,

JULY 5.

Counsellor Ribbentrop is named by Prince Blücher General Intendant of the occupied Pro-

vinces. He is the central point of the administration of the Interior, the Finances, Justice, Public Worship, the Police, the Superintendence of the Public Prints, &c. The natives who have remained true to the good cause will be especially advanced, and the Prefects and Mayors who since Bonaparte's return have been placed as his especial friends, will be arrested, and their property sequestered. The inhabitants are to be disarmed. All those inhabitants who have been hitherto in arms, and do not return home in eight days, expose themselves to the loss of their property. This sequestered property forms the military fund, and is designed to indemnify the other inhabitants for the damage sustained by the war and the requisitions. The property will be sold, and the bons taken in payment. The army is to be maintained, clothed, paid and armed at the expence of the enemy's country, and the following articles required from the occupied provinces:—150,000 pair of shoes, 150,000 coats, 40,000 pair of boots, 150,000 cloaks, 150,000 pair of breeches, 150,000 pair of gaiters, 150,000 leather caps, 100,000 kettles and drinking vessels, 100,000 horse shoes, 3,000 horses, half saddle half draught horses, and four million of francs to make good the arrears of pay. Any one, who as an adherent of Bonaparte, shall in any measure resist the necessary public regulation, shall be immediately arrested, imprisoned, and, according to circumstances, tried by a court-martial, and punished with death. His property shall be confiscated, and added to the Military Fund.

The *Gazette Officielle* contains also several other ordinances of the King, one enforcing the arrangements of the municipality for raising the contributions imposed on the city of Paris for the subsistence of the allied forces, amounting to 9,619,300 francs. One extending to the French navy the provisions of ordinance, putting a stop, through motives of economy, to all military promotions for the space of one year, or till the 1st of July, 1816. One dissolving forthwith the select battalions taken from the national guards for active service in the war just terminated; the veteran soldiers who were placed in these battalions are dismissed absolutely, with such pensions as they may be entitled to by former services; and the conscripts of 1815, who also formed part of them, sent to their homes; the officers ordered to their homes. Another ordinance, dated the 20th of July, disbands the free corps (*corps francs*), formed by Bonaparte, and subjects to trial, by military law, all who may resist this dissolution.

ARRESTS AND PROSCRIPTIONS IN FRANCE

The Paris Papers of Tuesday contain the annexed Ordinance of the King, enjoining rigorous measures to be adopted against the individuals therein mentioned, who took an active part in the restoration of Napoleon. The *Courier* of last night expresses great "*satisfaction*" at this act of "vigour and justice on the part of Louis XVIII." which, it adds, "will do much towards *strengthening* and *consolidating* the King's power."—We shall see, by and bye, how this system of arrest and proscription will operate.—

ORDINANCE OF THE KING.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. To all those who shall see these presents, health :—An account has been rendered to us that several Members of the Chambers of Peers have accepted seats in a *soi-disant* Chamber of Peers, named and assembled by the man who had usurped the power in our States, since the 20th March, until our return into the kingdom. It is beyond a doubt that Peers of France, until they are rendered hereditary, have been able and may give in their resignation; for in that, they only dispose of interests that are purely personal to them. It is equally evident, that the acceptance of functions incompatible with the dignity with which one is invested, supposes and carries with it the resignation of that dignity, and in consequence the Peers who are in the situation above-mentioned have really abdicated their rank, and have in fact resigned the Peerage of France. For these causes we have ordered, and do order, what follows :—

Art. 1. Are no longer part of the Chamber of Peers the undermentioned :—

COUNTS—Clement de Ris, Colchen, Cornudet, d'Aboville.

MARSHAL DUKE OF—Dantzick.

COUNTS—De Croix, Dedeley d'Agier,

Dejean, Fabre del'Aude, Cassendi, Lacedepede, Latour Maubourg.

DUKES OF—Fraslin, Plaisance.

MARSHALS DUKE OF—Elchingen, Anzera, Corneghiano, Treviso.

COUNTS—de Barral (Archbishop of Tours), Boissy d'Anglas.

DUKE—de Cadore.

COUNTS—de Camclaux, Cassabianca, de Montesquiou, Pontecoulant, Rampon, Segur, Valence, Belliard.

Art. 2. May be excepted however from the above disposition those who shall justify not having sate nor been willing to sit in the *soi-disant* Chamber of Peers, to which they had been called; they taking upon themselves to make that justification in the month following the publication of the present Ordinance. — Castle of the Thuilleries, 24th July, and 21st of our reign, (Signed) LOUIS.

By the King,

(Signed) Prince de TALLEYRAND.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, &c.—Wishing, by the punishment of an attempt without example, but, graduating the punishment and limiting the number of the guilty, to conciliate the interest of our people, the dignity of our crown, and the tranquillity of Europe, with what we owe to justice and the entire security of all the other citizens without distinction :—We have declared and declare, ordered and order, what follows :—Article 1. The Generals and Officers who have betrayed the King before the 23d of March, or who have attacked France and the Government with arms in their hands, and those who by violence have obtained possession of power, shall be arrested and carried before the competent Councils of War, in their respective Divisions, viz.

Ney, Labedoyere, the two Lallemands, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Amcilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet,

Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambrone Lavalette, Rovigo.

2. The individuals whose names follow, viz :—

Soult, Alix, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurth, Mehee, Fressinet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Peré, Barrere, Arnault, Pomme-reuil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Arrighi (Padua), Dejean (the son), Garnau, Real, Bouvier Dumoulard, Merlin of Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin Janson (the eldest son), Lorgne Dideville, shall quit the city of Paris in three days, and shall retire into the interior of France, to places which our Minister of General Police shall point out, and where they shall remain under his superintendence, until the Chambers decide upon such among them as shall be sent out of the kingdom, or be delivered over for trial to the Tribunals.

Shall be immediately arrested such as

shall not repair to the place assigned them by our Minister of General Police.

3. The individuals who shall be condemned to quit the kingdom, shall have the faculty to sell their goods and property in the delay of one year, to dispose of it, and to send the produce of the kingdom, and to receive during that time the revenues in foreign countries, furnishing, however, the proof of their obedience to the present ordonnance.

4. The lists of all the individuals to whom the 1st and 2d articles shall be applicable, are, and remain, closed by the nominal designations contained in these articles, and shall never be extended to others, for any causes and under any pretext whatever, other than in the form and according to the constitutional laws, which are expressly departed from for this case alone.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

By the King,

The Minister Secretary of State of
General Police,

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ALL PARTIES,

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

On the necessity of their being prepared for the defence of their country.

Bailey, July 29, 1815.

Before this reaches you, you will have heard of the great events which have taken place in Europe. Those events, if you seriously look at them, will convince you, that it is high time for you to betake yourselves to the means of making your country a *durable* asylum for the oppressed of all nations; a *safe* abode of freedom. This is, in no way, to be done, but by *arming yourselves*; by keeping yourselves *constantly* armed; by being, at *all* times, ready to enter the field of battle; and this state of preparation is to be effected only by *wise organization*.

If you look into our newspapers of a fortnight past, you will see, that they have now openly and unreservedly promulgated principles, according to which your country might be *laudably* invaded, your cities laid in ashes, your women violated, yourselves robbed and murdered, even in the hour of peace. You will see, that they recommend the *perpetual imprisonment*, or the *murder*, of NAPOLEON, who has given himself up as a *prisoner of war*, whose victories were never stained by cruelty or insult to the captive, and to whose clemency so many old reigning families owe the preservation of that power, under the combination of which he has, at last, fallen. You will see, that they recommend the murder of every man, who has distinguished himself by his exertions against the horrible feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny formerly existing in France. You will see, that they almost literally thirst for the blood of every man in France, who has done, or who is suspected of wishing to do, any thing to preserve the liberties of the French nation. You will see, that, now that Napoleon is wholly unable to act against the kings of Europe, these men are directing their malice against all that they think likely to oppose their

views of *universal oppression*. You will see, that, as the King of France does not appear disposed to shed blood, and to strip the people almost of their very skins, these men are urging the Allies to take the work into their own hands. You will see, in short, that they have now undisguisedly avowed, that England and Europe can never be *safe*, while one particle of freedom is left in France; while anything but misery and slavery are left in that populous and extensive country.

We are not to believe it possible, that these savage, these murderous recommendations, will be followed; nor, if followed, are we to believe, that the wishes of these fiends in human shape would be accomplished. We are not to believe it possible, that any *king*, or any *minister*, will entertain the wish, much less attempt the deed, of making neighbouring, or rival nations, wretched "*for a century*," lest their growth and prosperity should endanger his power and means of living in splendour. We are not to believe it possible, for instance, that any king, or minister, of England, will ever entertain the horrid wish of "*putting you back for a century*," that you may not be able to cope with him. But, while you actually see that there are public writers, even in this country, who not only openly avow such wishes, and that, too, with respect to America, as well as with respect to France, ought you not to think it possible, that, in some part or other of the world, sooner or later, the principles of these men may possess the minds of those who may be able to *endeavour*, at least, to put them into execution?

These writers are men of *great weight* in the world. You have seen the numerous instances, in which they appear to have been the dictators of action in mighty affairs. Their writings are never to be despised. They are always to be *attended to*; and, I beseech you, to *attend to them*. They hate you mortally, chiefly because you are *really free*, and because you exhibit to the world the great exam-

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ple of order, tranquillity, prosperity unparalleled, under a government of such mildness and cheapness. They are men of excellent memories: *revenge* is never extinguished in their breasts; from the same motive that they now recommend the murder of the great and generous conqueror of the continent of Europe, they would, if they had the power, tear your bodies to pieces. Be you assured, that these men will die, without having felt one single moment of solid satisfaction, unless they see your political institutions destroyed, your country made a heap of ruins, and yourselves reduced to the most degrading slavery.

While you know, that such passions are existing in the world; while you see, that the human mind may be so brutalized, so corrupted, and so hardened against the feelings which nature inspires, it becomes you to guard your liberties and your lives—to begin *betimes* to prepare for their protection against the acts to which such passions may finally lead. And, let not any *party* amongst you suppose, that these men, if they could stir up an enemy against you, would make any *exceptions in favour of that party*. Until they saw half a million of the allies in France, they were applauding the *Royalists*, and urging them on to cut the throats of their republican countrymen. But, *now*, they make *no distinctions*. It is now *France* that is to be punished; it is *now*, not Napoleon, not the Jacobins; it is *France* that is to be "*put back for a century*." Only think, for a moment, of the *means* that must be used to accomplish such a purpose. Only think of the pillaging, the murders, the acts of devastation, which are necessary even to afford a chance of effecting such an end. Only think of the rancour, the bloody-mindedness, that must have engendered such an idea. These men now applaud the *Federalists*, whom they call the "*sound part of the people*." But, if they could urge any power to invade you, the *Federalists* would soon find, as the *Royalists* in France now do, that it is against the *whole country*, against the prosperity and happiness of the *whole nation*, that their hatred is directed. Now and then, when thrown off their guard by some particular cause of exasperation, they confound, in their abuse, *both parties* under the name of "*the Americans*," and, I have been not a little amused at

reading, in a Boston Federal paper, serious, but very *plaintive*, remonstrances upon this score, stating, "that it is *unjust* in these our writers to *confound* the different descriptions of Americans thus: "that they ought to *discriminate*: that they are right in venting their hatred against the *Democrats*; but, that they should recollect, that the *Federalists* are a very good and respectable sort of people, lovers of order and religion, and that, besides, they actually fight the battles of these writers in America." Let these malignant men only be able to stir up the means of doing you mischief, and the authors of these humble wailings will soon see, that their hatred, like the bullet, is no respecter of parties or persons. Before the allies were in France, they told us, that all the "*sound part of the community*," (keep this phrase in mind) were decidedly in favour of the king, and especially the "*good and respectable Bourgeoisie*." But, *now* they announce to us, with delight, the sums of money and the masses of food and drink, which, as they tell us, the allies are compelling the "*sound*" as well as unsound to pay. They tell us, with particular satisfaction, that the "*honest old Marshal, Blucher*," is quartering his soldiers upon the people of Paris: that is, upon the *good and respectable Bourgeoisie*, who were so hearty and faithful in the cause of the king. This is the treatment they approve of as to the *Royalists* in France; this is the way, in which they turn round upon their friends there. And, would they not do the same towards their friends in America?

I will here insert a passage from the *Times* newspaper and one from the *Courier*, under the date of 28th July, 1815, in order to give you a specimen of the views of our leading public prints. And, again and again, I beseech you to *mark well* their conduct: for I tell you, as, indeed, you must know, that they are not *singular* in their way of thinking. We will first hear the *Courier*:—"We have been given to understand that the conditions which the Allied Sovereigns think it necessary to dictate to France in her twice captured capital, will be made known in a few days. One of the French papers of Monday announces that the Treaty of Paris is to be maintained—that of course the territory of

France remains untouched—that there are to be contributions imposed for the expences of the war, all participation in which, it is understood, have been renounced by two of the Powers (we trust we are not one)—that the allied troops will soon retire, except about 150,000 Russians, who will evacuate the country by 25,000 at a time, in proportion as the French army becomes re-organised; that the Emperor of Austria has declared, that wishing to avoid all cause of jealousy or umbrage, he will not leave a single Austrian corps in France. The Journalist then concludes with compliments to the magnanimity of the Allied Powers. Magnanimity! call it *rather folly*; but we do not and cannot believe them to be capable of *throwing away in this manner the advantages they have gained*, and of sacrificing their duty to their subjects. Leave the French territory as it was! and thus leave her the power to disturb again the repose of Europe! endanger Belgium! for will any man say she can be secure whilst France keeps her northern fortresses?—The paragraph, therefore, in the Paris Journal, cannot be correct. The following arrangement, we hear, will be found to be nearer the truth:—The immediate disbanding of the Army of the Loire by the King—an Ordinance to that effect may be expected in a day or two.—Why not extend the Decree to the other armies of France? The raising another army comprised of men that have proved their fidelity to the King. The delivery *en depot* to the Allies of three of the strongest fortresses till this new army is raised and ready to act.—Eight millions of francs as an indemnification to the Allies of their expences! (800 millions would not indemnify them.)—The punishment of the principal offenders to be left to the prudence of the King.—If such be the principal outlines of the new arrangement, we can only say that they will be *any thing but satisfactory*. A new army may be faithful and loyal to the King; and the King may be pacifically inclined; but suppose he should not; suppose his successor should not; suppose he should be forced to follow the warlike impulse of the nation. The real, wise, and sane policy is to reduce the power of France; that is the only way to pre-

vent her from disturbing the peace of Europe. It is with nations as with individuals. Who of US, after being HUMBLED BY AN ENEMY, IS NOT ANXIOUS TO BE REVENGED OF THAT ENEMY? We should insist upon the surrender, or at least the razing, all the northern fortresses of France: we should make her give up the spoiliations of Louis XIV. Why not bestow Lorraine upon Austria, and Alsace upon Prussia? Lastly, every one of her pictures and statues should be removed."

Pray mark well the words, which I have put in large capitals. Mark the words: "who of US, after being HUMBLED BY AN ENEMY, IS NOT ANXIOUS TO BE REVENGED OF THAT ENEMY?" Mark these words: write them, engrave them, in your minds; never lose sight of them for a moment. They speak to you, and that, too, with a voice of thunder.—But, to turn to France. You see, now, they are for acting as if the king—aye, as if even the Bourbon king was their enemy. He was every thing that was good, till the allies got possession of the capital, many of the fortresses, and a large part of the territory of France; before that time, these men only wanted to get rid of Napoleon, that disturber of Europe; but, the moment France was in their hands, they could no longer trust even the king. They now, as you see, wish to dismember and cripple and even destroy France. They now cry for the destruction of the power, not of any men or any party, but the power of France herself.

Let us now hear the Editor of the TIMES of the same date. After calling upon the government to murder Napoleon; after asserting, that, if he be not publicly put to death, Despard was murdered, he proceeds thus:—"It is considered, what effect the knowledge of his being in existence must necessarily have on the disaffected in every part of Europe? They will think, and think with truth, that the Allied Sovereigns are afraid to touch the life of a man who has so many adherents and admirers. This, of course, will increase the number of his adherents and the fervour of their admiration. If, in the depth of his degradation, their idol can inspire respect, if the cultivators of religion,

“and virtue, and loyalty, are forced to
 “bow down before the splendour of his
 “crimes, even when under eclipse, what
 “must they do at the happy moment,
 “when he bursts forth again from behind
 “the cloud—a moment towards which
 “his followers will look with more de-
 “vout anxiety than the Indian does to
 “the first dawning of a day, marked by
 “astrology as the most fortunate of his
 “life. Indeed it must be granted that
 “the extraordinary escapes which this
 “man has had from the hands of justice
 “are well calculated to create a kind of
 “superstition in the minds of those who
 “have been already dazzled by his fame.
 “He trusts himself to those whom he has
 “most injured, as Daniel braved the fury
 “of the lions, or as the three Brethren
 “walked through the fiery furnace—and
 “our folly, our cowardice, works the
 “miracle of his safety!—As long as he
 “lives, therefore, treason and rebellion
 “must be every where at work. His
 “escape, his release, his re-appearance
 “must be constantly expected. Instead
 “of an infamous criminal he will be con-
 “sidered as an injured Prince unjustly
 “kept from the embraces and salutations
 “of a longing people; and when at last
 “he breaks prison (which sooner or later
 “he undoubtedly will do), his return will
 “be more triumphant, and his power
 “more firmly consolidated than ever.
 “He is to be guarded by an English re-
 “giment. But the whole regiment is
 “not always on guard—is it imagined
 “than an English sentinel alone can nei-
 “ther be bribed nor eluded? In the
 “English army, too, it may be asked whe-
 “there there are none of those *weak and*
 “*unreflecting men, who admire daring*
 “*successful crime?* To speak plainly, is
 “it not a *known fact*, that many even of
 “the English officers are personal ad-
 “mirers of Napoleon Bonaparte? Most
 “of these young gentlemen (for it is of
 “the younger sort that I speak) have no
 “better reading than the *Morning Chro-*
 “*nicle*, or the *Edinburgh Review*, or
 “some other worthless production, in
 “which this Monster is usually described
 “as the first of Heroes, the great Cap-
 “tain of the age, &c. It is no wonder
 “that such studies should dazzle their
 “imagination, and confound their mor-
 “al sense: and we may be assured that
 “so long as Napoleon Bonaparte lives,

“this *very serious evil* will go on in-
 “creasing.”

Now, can you suppose, that a Mon-
 ster, like this writer, who would commit
 a deliberate murder in revenge on a man
 for being an object of admiration, would
 not, if he could, gladly cut all your
 throats, men, women, and children? The
 fears that the wretch feels and describes
 are a proof of the falshoods of his accusa-
 tion; for, if Napoleon's deeds were such
 as he asserts them to have been, what
 reason can there be to take away his life
 lest so large a part of mankind should
 still feel an interest in his fate? He
 would have Napoleon murdered, *not* be-
 cause he has done that which has made
 him an object of hatred and contempt;
 but, he has done that, which has made
 him an object of love and admiration.
 Having thus disposed of Napoleon, he
 comes to the French army, the whole of
 whom also, he seems to wish to see dis-
 posed of in the same bloody way. “The
 “first point,” says he, “and without
 “which all others would be nugatory, is,
 “that the army of the Loire, whatever
 “may be the terms on which the King
 “might be disposed to accept of its sub-
 “mission, shall be disbanded; an inti-
 “mation to that effect will, we have some
 “reason to suppose, be published in a day
 “or two. If the troops give up their
 “arms, disperse, and retire, as they will
 “be required to do, their past rebellion,
 “atrocious as it has been, will be over-
 “looked: but should they obstinately
 “persevere in their criminal conduct, we
 “suppose that they themselves can hardly
 “wish to be forgiven; a preponderating
 “force will be sent against them. In-
 “deed, that this army got together by
 “treason, led by the traitor himself into
 “the field, and there defeated, should
 “think it possible that it can co-exist
 “with any regular and legal government,
 “is incredible. Our great doubt as to
 “the effectual execution of this article,
 “results from the character and habits of
 “the men; they are chiefly without
 “homes, inured only to camps, garrisons,
 “battles, and familiar with no other hopes
 “than such as are incident to those
 “courses of life, plunder, advancement,
 “or what they term glory; so that it is
 “next to impossible that such men should
 “ever learn to limit themselves to the
 “sober expectations of TRANQUIL

"LIFE." So that, if these men now attempt to prevent the absolute and entire conquest of their country, they are not to *expect* to avoid being hanged; and, if they lay down their arms and are willing to disperse, they "have no homes," and it is impossible, or next to impossible, that they should ever return to *tranquil life*. At once *ruffian* and *hypocrite*! He knows well, that, if that army could be completely annihilated, France would have no chance of salvation. But, let me beseech you to recollect, what these men *formerly* said about the persons composing this same army. While Napoleon was leading this army to victory; while this army was following him over Europe, these writers *bewailed their fate*. They were then poor unhappy youths, dragged from the fire-sides of their fond and respectable parents, tied hand and foot and thus carried to the army and compelled to fight. Oh! how these writers "*pitied*" them and their parents! Aye, that they did, from the bottom of their souls! Vile hypocrites, and they *now* call these same persons *robbers*. They say that they are "*without homes*," and recommend the massacre of them, it being next to impossible, that they should return to *tranquil life*.

And, do your *Federalists* imagine, that they would be put in possession of power, if these men could stir up a conquering enemy against you upon their principles? If once they saw your country over-run, your government put to the route, they would, that very moment, talk of the whole of you in a lump. They would call every thing *folly*, "*criminal weakness*," short of the utter ruin of your country. Nay, have you not already had a specimen of their moderation? Before the victories over Napoleon, last year, they always talked of "the *sound part*" of you. They only wished to *defend* our rights, and to live upon good terms with you. They said, that the "*sound part of the people*" were with them; and that the war party were a *French faction*, who hated England because she was the great "*Bulwark of Religion*." Do you remember how they changed their tone, all in a moment, when they heard of the fall of Napoleon? Do you remember, that they then said, that *no peace* could be made with JAMES MADISON; that no treaty ought to be signed

except *at the head quarters of the English army in the heart of the United States*? Do you remember how soon they dropped all distinctions in their invectives, and called for the *flogging* of "*the Americans*?" Do you remember, that they insisted, that no peace should be made with you, until your political institutions had been subverted, until your civil and political state had been destroyed; until that "*mischievous example of successful DEMOCRATIC REBELLION*" had been done away? Until this was effected, they said, that there could be *no safety* for the regular governments of the civilized world. Not a word did they *then* say about the *sound part of the community*; not a word about the *Federalists*; not a word about "*the good people in the Eastern States*;" not a word about Mr. ORIS or the other *Misters*, whom they used to praise. They looked upon the conquest of your country as *sure*; and they were preparing for calling aloud for the "*punishment*" of you *all*. It was the "*mischievous example of the success of Democratic Rebellion*" that they wished to destroy. And were not the *Federalists* democratic rebels as well as the rest? *All* your Presidents and *all* your Governors were, according to these men's view of the matter, "*democratic rebels*." What reason, then, could they have to suppose, that they were, by these writers, intended to be spared any more than the rest of the people? In all their praises of "*the sound part of the people*" they were actuated by the desire of obtaining the aid of the *Federalists* in rendering your ruin more certain and more complete.

Two months have not passed over our heads since these writers were applauding the sending of arms and ammunition to the *royalists of La Vendee*, whom they called *brave, faithful, religious*, and whom they urged on to exterminate the *Jacobins*, as they called them, who were opposed to the Bourbons. Now, because the Vendéans do not seem to relish the total conquest, the dismemberment, and the utter ruin of their country by foreign armies, they confound them with the army of Marshal Davoust; they lump them along with the other parties; and, they even accuse them of *ingratitude*? They are called *ungrateful to England*, because they do not appear inclined to aid in the

despoiling of even the king of his territories; even that king, to fight for whom they received their arms and ammunition! But, what is this more than they had before done with regard to your Federalists? When they saw notices of the Meeting of the Convention at Hartford, they chuckled with delight. They cheered them on. They applauded the conduct of the promoters. But, when the convention broke up, with merely agreeing to an application to be made to the several States to join them in demanding a reform of the Federal Constitution, our writers turned round upon them with reproaches of all sorts: "What!" said the Times newspaper, "is THAT ALL! We expected a division of the Union to be declared at once; or, at least, the impeachment of Madison and his associates. These conventionalists are men of no vigour. Why do they not, like the brave Vendéens, take up arms, and co-operate with our naval and military commanders? This was what we expected. Or, at the very least, we expected the neutrality of the New England States to be declared. As things now stand, these States ought no longer to experience our forbearance, seeing the ingatitude with which our past forbearance has been repaid."

Was there ever impudence like this heard of before? Is not this insulting the feelings of mankind? And, what humiliation must it have been to Mr. OTIS and others to have been the objects of such men's praise! I do not impute to the Hartford Convention the base design of aiding in the subjugation of their country and in the destruction of freedom amongst men; but, if we take the then circumstances of America into view, it is impossible to deny, that they intended so to embarrass the General Government as to compel it to do what would have been disgraceful, at least to their country, in order to sink their rivals and raise themselves upon their ruin: and this was, to say the least of it, carrying a party spirit to an unwarrantable length. There is no doubt in my mind, nor in that of any man of information that I have ever conversed with on the subject, that it was the encouragement held out by the conduct of men in the Eastern States, which prolonged the war after the peace of Paris; and, indeed, that it was that encour-

agement, which, more than any thing else, produced the war. I hope, that those men will now take warning. That, they, like the Vendéens, will now see, that the praises bestowed on them by our writers are only upon the presumption, that they are ready to cut the throats of their countrymen and to aid in the subjugation of their country.

If I were asked *why* these writers of ours should be such implacable enemies to the freedom and happiness of mankind; *why* they should desire to stir up war, internal strife, and all manner of evils against every nation, where freedom is enjoyed, I might answer, that I am not bound to shew the cause of their abominable wishes, having so clearly shown *that they have those wishes*. But, the cause appears to be this: they see; they feel, that the weight of taxes in England, joined to other causes, must, if the world be left in quiet for years, produce a great degree of decline in this country. These men have, for many years, been bawlers for war. They now tell us, that the war has been crowned with glorious success; but, they foresee, that peace to us will not be what peace usually has been. They saw, that the peace of Paris, instead of crowding our ports with ships and goods, and filling our streets with the bustle of trade, produced a calm, a stillness, as to trade, truly gloomy. They saw, that our own people flocked to France for comfortable living. They saw enterprising tradesmen and manufacturers crowding to America. They saw the houses in and near London untenanted. They every where heard of the decay of trade, and of ruined farmers. They saw that without a law to raise the price of corn, the taxes could not be paid by either landlord or tenant. They saw, in short, that the war had created the cause of impossibility to live in peace; while France on one side, and America on the other, held forth the temptations of liberty and abundance. And they saw, which, observe, was not the smallest object of their terror, that the landlords and tenants, in almost every part of the country, complained of the hardship of *tythes*, and pointed out the example of France, where *tythes had been abolished*. They know, that we have about forty-five millions of pounds, or 180 millions of dollars, a YEAR, to pay in taxes for

ever, being the interest of the Debt, instead of the nine millions of pounds, or 36 millions of dollars, which we had to pay on this account *before the war*. They see, that the army and other things *now* amount in peace to about 80 millions of dollars a year, instead of 24 millions of dollars, as they did *before the war*. They see, that, in consequence of the increase of industry produced in France by the revolution, and of our burdens produced by the war, the French are able to sell in our markets at much less than half the price that we *must* sell at, or *must* leave the taxes unpaid. They see all these things. They are seized with a panic, that the "*tight little Island*" will become as desert as that on which CAPTAIN LAKE put the poor fellow *Jeffries*, who was saved by the kindness of one of your countrymen; and, in the rage, inspired by their forebodings, they would, if they could, render every other country too miserable for man to live in. They do not recommend the reducing of the *Army* to what it was before the war. They know that this would not answer their purpose. They might recommend the reduction of the *Navy*; but, then, *you* stare them in the face. The *Civil List* is indispensable. They would recommend to wipe off the Debt; but, then the whole system crumbles to atoms. Their last resource is, the hope, by their writings, to stir up the means of *making other nations still more wretched*.

The state of this country, as regards the means of enjoying happiness, may be pretty correctly estimated by this one fact: namely, that a notice has been given, in the House of Commons, that a measure will be proposed, early in the next session, to lay a tax upon the property of all persons, who shall go to reside out of the King's dominions, from which tax those residing in them shall be exempt. I do not believe it likely for such a law to pass; but, after what we have seen, I do not pronounce it to be impossible. At any rate, the idea has been seriously enough entertained to produce its mention in Parliament. Reflect, then, for a moment, on the means which must be used in order to assess such a tax: reflect on the immediate superintendence which it would give the government over the person of every man of property: reflect on the vassal-like degradation to which it would

reduce us: reflect on the passions, which such a state of restraint would engender; and, then, form to yourselves an idea of that desperation, which must have been the parent of such a proposition. The truth is, that the amount of the taxes is now so great, that all but the immense fortunes are sinking under the weight; and that, too, with a rapidity that is quite astonishing. The necessities of the government require so large a part of every man's income and earnings, that numbers are seeking the means of escaping from the demand. Taxes, when excessive, must create paupers; because they go on pressing the whole of a people downwards; and, of course those who are but just above the poor list, are forced into it. It has lately been stated in Parliament, and, that too, by GEORGE ROSE, that the beggars, the *common beggars*, in the metropolis alone, have increased to *thirty thousand*! Equal to nearly half the whole population of Philadelphia, when I lived in it. This fact appears to have been stated by George Rose as introductory to a measure for *putting a stop to the evil*. But how? Would he send the beggars to the country? We are over-stocked already. Observe, trifling as is this village, scarcely a day passes without bringing one, and generally more, beggars to my door. The *ragrant act* warrants us in taking them before a justice and having them *punished*. But, who will take the *trouble*, even if he wishes to do it? Thus are they left to wander about. They swarm over the country like the vermin upon their own bodies; and are produced by causes nearly similar. I have here stated two striking facts; my authority is the Parliament itself. I state them *here*, in the face of the country, and I thus invite contradiction, if that be possible. Let me, in this place observe, however, that I do not look upon myself as bound to *refrain from making use of the press of America*, when I shall think, that I ought to state truths, which I *dare not state here*; but, I never will send to that press any thing, which even a Federalist will not say, that I ought to be permitted to publish in any part of the world. I write with the strong desire of being *read*. I see several millions of readers on the other side of the Atlantic. I know many facts, many arguments occur to me, which I am anxious to convey to the whole world if possible;

and; if I am forbidden, under enormous pains and penalties, to convey them through the press of this country, is there any reason why I should not convey them through the press of a country, where the prohibition does not exist, and where any one is at liberty to contradict, or to cavass, all I may say? The French and English writers, who used to have their works published at the *Hague*, at *Amsterdam*, at *Geneva*, or elsewhere abroad, were never regarded as guilty of *foul play*; but, on the contrary, were, by every lover of truth, applauded for the zeal which urged them to resort to their method of overcoming the obstacles to its promulgation.

To return now to the *cause* of the malicious efforts of the writers, of whom I have so often spoken, and to draw your attention to which efforts is the principal object of this address, this cause appears to me to be the *apprehensions* which the present state of England excites, joined to a hatred of the very names of *liberty* and *revolution*, contracted by these illiberal men ever since they heard them associated with the name of *Frenchman*. This, I am well convinced, is the real cause of their rancour against France and America, both of which, as they constantly show, they would gladly see utterly annihilated. Whether there be OTHER PERSONS, who entertain the same apprehensions and wishes, I must leave you to conjecture. But, I know that *they* do, because they discover the fact by their words. They have said, that America must be *put back for a century*. They have called the *attention* of the government to the *growth of your navy*. They have said, that, if it be not *strangled in its birth*, it will be dangerous. They actually proposed to make you give up all your ships of war, to stipulate never to build another, and never more to cast a cannon or a ball.

You will laugh at this; but I beg you not to laugh at it; or, at least, to do something else besides laugh. In the whole extent of the world, it may happen, that their principles may find the means to work up some power to assail you. Therefore, I say, be *on your guard*. Peace is what you ought to desire; but, it is peace accompanied with *safety*. To preserve peace you must *always* be well prepared for your *defence*, at least. The navy you will not neglect. Its increase

is not dangerous to your freedom; or, not in the way or degree that a larger standing army would be considered to be dangerous. It is the necessity of adopting, now in the hour of peace, an efficient system of internal defence—defence of your territory and homes, that I am anxious to impress upon your minds. A large body of soldiers by profession you cannot have without destroying your liberties. You must all be prepared to *march* from your immediate homes; and all be able to make a *skillful* use of your arms.

Mr. JOHN CARTWRIGHT, who is generally called *Major Cartwright*, from his having been a Major in the Northamptonshire Militia, who quitted the service, as a Lieutenant of the Navy, in the year 1775 or 1776, because he would not fight against what he deemed the cause of freedom; who, to the age of 75, has persevered for forty years, and still perseveres, in unremitted endeavours to obtain a reform in Parliament; this venerable patriot, beloved by all who know him for his gentle and amiable manners, and honoured for his talents and integrity even by those who are the enemies of his political principles, seeing the danger of invasion on the part of France, in the year 1803, and seeing the government in great consternation as to securing the means of defence, republished a work which he had published some time before, entitled *ENGLAND'S ÆGIS*, a copy of which he sent to all the Members of the Royal Family, to all the Ministers, and to many other men of weight in the country. To this work, a copy of which is sent to Mr. Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, I beg leave to call your attention. In *some* of its *details* it cannot be adopted by you, on account of the difference in the division of the territory and of the civil authorities of the two countries. But, its object being to put the country in a situation to be able, at all times, to defend itself against any enemy, however numerous and valiant, without a standing army, and without regular soldiers; its basis being the *duty of arms-bearing* inseparably from the *right of representation in the legislature*, it appears to me, that all its *principles* and all its *out-lines* are exactly suited to your case.

In the hope that what I have said may awaken amongst you some portion of that serious reflection which the subject de-

mands, and in the stronger hope, that you will derive great and useful information from the work of Mr. Cartwright, I remain your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—Since writing the above, the peace between America and the Algerine Dey has been announced as a *report*. Perhaps your Commodore had authority to make peace. Certainly, with such a power, cannon balls are the best negotiators. Whether the pirates will abide by the treaty or not, if it *has been made*, your government has done itself great honour in the affair. This event will not, however, give satisfaction *all over the world*. Algiers was a sort of *cur* to be set on as occasion may require. However, you have broken his jaws, and made him retire to his den for the present. This is a truly noble use to make of naval power! It cannot fail to enhance your fame, to give pleasure to your friends, and to add to the mortification and vindictiveness of your enemies. — I do not believe the news. But, if true, here is another thing which Mr. Madison has accomplished previous to his being “*deposed*.”

TO JOHN BULL.

On the hopes of seeing America a Bankrupt.

HONEST JOHN,—Your two favourite pandars, the TIMES and COURIER, begin now to turn your attention towards the United States of America. They know, that your fears of Napoleon being now over, you will begin very soon to be alarmed at your everlasting taxes. Therefore, they wish to prepare comfort for you by making you believe, that America (to which so many people are preparing to emigrate) is *as bad* as we are; that it is dismally oppressed with taxes; and that its government is on the eve of bankruptcy.—Some persons may think it malicious in me to shew you that this sort of comfort is fallacious; that the hopes held out by these writers is groundless. But, think what they will, it is my business to shew you the truth.—The Presidents, Jefferson and Madison, had, it appears, been accused of increasing the Debt of the nation by their measures. The following, taken from the “*Boston INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE*,” of April 3, 1815, con-

tains an answer to this accusation, and the proof of the folly of the hopes of the TIMES and COURIER. To this account of the Debt is added a list of the vessels of war captured by the Americans from us during the late war. Observe, that this amount is stated in dollars; and, if we put a real dollar against 5s. sterling money, four of them make a pound of course. The capital of the Debt of America now amounts, as you will see, to 108 millions of dollars; or 27 millions sterling, while we have the honour of having a Debt amounting to 1,100 millions sterling. In short, you will see, John, that the whole capital of the American National Debt does not amount to nearly *half the sum of one single year's taxes now raised by us*, and which must continue to be raised on us till we die, and after that upon our children.—But hear these Yankees, to whom you were to give a “*flogging*.”

“On the 1st of January, 1790, shortly after the commencement of General Washington's administration, the national debt was D.72,237,301

At the commencement of Mr. Adams' administration, in 1797, the public debt, *having increased upwards of eight millions*, was 80,934,973

At the commencement of Mr. Jefferson's administration in 1801, the debt amounted to 82,000,167

At the commencement of Mr. Madison's administration, in 1809, the debt *having been diminished or paid off by the republicans to the amount of near 30 millions*, was only 53,782,200

During Mr. Madison's administration, about *twelve millions* more of the debt have been paid off, and the old national debt, at this time, amounts only to 39,905,183

It thus appears, that while the Federal administration increased the public debt, the Republicans have *extinguished* more than *forty-two millions* of it, besides having purchased Louisiana, the brilliant theatre of American glory, and destined to be the great emporium of western commerce and wealth.

The debt created by the war, as ascertained at the Treasury, amounts to 68,783,122

But this has happened in a most momentous and extensive war, of nearly three years duration, against all the powers of the British empire, a great part of the time. It is a fact, too, worthy of remark, and which shews the economy

of the Republicans, that the expenses of Great Britain, in the year 1813, a solitary twelve months, were 455 millions of dollars, more than six times the amount of the whole expenses of our three years war! But this is not all. When the war commenced, we had a navy of only twenty vessels, of all sizes below 60 gun ships; we had none of that class, nor any 74's. Now, we have a navy of *eighty-one ships*; among them are three 74's nearly ready for sea; two 90 gun ships at Sackett's Harbour; one 60 gun ship there, one frigate, and fourteen other ships; 10 five frigates, and 31 corvettes, sloops, brig, and ketches, ready for sea; besides nineteen vessels of war on Lakes Erie and Champlain, a great part of them the splendid trophies of the two splendid naval victories on those Lakes. It is to be observed that the Lake fleets, *in the possible event of a new war being provoked by England, will be of as much importance as the squadrons of the ocean.* It is impossible justly to appreciate the improvements occasioned, or accelerated by the war. In the single article of domestic manufactures alone, the war has added, in solid wealth to the nation, ten times the amount of the expenses which that war produced to the Treasury. We can now supply ourselves, if we had a mind to stop importations, with all the necessities, and many of the comforts and luxuries of life, from our domestic factories. In addition to all this, we have gained in Europe a name in arms and valour, which will prove to be our greatest security against future aggressions, and command the admiration of mankind to the latest period of time. We have had our national character strengthened and elevated—our union and republican institutions consolidated and confirmed. These advantages, that wealth, this character, and reputation, have been gained and secured under the auspices of a Madison and a Jefferson.—The annual interest on the British national debt alone (and which interest must be paid in peace as well as in war) is more than *four times* the amount of the whole expenses of the United States Government, army, and navy, during any one year of the late war. The expenditures of the British Government, exclusive of tithes of the clergy (one tenth part of all the produce of the soil) and poor rates (one seventh of the whole British population are paupers) is more than *nine times* the expenditures of the United States, while engaged in war; and probably is more than ninety times as great as the same expenditures in time of peace.—The cost of collection of taxes in Great Britain in 1811, was 14,019,754 dollars more than the whole taxes, direct and indirect, paid by the United States in

that year.—Yet we have heard from the pulpit that, "our burdens were absolutely insupportable;" and some sticklers for monarchy have declared that they would "prefer the British constitution, monarchy, and all, to that of the United States."—The yearly interest on the British national debt (167,959,340 dollars) is more than the whole national debt contracted by the United States in the war of the revolution and the late war. What has Great Britain gained by the continued wars in which she has incurred this monstrous national debt?—Has she proved that she was humane, generous, or magnanimous? In these wars, has she not, in almost every case, been the first aggressor? She had indeed given herself the title of 'Mistress of the Ocean,' but this title has lost its charm in the recent conflict with America. On the contrary, what has not America gained in the two contests? We gained our independence by the first; and we proved by the second, that we would not be trampled on with impunity by the ***** of the ocean—that if, after a series of injuries, and forbearance under them unparalleled, we were "*kicked into a war*," we could *kick our enemy out of it* by the prowess of our soldiers and sailors, and the energy of our republican government."

This, John, is the view, which the Americans take of these important matters. You see, that, if you are to be deceived with regard to their situation, they are not to be deceived with regard to yours. They know all your concerns much better than you do yourself, and much better than you ever will know them, until *events* speak to you in a language, that you cannot misunderstand. The fall of Napoleon is a great event. The time will form an epoch in the history of the world. But, it is not an event of a thousandth part the importance of the *creation of the American Navy*. His fall will produce a great change in the distribution of power and of territory in Europe. But that Navy is, in all human probability, destined to make a much greater revolution, as far, at least, as England is concerned.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

Admiral Sir A. Cochrane, Admiral Cockburn, Col. Malcom, Sir Thos. Cochrane, of the *Surprise Frigate*, Mr. Swainson, Mr. J. Gallon, Mr. J. Miller, Mr. J. R. Glover, Captain

Napier, of the Euryalus Frigate, Capt. Coe, Captain Hardy, Commodore Gordon, the Naval Commander at Halifax, and many others.

Botleigh, near Southampton, 30th July, 1815.

GENTLEMEN,—I see, in Mr. Niles's Baltimore Weekly Register, of the 8th of April last, and in twenty more American Papers of about the same date, copies of INTERCEPTED LETTERS, said to have been found on board of the English ship of war, *St. Laurence*, taken by the American Privateer, *Chasseur*, Capt. BOYLE. And also certain specific assertions in the Boston Patriot of the 29th. of March. I would publish these letters, &c. in order that you may see the necessity of saying something about them. But, to publish might not be safe. I would send the American papers to you. But, according to our law, that would be to publish. I would state the substance, or, at least, the tendency of the letters and assertions. But, that would be still more dangerous. —Therefore, English eyes will never see them; or, at least, the eyes of the English public. But, the millions in America have read them; and, therefore, I wish to see them answered, or rather denied. You will easily obtain them. They are, I dare say, in the Coffee-houses about the 'Change in London. Indeed, they appear to have been published before you left America. Now, Gentlemen, if you wish to publish a denial of these letters; if you wish to assure the American people, that these letters are not authentic, and that the assertions, 33 in number, or any of them, are false, I am ready to publish your denial. I offer you the prompt means of circulating the denial as widely as the letters and assertions have been circulated. I will just observe here, that the English government set the example of this species of warfare, by publishing the intercepted correspondence of the French army in Egypt. The present publication has been made with the consent, I suppose, of the owners, or commander, of an American privateer.—Whether you accept of my offer, or not, you will be so good as to bear in mind, that I have made it.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I will show these letters and assertions to none of you. That is publishing.

—LATE MR. WHITBREAD.

The following letter, amongst others, which I have received, but the rest of which are mostly of an abusive description, shew, that there are persons who differ from me in opinion as to the utility of this gentleman's exertions. It is not worth while to swell out a dispute upon the subject, at a moment when the exertion of every intellectual faculty is demanded in the cause of our country and of mankind. It will, I hope, be sufficient for me to say, that my opinion upon this subject, which was not committed to paper without due reflection, remains unchanged; and that, when I am convinced of its being wrong, I shall lose not an hour in making the acknowledgment. My correspondent, W. F. reminds me of my name not being put to my last article upon the subject. I therefore gladly avail myself of this occasion of saying that it was omitted from mere accident.

WM. COBBETT.

Hartford, July 24th, 1815.

MR. COBBETT—A letter appearing in your journal, without any signature, I suppose it to be yours: if it was, you, Sir, have been attempting to *defame* the character of the late enlightened, virtuous, and now ever to be lamented Whitbread. Yes, you who I should least suspected; you who have of late years trod so much in his political steps, accuse him of *vanity* and *insincerity*; charge him with having prolonged the duration of calamity in this country, and cannot recollect but a VERY FEW instances in which he endeavoured to accomplish for his country objects worthy of a great mind. I do not know what you may call a *few*, but I think your memory failed you when you wrote that; I hope, however, it is by this time revived enough to enable you to tell me *who*, under the same circumstances as Mr. W. ever did more. He was constantly "in search after triumph," and so are *you*, and so are the rest of mankind, and all are "panting after victory too;" for if we wish for the propagation of our sentiments, we must wish them to overwhelm all others; but, "nothing was too little and contemptible, no adversary was too weak for him." I must add that there was no subject too great or too important, and no adversary

too strong for him. His being fond of applause either at the House of Commons, Drury-lane, or at Bible Societies, and his *insincerity*, are accusations I shall refer to by queries.—To the former: *who* is not fond of applause, which indicates that other people as well as himself *thinks* he *acts rightly*? To the latter: *when* has Mr. W. ever sacrificed his conscience either in or out of Parliament to obtain applause? Doubt his sincerity, forsooth! Have we seen him in any *one instance* joining with others, directly or indirectly, in sounding the horrid yell of war, the cry of murder, rapine, and destruction? Have we seen him inciting people to trample on, to crush, and to extinguish, justice, liberty, and independence? No: each of the latter have ever found in him a champion—a champion which the tools of corruption, yea, all Europe beheld with awe, respect, and admiration—a champion, whose name the whole world must venerate—a champion which England has to mourn for and deplore. Trusting to your usual impartiality in inserting whatever opinions letters may contain, I subscribe myself, your constant reader,

W. F.

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

SIR,—I believe you are one of the Freeholders of the County of Berks.—I am therefore satisfied you are one of its most Independent Electors. Long having been the rallying point for all the advocates for Parliamentary Reform and the just and Constitutional Rights of the People, I call upon you attentively to view the present state of the Representation of our County. If you remain an unmoved spectator of what seems to be going on, you are most indisputably to be considered as an accessory. I presume you have seen the recent letters to one of the Members for the County, and the Editor and Printer of the County Paper. You have also seen the paragraphs which have been inserted there under the head of Reading News. You may possibly also have read a letter on this subject in Cobbett's Political Register of last week. Now, if you have perused all these, I can take upon myself to declare that your opinion must be that the Freeholders of the County of Berks are treated with a great deal of neglect, to say the least of

the matter; and that they have not been faithfully represented in Parliament on the late question of the Duke of Cumberland's grant. Under such circumstances, they are bound in justice to themselves to enquire how it is they have been thus neglected; whether owing to any causes which it was impossible to foresee and prevent, or from a disregard of their interests as a body. This latter, I must declare, I regard as an unpardonable offence; and I conceive it the duty of any man, in such circumstances, who is indifferent even of his constituents' interests, instantly to resign the high honor they have conferred upon him; and if he is called on to explain himself, even by the meanest of his constituents, as to his Parliamentary conduct, that he is bound to reply. If he has acted satisfactorily to the people he represents, he will again be returned should he resign; if he has not, he will then very justly be deserted, and some one whom the Freeholders may hope will act a more independent part, supply the place. That there are a great many Freeholders of the County of Berks of this opinion, I am positive; but as an army cannot act without the direction of some able commander, so cannot any body of Freeholders in defence of their rights, without some person whose fortune has rendered him independent, and whose rank in life puts him beyond the vindictive assaults of offended power. Here it is, we see the necessity of a Reform in Parliament, and the repeal of the Septennial act. If then, any person, possessing the most independent principles, prevailed on any body of men to return him as their Representative, should deceive them, they have it in their power to remove him speedily. *Profession* alone we can rely upon, when a man offers himself to the notice of a County; his *practice* we are to wait for. A man who professes to be a Reformist, and can, *when convenient*, turn his eyes away from abuse, and suffer it to pass unnoticed, is a Political Hypocrite, "he will not scruple to prostitute his dignity and betray the sanctity of office whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the avarice of a Court to be gratified." This observation I cannot resist making in the language of Junius, when I read one of the letters I allude to in the Reading Mercury, and when the

Freeholders were called on to give their names and they would obtain satisfaction. They should have replied in the same writer's strong language, "As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and most powerful men in the County, though I may be indifferent about his; though he would fight, there may be others who would assassinate." The County of Berks is undoubtedly at this moment to be regarded as an individual, who craves of the champion of freedom, protection and assistance. Insult has been added to injury. When they refer to the paragraphs in the Reading Paper, they may say with Junius again, "Unable to defend the cause by fair argument, founded on facts, let them spare us, at least, the mortification of being amused and deluded like children."—There is doubtless a strong party, (a faction I will term them,) who are resolved to carry their favourite through thick and thin to the House of Commons, if possible; they are actuated by long and old habits of *private friendship*; in giving way to which, they sacrifice public good to private views. But the advocates of reform are daily becoming more numerous; and I have no doubt in my own mind, if headed by a champion of freedom and reform, that in spite of the meanest arts being practised against them, they would be victorious in another struggle. We are told, when treachery is in question, we should make allowances for a Scotchman; but I really look on him in this *unusually* sincere. I look on his conduct as a profession, and not a desertion of principle. The paragraph in the Reading Paper of the week before last, which insinuates, that there is likely to be a vacancy in the representation of the county, is the reason that I, as one of the county, and anxious for its being represented by a man who is decidedly hostile to the present corrupt system, look to you to come forward with one of the same cast as yourself. If a candidate, professing any particular principles, acts up to them, it is enough. I commend even the most corrupt man, if he asserts, that he will be an advocate and supporter of corruption if elected. When he does so, he is consistent. But an inconsistent man is contemptible; and one who professes what he does not mean to practise, is abominable; he obtains his

seat under false pretences, and he should immediately be served with an ejectment at the suit of his constituents. I am, Sir, with the highest respect, your humble servant,

AN INDEPENDENT ELECTOR.

SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

MR. COBBETT—Behold the grand event, for which tyrants and slaves, of every degree and order, have long and ardently struggled, at length accomplished! It has been the sanguine object of the inveterate enemies to rational government, to have in their custody the man, of all others, who has at once been the greatest patron of liberty and slavery, that, perhaps, ever existed. In the philosophical school of French democracy, he learnt how to estimate and espouse the sacred rights of man. The correct principles which he there imbibed, were practically applied, in opposition to all domestic and foreign despotism, in a career of military glory without any parallel in the records of time. Great in achievements that acquired matchless lustre from the patriotic cause in which they were effected, nothing could have withstood their sacred influence on men and things, but the debasement, the vile, the puerile debasement, into which they fell, by the vain and monstrous endeavour to support such intrinsic worth by the despicable bauble of personal sovereignty. The temporary tomb of French liberty has certainly been raised by Bonaparte's miserable hankering after the *gew-gaw* trappings of royalty. What a bitter reflection on personal renown, on intellectual superiority; indeed, on what has appeared to have been mental vastness; to have so deplorably erred in principle, in policy, and in practice, as to prefer the delusive, the contaminating glare of *imperial* rank, to the dignified and truly enviable situation of *citizenship*, at the head of a nation of free men, that would, by its physical and moral energies, under the appropriate and fascinating titles of General or Citizen Bonaparte, have beaten down, and for ever destroyed, every species of national tyranny, however protected and circumstanced. Bonaparte has, indeed, been the child and champion of civil liberty; he has done enough to immortalize himself as the first of military patriots. His fame will long survive the

wreck and final oblivion of that of all his contemporaries. His good deeds will exhale an eternal incense of homage and gratitude to his great name. The estimable part of his life is that which has been heroically spent in advancing the interests of rational democracy. His errors of judgment, his inordinate ambition, and his contemptible vanity, have been altogether of *royal* growth and extension. Not until the aristocracy, against which he had waged successful war, and with which he should never have identified himself, had seduced him into a love of *kingship*, and of the *noisome paraphernalia* attendant on it, did he depart a title from his transcendent greatness. When he descended into the *royal arena*; when, in addressing kings, he could nauseatingly call them, "*Sire, my Brother*," the democratic Bonaparte no longer existed; he then had objects to contend for, and schemes to pursue that the popular liberty of France could not consistently support. He still remained a great man, but a great man with views and objects far from being exclusively favourable to the genuine rights of man. In his present degradation, and in his eventual fate, whatever the inveterate rancour of his brother sovereigns may determine it to be, will be the penal consequences of his own ruinous deviation from the path of democratic rectitude. These are the evils of political sins, and, in truth, they deserve to be visited by exemplary and corrective punishment. The sovereigns of the earth, in the retributive inflictions they may meditate on Bonaparte, ought to be aware, that they are fatally attacking their own aristocratic cause, by offering either degradation or violence to his person. If in an hapless moment of lamentable vanity, he had not taken his stand with the *royal batch*; if, on the contrary, he had adhered to the democratic principles which he at first professed, and of which it may be truly said he was the genuine creature; if he had not unhappily and perversely quitted that only just source of political power, he might at this moment have been the patriotic adviser of the first nation of free men in the world, and the salutary arbiter, scourge, and terror of all despotic governments. Instead, however, of attaining to this truly honourable height of power, he is now at the mercy of those who openly disclaim all authority from

the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man. The fate of Bonaparte, as resulting from a contemptible dangling after *royalty*, will furnish useful admonition to other patriots in the just cause of democracy, against personal sovereignty.

It will be recollected, that renown and consequent power in the direction of any man, is dangerous, and should be carefully restrained by those who would not be deceived and ruined by its tinsel fooleries. The political degeneracy of Bonaparte has been the preservation of personal sovereignty in most of the nations of the world. It will now be seen by their conduct, whether they have sagacity enough to perceive the vital obligations they are under towards him; whether they treat him as friend or foe. If as the former, it might be beneficial to their legislative systems; if as the latter, they must utterly despair of again having so able an assistant from the ranks of democracy. But, were the question to be discussed on the principle of moral or political right to interfere with his personal liberty, it might be flatly denied them. Bonaparte, in invading France, did so as the independent sovereign of Elba. This he did at the risk of losing that sovereignty; and this it was competent for him to do, independently of the special motives and justifications he might have had. He succeeded in his object, legitimately conquered, and resumed the throne, (in the choice of the people) which he had formerly relinquished. The apparently insuperable difficulties which afterwards arose to his exercising the imperial office, from the hostility of the coalesced powers, made it expedient that he should abdicate that authority. He did so; and in that state of divested sovereignty, owing no allegiance to any government, having even the place of his future residence yet to choose, he surrendered himself to a British naval officer, for the sake of personal protection from the fury of his enemies. In this situation the illustrious and fallen Bonaparte is now placed; and he who either lifts a hand against his life, or despoils him of his personal liberty, would be guilty of a violence that no power can legitimately authorise, and which, therefore, can never be carried into effect but by arbitrary proceedings, equally subversive of political and natural justice.

JUSTITIA.

THE WATERLOO SUBSCRIPTION.

MR. COBBETT—The call which has been made, and is making, on the public for pecuniary aid, for the wounded soldiers and the families of those who fell in the late battle of Waterloo, should be clearly defined and well understood before the object of its promoters should be implicitly approved and encouraged. There can be but one feeling of humanity on the abstract suffering of our fellow countrymen on that deplorable occasion; but widely different sentiments must prevail on both the morality and policy of the war that has produced so much loss of life and limb. There is no principle of moral or political justice that can warrant interfering with the rational independence of foreign governments, and whenever such an interference is made, an awful responsibility awaits its authors for all its evil consequences. The battle of Waterloo should never have been provoked; it was fought in a cause obviously against national liberty, and can never have any other justification than what the authority of the sword and sophistry can afford it. That the established clergy, the privileged orders, placemen, pensioners, and their numerous dependents, should extol and magnify the victory, and call upon the British nation to alleviate its horrible effects, is perfectly natural. It is thus that the worst institutions of society have been imposed, and are continued in national governments. The applause and the influence of those who are interested in the extension and establishment of tyranny, will be busy in promoting their own selfish ends, however sinister to the real welfare of the public at large. These persons are very naturally loud and vehement for Waterloo subscriptions; but, can the advocate of peace, and the determined opponent to despotic interference with the rights and liberties of man, be so hoodwinked as to be kidnapped into so wretched a scheme of personal craft and political chicanery? Let the supporters of interminable war against legislative liberty and independence, enter into subscriptions to heal the wounds inflicted on persons whose valour ought to have been reserved for occasions totally the reverse to that which led to the battle of Waterloo; but let not these who cherish any regards for social

liberty, and who have a cordial hatred to legislative tyranny, confusedly mix in the false and deluded feeling of humanity that would contribute on so inadmissible an occasion. The majorities of the British legislature that authorised war against French independence, with all the numerous tribes on the European continent, engaged in that war, should personally contribute to relieve the distress that has been incurred by their councils and proceedings; but it is not to be endured, that they should call on those who strenuously opposed the gross injustice of the war, to be at all amenable for its evils by their purse, whatever they might in feelings of patriotic indignation at so profuse a waste of life and treasure, as has been incurred on the regretful occasion. Had equal valour been shown by British soldiers in defence of the British realms against foreign invasion, or for other objects of vital importance to the nation, not a dissenting voice would have been heard against the claims of such a soldiery, bleeding in such a cause, on the gratitude and munificence of the people. But circumstanced as the times and things are, it is necessary that the friends of liberty and social rectitude, (not *order*, for that in its cant use implies, if it means any thing, *abject slavery* rather than *rational sobriety*), should look to the inexorable exactions of the tax gatherer, rather than to call for assisting the progress of unjustifiable warfare. The very money that the senseless, the intoxicated advocates of despotic war would extort from the ignorant, the prejudiced and the dependent, might, the day after it may be given to the Waterloo subscription, be demanded by a ruthless collector of taxes, who, if not promptly paid, will visit the defaulter with a process at law, called a government execution, or extent, on his goods and chattels. Charity should begin at home with all, and more particularly with reference to the Waterloo subscription, with the opposers of the measures that have led to that calamitous occasion. The only vindication that can be offered for the Waterloo subscription is, that the personal contributions to it by the partizans of despotic wars, may, in one degree, exempt the public taxes from being misapplied to that object. The public at large should not be made liable for any of the

consequences resulting from measures totally repugnant to the constitutional interests of the country. It is fair to presume, that if the country had been constitutionally represented, the affair of Waterloo would not have occurred. The British nation would then have been rescued from the indelible reproach of having legislatively embattled its resources against the *national sovereignty* and independence of a foreign country. The taxes should not be squandered on party views and unconstitutional remuneration granted to the Duke of Wellington. Those who shuddered at so unprincipled a war, ought not to be liable to any donation, thought proper to be made to its chief commander. The partizans of the war, as in the case of the Waterloo subscription, should exclusively contribute to all the expences attending the accomplishment of their darling object. The inconsistency of opposing a *liberticide* war, and of recompensing the chief actor in conducting it, cannot be reconciled to either common sense or common honesty; and if one circumstance more prominent than another may be cited, as evincing the lamented insanity of the late regretted Mr. Whitbread, it was the instance of that great and good statesman having, a short time before his death, committed that gross inconsistency, by opposing the injustice of the war with an intelligence and patriotism eminently characteristic of a constitutional British senator, and afterwards ardently recommending a remuneration to the person who had successfully led on the same despotic and deprecated war!! The sorrowful event, which has thus deprived the British nation of one of the most able and virtuous supporters of its genuine rights and liberties, of one of the most vigilant and useful censors of legislative proceedings; in short, of a man who stood pre-eminently distinguished for all that could adorn both his head and heart, manifestly

proves that an aberration of mind, subversive of all moral responsibility, and of all power of self-control, must have led to an untimely extinction of a life at all times valuable, but, in the present state of the government of the country, of inestimable, and, it may be feared, almost irreparable importance to both the public and private welfare of mankind. The prying investigation of this deceased patriot, had his life been prolonged, would have enabled him correctly to have appreciated the relative bravery displayed in the battle of Waterloo, by ascertaining the respective strength of the contending armies. The French Emperor, in his address to his army, previously to carrying them into action, frankly told them that they had to combat against *three* to one; but this odds, though great, should not be fearful to the renowned conquerors of Austerlitz, Marengo, &c. It is notorious that the Belgian, Dutch, Prussian, Hanoverian, and British armies were united in the contest; and it has been affirmed that the aggregate number must have been upwards of two hundred thousand! Against this immense force, it does not appear that half the number of French troops was opposed to them, and yet early success crowned the French efforts, and it is probable that the French would have ultimately triumphed, had not treason existed in its ranks. British valour is unquestionable; but its transcendent prowess can never be conspicuous or unequivocal when acting in concert with allied forces that give to it a vast superiority in numerical force. The victory unexpectedly remained with the allies, and the event, notwithstanding the inequality of the contending armies, would have been glorious, if the cause in which it was gained, had not been *hostile to national liberty*.

CYR.

NOTICE.

TO MANUFACTURERS IN EVERY BRANCH.

On Saturday, the 26th instant, will be published, in a double Number of the Register, FIVE LETTERS from MR. CORBETT to LORD SHEPHERD, on the subject of the WOOL TRADE; shewing his Lordship to be in error as to the grounds upon which he recommends a *BILL* to *restrain the importation of wool*; and exhibiting the clearest view of the present state of manufactures in America, *proving* that that country has extensive manufactures of *cottons and linens*, as well as of *woollens*; that *machinery* of all sorts is applied to these operations; that America has large flocks of *Merino sheep*, and that she already *exports wool to Europe*; also shewing, that, such are the inducements to emigration to that country, that it would be to aim a mortal blow at the manufactures of England to adopt any measure tending to enhance the price of our labour or of our raw-material; and that, to prevent our manufactures from experiencing immediate decay, it is necessary that the *Corn Bill* should be repealed.

TO NAPOLEON.

When the motion was made in the *Tribunate of France* to confer on you the title of Emperor, and for making that title hereditary in your family, CARNOT, in opposing the motion, asked, "whether it was to grant the FIRST CONSUL a reward for his services in the cause of Liberty, to offer to him the sacrifice of that Liberty; whether to confer this title on him was not to *destroy his own work*, and, possibly, *himself in the end*?" What," said he, "is liberty, then, disclosed to man only that it may never be enjoyed; only to be snatched from his sight? We are told, that this measure is necessary to *consolidate the govern-*

ment; but, as all history shews, a government by one individual; is not, in the smallest degree, a pledge of *stability*. The example of the United States of America has proved the practicability of uniting freedom with order; and the high destinies, to which that nation appears to be called, leave no doubt remaining as to the existence of these important truths."

This is the season to recal these truths to your mind, not for the purpose of insult, or reproach; but, for that of justifying the principles of liberty. As long as you fought under her banners, victory was your inseparable companion, and the gratitude of millions placed the laurel on your brow. From the moment that you associated your name with that of kings, you began to sink in the estimation of mankind; and when you, at last, allied yourself with them, mixing even your legions with theirs, the eye was unable to follow you in the rapidity of your fall. Afforded a chance of revival even from a state of captivity and banishment, so deeply had you imbibed the infection, that the empty title was resumed. Nay, when the voice of fate had apparently pronounced your eternal seclusion, you must still hand over your abdicated name to your child.

Charge not liberty, therefore, with the injuries, the insults, the base opprobrium, the horrid denunciations, to which, through the English press, you have now been exposed. Charge not her with these, the natural offspring of cowardice in the hour of triumph over the brave. Charge them on your own desire to rule as a master, where you ought to have administered as a servant; and especially to your more inexcusable desire to take rank amongst,

and to make common cause with, those, whom the French nation had commissioned you to go forth and destroy.

While seated on your throne in gorgeous robes, surrounded by bowing coronets and mitres, the President of America, had he appeared in his simple attire, would have seemed to you a being, founded by nature solely for the humblest offices of life. Let those who prize external grandeur; let those who desire to rule as masters of men, now behold you subdued by, your person actually in the hands of, and, as is asserted, about to be imprisoned for life by that same power, which he, having the hearts of free men on his side, foiled in all its hostile attempts, and drove, in a manner which history will fearlessly describe, from the blazing capital and desolated shores of his country.

Examples so striking, and illustrated by events so momentous; will not, let us hope, be lost upon you, if personal freedom be ever again to gladden your heart, and the admiration of your great deeds, which will always exist, be destined once more to restore you to power. Look at the people of America. No titles of count, duke, prince, emperor, dazzle their eyes. No splendid shows, no objects to gaze at, are necessary to remind them of their duties and of their past deeds. Contrast this people with the miserable people of France, who, while they stare at the column of *Austerlitz*, are paying contributions to pamper the soldiers of Austria, and, upon the very bridge of *Jena*, are trampled under foot by the soldiers of Prussia; while their provinces are overrun by those Bavarians and Wurtembergers, whose sovereigns were elevated to thrones by the valour and the blood of French armies under your command.

In looking back upon mankind, on the interests of so great a part of whom your actions have had an influence, which class do you find to have been the most brave,

the most sincere, the most faithful, the most magnanimous? And which the most cowardly, the most hollow, the most perfidious, the most cruel? Your fate, as it will excite a greater interest than any former event in the history of nations, so it will produce a greater and more lasting effect on men's minds. It will be the beacon, the ever-existing warning, to every man, who, having the cause of freedom consigned to his hands, shall, in an evil hour, be tempted to convert the valour she has inspired to the promoting of his private views of vain ambition. "*That*," will it be said, "was the rock on which Napoleon split; Napoleon, in whose name was comprised all that was skilful, generous, and brave."

Were the friends of freedom as unfeeling as their adversaries, they would exult in your fall, as the triumph of their principles. For who is it that is fallen? Not "the child and the champion of Jacobinism," as you once had the honour to be stiled by the child and champion of Corruption; not the darling hero of Democracy, with "*Liberty and Equality, or Death*" inscribed on his banners. No: but an Emperor and King; the son-in-law of the House of Austria; the eulogist, the associate, the friend, the preserver, the restorer, the upholder, the creator of Nobles and Kings. It is not Napoleon, driving the lazy monks from their cells, and scattering to the winds the relics of Superstition; but, Napoleon, crowned by the Holy Father, re-establishing, in some degree, Bishops and Priests, and daily prostrating, in his own person, the interests of Truth before the mummeries of the Mass. It is not that Napoleon, the FIRST CONSUL, who, in the year 1804, formally and specifically and officially charged the English government with the hiring of bands of assassins to take away his life; but Napoleon, the EMPEROR, the son-in-law of the House of Austria, who, in 1815, calls that same Englis

government, "the most *generous*" of his enemies.

Still, the friends of liberty cannot harden their hearts to feelings of exultation, when they look back to your wonderful efforts in her cause. When they behold you rising up amongst the sons of Democracy, marching forth against the privileged orders of Europe; leaving unsubdued not one single sovereign, ruling by Divine right; bringing them all to your feet; enlarging the dominions of some, curtailing those of others; stripping these of their dignities, and bestowing new dignities on those; prescribing the bounds of their alliances, and giving their sons and their daughters in marriage: when the friends of liberty look back on these exploits, which have established for ever the superiority of talent over insolent birth, which, in dissipating slavish prejudices, have laid the sure foundation of future freedom, all your errors are forgotten, and, whether to exile or to death, you will be followed by the admiration and gratitude of every brave and every free man in every nation in the world.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 6th August, 1815.

LETTER IX.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the treatment of Napoleon.

Bolley, 8 August, 1815.

MY LORD—In my last letter I proposed, at a future time, to offer you some remarks upon this subject. Before this reaches the press, it will, probably, be known, that what has been so long talked of, namely, the banishment of this *truly* illustrious man to *St. Helena*, has actually taken place. Indeed, it is asserted, in the *COURIER*, that he is now on the voyage, in a squadron under the command of that same ADMIRAL COCKBURN, who has lately performed such memorable exploits on the coast of America, especially at the city of Washington; the towns of Havre de Grace, Fredericktown and George-

town, and Cumberland and St. Mary's islands; and whose present command has, perhaps, been conferred as a mark of the approbation of our government, merited by those exploits.

If this be really the fact, I suppose I must have been greatly in error as to my view of Napoleon's case. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from stating what that view was, expecting, by some one or other, to be shown in *what way* I have erred. This appears to me to be very necessary; because, there are many, even in England, who think with me; and, in other countries, there are, perhaps, a great many, millions, whose opinions are not to be wholly despised.

Napoleon appears to me to be a *prisoner of war*. If he had been captured, either on the shore or the sea, he must have been merely a prisoner of war. The circumstance of *surrender* cannot alter the case. He was a foreigner, at war against us. Being disarmed, and professing his desire to go to a neutral country, we might have suffered him to pass; but, at any rate, I want to be greatly enlightened to enable me to discover in this *truly* illustrious person any character to justify even temporary detention, other than that of *prisoner of war*.

Viewing him in this light, I expected to see him at large on his parole; or, at most, detained in safe custody until the conclusion of the war with that country to which he belonged, and whose armies he had commanded. If he had been acknowledged by us to be the *sovereign* of France, ancient usage would have justified the demanding of a *ransom* previous to his release. But, it is notorious, that we did not acknowledge him in that light; and, therefore, I should be glad to know, *whence we derive our right* to treat him in any way, in which the law of nations would not justify us in treating any, or all, of the officers, who were made prisoners at the battle of Waterloo; for, be it observed, that every man, who is made a prisoner of war, *surrenders*, and, in virtue of that, not only claims the sparing of his life, but also the right of being treated as a prisoner of war, that is to say, with humanity and civility, and with no degree of rigour not absolutely necessary to his *safe-keeping*.

Banishment, next to death, is the severest of punishments allotted to well-

known and clearly defined crimes. But, Napoleon has committed *no crime* against our laws. He *cannot* have committed any such crime; because he never, till now, was within the dominions of England. When, in the Bellerophon, at Torbay, he might have demanded a *writ of habeas corpus*, and, I believe, no judge could have legally refused to grant that writ. Brought before the Judge, his release would have been objected to by the Attorney General upon one of two grounds: that he was a *prisoner of war*, and, therefore, legally detained; or, that he was an *alien*, and, therefore, during the war, at the disposal of the Secretary of State, under the provisions of the *Alien Act*.

I put it to any *lawyer*, whether a different mode of opposition to the writ could legally have been pursued. If I am correct, then, on what ground has he been consigned to banishment? He was, for many days, **WITHIN THIS KINGDOM**; and, if the account in the newspapers be true, he has now been *transported beyond the seas*, without charge legally preferred, without trial, without the consent or even cognizance of any known court or magistracy. Mr. LEIGH HUNT, whose notes appear to have become more dulcet since his dwelling in the Attorney General's cage, in a sonnet, lately honoured with a place in the *Courier*, represents England as the fair seat of liberty, and as having such a *charm* in the very nature of her *soil*, that even the *slave*, the moment he sets his foot on it, *becomes free*. Napoleon was not suffered to set his foot on this wonder-working *soil*; but, it is well known to your Lordship, that the Bellerophon was in the county of Devon, and that Napoleon was in the Bellerophon. It is well known to your Lordship, that, if he had committed a murder in that ship, he must have been brought on shore and tried at Exeter. It is also on record, that Frenchmen, prisoners of war on board those *hulks*, of which Napoleon spoke in his address to his army before the battle of Waterloo, and which Frenchmen were charged with *forgery*, were brought on shore, tried, and *hanged*. It is also well known, that other prisoners, having killed a man in their attempt to escape from those hulks, were brought to Winchester, tried, and *hanged*.

It being clear, then, that, from the moment he arrived in Torbay, Napoleon

became subject to, and was under the protection of, the laws of England, I should be glad to know *what part of that law* it is which has sanctioned his being punished with banishment beyond the seas, or, indeed, which has sanctioned his being punished in any way whatever.

The laws of England say, that **NO MAN being within the dominion of England** shall be punished in any degree whatever except according to law. Napoleon was *within the dominion of England*. According to *what law*, then, has he been punished? According to what law has he been transported beyond the seas? Where are we to look for the record of his crime, trial, conviction, and sentence?

The base and bloody-minded men, who have been bawling for a *public trial of Napoleon*, do not seem to have been aware, that, if arraigned, he *must* have been acquitted, unless we were to adopt the monstrous supposition, that the Judge and the Jury would all have been guilty of wilful perjury. For, to have justified conviction, it *must* have been proved, that he had committed some crime *within the jurisdiction of the court*; and, it is well known, that it would have been impossible to prove that, seeing that he never was within that jurisdiction, until his arrival in Torbay.

If I am right in my opinions as to the law of this case, *how are any of us to know that we are safe?* Here is a man transported without trial, without any law to authorise the act. And, if one man can be so treated, why not *another man*? It does not signify who the man is, or what he has been. He is the man who will give his name to the age in which he has lived. His renown will swallow up that of all other men. But that is no matter. In the eye of the law, he is a mere man, who was in the county of Devon, and, as the *Courier* tells me, has been transported from that county beyond the seas, without a trial. Now, if *one* man can be thus transported from the County of Devon, why not *another*; why not *any* man? Why any more *trials*, previous to transportation?

Had an *act of parliament* been passed to authorize this deed, we might have criticised the act of parliament; but, there would, then, have been *law* for what is said to have been done. As things stand, there appears to be *no law* for it: and

thus I leave this part of the subject, without hoping ever to see the transaction properly commented on, 'till the subject comes back to us, fearlessly discussed, through the American press, in the same style as they have, there, recently spoken of the affair of the *American prisoners at Dartmoor*.

I now proceed to notice other parts of the reported treatment of this *truly* illustrious man. I know nothing of the matter, of course, but what the newspapers convey to me; and that, if true, is quite enough in all conscience. The *COURIER* has told us, that, for some time, Napoleon was treated, by our officers, as a person of *superior degree*. That they showed him all the respect usually shewn to the sovereign of a country; and behaved to him as they would have behaved to him at Paris when he was in the height of his power. As this behaviour was the natural effect of just sentiment; as it was perfectly natural that brave and generous minds should be over solicitous to suffer not the smallest suspicion to exist of their desire to add to the mortification which the bravest of the brave must experience in his fall, it was well calculated to shock the nation, when it was told by this same news-paper, that "ORDERS had been SENT DOWN to discontinue those demonstrations of respect," and to treat the Chief, with whom we once made a treaty, including the cession to us of Trinidad and Ceylon, belonging to Spain and Holland, "merely as a *general officer*."

But, the most extraordinary piece of intelligence is contained in the following article, from the *COURIER* of the 7th instant.—"*Plymouth, Aug. 4.*—The *Bellerophon* with Napoleon on board, got under weigh this morning, and stood to the south west; she is now nearly out of sight, followed by the *Eurotas*. Lord Keith, the Commander in Chief of the Channel fleet, has hoisted his flag in the *Tonnant*; Rear Admiral Hallowell who had his flag there, has struck it in that ship for the time. Lord Keith is now working out in the *Tonnant*, and is to proceed to a certain latitude, where the *Northumberland* is to meet them, and, where Lord Keith will transfer Napoleon into that ship, which will carry him to his destination. He says, he never will quit the *Bellero-*

phon alive to go to St. Helena: that he has no objection to be shut up in the Tower, or in any part of England, or to have a person constantly with him; but that to St. Helena he never will go. We shall soon see whether he will put his threat in execution of destroying himself. It is said, that Bertrand and family will be allowed to accompany him; but that Savary and Allemand will not. The *Northumberland*, with the *Havannah* frigate, two troop ships, and four sloops of war, will form the squadron to watch St. Helena, and carry out the troops. The *express* only came down in the night to send off the *Bellerophon*, and MAKE THE EXCHANGE AT SEA."

Ah! my Lord, if this were to be the last year of the duration of the world; or, if there were no other country but this; and, if in this, the state of the press and men's minds was always to remain what it now is; then, indeed, publications like the present would be of little consequence. But, the world will live beyond this year. There are other lands peopled by men. The people of England, when they have had time to cool and to reflect, will return to those sentiments of justice and generosity, by which they were formerly characterized.

This statement, surely, never can be true. There is something so humiliating in the idea of *precautions* like these? I expected to see Napoleon in England. I thought that our ambition would have been to have this conqueror of so many kings a captive on our shores. I promised myself and my sons the honour of making him a bow. And, why not put him in the Tower? Surely he could have done no harm there? At least, why not gratify the hundreds of thousands, who, at the risk of their lives, have flocked to see him from distances of hundreds of miles, with the sight of his removal from the custody of a Maitland to that of a Cockburn?

"To proceed to a certain latitude." The removal to be made in "a certain latitude!" An Admiral to go to see the thing done! It never can be true. It would stink in the nostrils of the world for ages to come.

To see the fallen Eagle assailed by the Owls and Bats of our hood-winking press and their like is by no means surprising;

but, they have not, upon this occasion, been able to communicate their base malice to the nation. All reports represent the crowds that have pressed round the *Bellerophon* as testifying the profoundest respect for the object of their curiosity. Happy would it be if the sight of all princes, even in the height of their power, elicited the expression of such feeling. What! the Owls and Bats, at the close of twelve years of unbridled calumnies, have not been able to extort a single hiss, a single expression of disrespect, towards the man, whom they described as all that is odious and wicked! What! Have they now to *complain of the people of England* for their love and admiration of him, whom they have so long taught them to loath and despise! What, then, would have been their *confusion*, if he had been led captive to London?

From a state of insensibility the body is often roused to new and extraordinary exertion by the infliction of some sudden blow. So it is sometimes with the mind, and especially with the public mind. Consciousness of error, when one error is discovered, generally more than repays the deluder for his mischief. Let the Owls and Bats beware, therefore, of that reaction, which is preparing for them by promises which they can never fulfil, and expectations which they must disappoint. To the benefit of *further* successes they cannot now prevail even upon ideots to look; and, with Napoleon a captive in our hands, the depression and gloom that prevail exceed those of all former times.

Where are *now* the fetes, the gala's, the bonfires, the illuminations, the ox-roastings, the temples of victory, and the triumphal exhibitions of the Serpentine River? Napoleon is fallen for ever: he is in *your* hands: and yet the deepest gloom is written upon the face of the nation. The "disturber of the world," as the Owls call him, is down; but the means used to put him down are now recoiling upon ourselves; as the quackery which quiets the tooth-ache finishes its work by destroying the tooth.

Botley, 9th of August, 1815.

Since writing the above, my Lord, the *Courier* of yesterday has brought me the following paragraphs, on which, when I have inserted them, I shall offer you

some remarks. I choose to make my extracts from this particular paper, because I would not be charged with referring to the authority of those who have any feelings in favour of the illustrious captive; and because this paper is well known to have published, for years, always on the side of what is called the *ministry*.

"*Torbay, Aug. 6.*—Three sail of the line and a sloop of war came to anchor this afternoon near this bay, but at such a distance from the shore as to prevent any one distinctly seeing what they were about. One of the ships bore the flag of an Admiral, and is, no doubt, the *Northumberland*. There is also little doubt that she has been receiving on board Napoleon Bonaparte, as boats have been passing constantly from one ship to the other: they are now all under weigh with a fine breeze at W. N. W. and will soon be out of sight. There has been no communication whatever between them and the shore.

"*Plymouth, Aug. 6.*—On Thursday Bonaparte refused to exhibit himself, and on Friday he quitted the Sound. The principal time for beholding his whole figure has generally been a little before six o'clock, just previous to his dinner hour, at which time the mass of surrounding boats exceeded both in breadth and length every thing that can be imagined concerning it, particularly on Monday, when 1,008 boats and 10,000 persons, at least, were supposed to be congregated, partly attracted by the ex-imperial phenomenon, and partly by a wish to see the Breakwater, only a few hundred yards from the *Bellerophon*, where, to their surprise, they found a supply of porter, biscuits, fruit, and even tea, coffee, and cream, on which, after viewing the chief object, several thousands landed, at low water, absolutely covering its extent with population.

"ON SUNDAY, we REGRET TO SAY, a large portion of the spectators not only took off their hats, but cheered him, apparently with the view of soothing his fallen fortunes, and treating him with respect and consideration;—him whose whole life has been a series of exultations in the calamities of others!

"A rumour has been circulated that the *Bellerophon* quitted the Sound to evade the service of a *habeas corpus*, applied for by Bonaparte. This is too ridiculous to be credited.

"ON TUESDAY orders came down for restraining all boats to a cable and a half distance from the *Bellerophon*; when the captive complaining that he was indisposed, closely confined himself in his cabin, from which indescribable disappointment was occasioned to those who had gone out to see him. The precaution adopted,

with respect to the boats, arose, we understand from a foreign spy's being detected hovering around the ship, with letters addressed to Bonaparte, and without a passport, who could give no account of himself. He is in custody.

"Bonaparte's property, excepting what may be absolutely necessary for his use, has been sealed up, and is to be kept in England, in order to prevent him from committing bribery, but he will be at liberty to bequeath it to any persons he may like at his death.

"Some of his linen, sent ashore to be washed, appeared exceedingly fine in its texture, and had been held in such esteem, that many individuals here have temporarily put on one of his shirts, waistcoats, or neckcloths, merely for the purpose of saying that they had worn his clothes! BLIND INFATUATION!"

Glorious triumph! Of all this matchless hero's victories this is the greatest. It is a victory over prejudice deep-rooted; prejudice, the work of twenty years of calumnies, and of wars that have cost sixteen hundred millions of pounds sterling to England. At Napoleon's return from Elba I exulted; every soul around me exulted, because we thought that the event would lead to the good of England. But this victory draws forth tears of joy, because it reconciles me to my countrymen; because it proves, most indubitably proves, that, though Englishmen may be deceived, may, by the long exertions of craft, be induced to adopt unjust and ungenerous sentiments, justice and generosity can never be wholly torn from their hearts; and more especially because it is now evident, that, in those hearts the sacred flame of liberty has not even yet been extinguished.

Let me now, if I can, look a little calmly at the several parts of this soul-touching scene. What! the ships were kept at such a distance from the shore as to prevent any one seeing distinctly what they were about! No communication whatever between them and the shore! It has been rumoured that the ship quitted the sound to evade the service of a Habeas Corpus applied for by Napoleon! On SUNDAY, (mark the date) the people took off their hats, and cheered Napoleon, in token of sorrow and respect; and, on TUESDAY (mark the date again) ORDERS CAME DOWN to keep the people at a cable and a half distance from the ship! But this was because a foreign spy

wished to deliver letters to the illustrious captive.

Ah! my Lord, what a tale is this to tell to the world! Who was this foreign spy? What is his name? Who took him up? Where is he? When is he to be brought to trial? Who is to try him? Has he vanished into air? Oh! what a tale to tell to the world! And why not suffer Napoleon to receive letters? Was it supposed, that the letters contained a detachment of his gallant armies? Was it still feared that he had the power to combat? And, where are these letters? Who was it that wrote to him? Englishmen, if any body did, as they had a right to do it: and as they have a right to do it still, unless you pass a law to forbid them.

It was only rumoured, that the ship drew off to evade the service of a Habeas Corpus. But, she did move away. And how came it to be rumoured? Rumour, or more than rumour, it shows that the thought occurred to somebody; that I was not singular in my opinion as to the law of the case. This transaction, if I suppose it never to be canvassed in England, is before the Tribunal of the World.

Napoleon's property is sealed up and to be kept in England! And, who is to keep it? Who is to select the keeper of it? Where is the law for doing any of these acts? Who has done them? Where is the warrant for the seizure? And, then, what is the reason for doing it? "To prevent him from committing bribery." BRIBERY and CORRUPTION are, to be sure, my Lord Castlereagh, most infamous, and ought to subject the perpetrator to the chopping off of his ears and the splitting of his nose. Only the most base of villains will be guilty of them, and they always ought, and generally do, bring down execration upon the head of him, who practices such means of carrying his ends, and to fling out whose vile carcass as food for carrion crows is the bounden duty of a nation. But, who can suspect the brave Napoleon of using such means? Who can suspect of such an act him who is precisely the opposite of a filthy and odious trafficker in corruption; of a dirty wily prostituted knave, who, with religion upon his lips, would buy and sell the souls of men in order to secure the means of playing the tyrant with impunity. Napoleon's life shews, that he is the exact oppo-

site of such a cold-blooded, remorseless, black-hearted ruffian, who must be detested through life and whose name must be synonymous with infamy to all posterity.

And, besides, my Lord Castlereagh, *who* can Napoleon be suspected of a capacity to bribe? He is, we are told, to be committed to the safe-keeping of the *English army* on the land and the *English Navy* by sea; and no foreign ships are to be suffered to approach the shore. *Who* is he to bribe, then? Is it the rocks, or the waves, or the clouds, that he is to bribe? *Why*, then, not leave his property in his hands? *Why* seize hold of that? Oh! my Lord, what a tale is here told to the world by the Courier! I hope that *this*, at any rate, is not true.

But, we are told, he is to have the *liberty* to bequeath his property at his *death*. So, you see, this Screech Owl begins already to toll his knell. The ominous bird begins already to snuff mortality! But, *what friend*, I ask, is to know when the illustrious captive *dies*? *Who* is to *produce his will*? *Who* is to be his *executor*? And, *who* is to have the property *forth-coming*? Suppose he make no will, *who* is to be his *heir at law*? It never can be. The morality of a highway robber would be shocked at the deed. *This*, therefore, I must regard as a story fabricated by this mercenary and detestable scribe.

Though I fear, that I shall have already wearied the patience of your Lordship, I cannot refrain from returning, for one minute, to the interesting scenes at Plymouth and in the Sound.

The Owls and Bats relate with REGRET, that the people in the boats saluted Napoleon with demonstrations of sorrow and of respect. And, *who were these people*? Not the *rabble*. Not the noisy and drunken mob, who ran after the Kings and Old Blucher. No: for such could not get out in boats that cost, perhaps, from 20 to 50 guineas a day. No: the persons, who, in this feeling manner, applauded Napoleon, had come, as we are told, from *all parts of the country*, from 10 to 200 miles. They were tradesmen, farmers, gentlemen; in short, a fair specimen of the nation, whose sentiments they so honourably expressed, and whose character they did their best to vindicate.

The Owls and Bats exclaim, "**BLIND INFATUATION!**" in describing persons craving the honour to put on, for a moment, a shirt, a waistcoat, a neck-cloth, of Napoleon. No, my Lord, it was not *blind infatuation*. It was, indeed, a proof of *enthusiasm*; but it was an enthusiasm inspired by just, though ardent, feeling. The idea, that the people of Rome would, if they had known the good intentions of *Cæsar* toward them, have asked a *hair* of him for memory, is naturally looked upon as an exaggeration justified only by poetical licence; but, here is an historical fact far surpassing that exaggeration; for Napoleon had never been a champion of England; he had, for 23 years, been openly at war with her government, and had had the calumnies of the English press poured forth against him during the whole of that time. The *hairs* of Napoleon would not be *asked*; they would, if it were possible, be *purchased* with their number of pounds by men like those whose generous sentiments burst forth upon this ever-memorable occasion.

How ardent the mind, how lively the feeling, that could discover this mode of gratification!—that could seek out even the linen of the object of its admiration!—that could imagine it a sort of *glory* to have barely touched any thing that had once been touched by him! Verily, my Lord, if he had been only suffered to *set his foot on the land*, the honours paid by the people to the Kings and Old Blucher would have experienced a most humiliating contrast. He never could have been taken to London. The whole nation would have come out to meet and escort him. How little now appear all the assembled sovereigns, compared with Napoleon—powerless Napoleon—penniless, bare, naked Napoleon! If the whole of them and all their Generals; if all the Princes and Potentates upon the face of the earth, had been standing upon the deck of the Bellerophon, for a year, with their crowns and tiaras upon their heads, so many of the people of England would not have been attracted to the spot.

The anecdote of the *shirts and neck-cloths*, and which, if it had been possible, would have been *suppressed*, is quite decisive. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Old Blucher, were here for a good while. I did, indeed, hear, through the news-papers, of some filthy

women of fashion who slobbered the whiskers of the latter, and of some mob who squeezed his hand; but I never heard of people hunting out their linen; and, notwithstanding our own sovereign and his royal sons are so much beloved and admired, I have never heard, that any of even our own people, resorted to this mode of evincing their enthusiastic admiration.

Having, in the time of his power, been the object of open and unbounded popular applause in every other country of a world resounding with a relation of his exploits; having awakened an expression of enthusiastic attachment in all but English breasts, it remained for him, in his fall, to demonstrate, that the voice of mankind was unanimous. Thus goes Napoleon; and, oh! it is from the shores of England that he goes! followed by the most anxious wishes for his preservation and happiness, and leaving behind him a name that will be dear to the millions of Europe as long as justice and gratitude shall be known amongst men.

WM. COBBETT.

I shall be much obliged to any gentleman, who happened to be present on the *Sunday* of which the *Courier* speaks, to give me, by letter, a particular account of what passed; of the expressions, the words, that were made use of by any of the people, upon that occasion, by far the most interesting that England ever witnessed.—I shall also be obliged to any gentleman, who will send me an account of what has been done with the Generals and other persons, who came with Napoleon.—I shall be much deceived, if even they are landed in any part of England.—However, I should be glad to have some true information upon the subject.—The writer will be so good as to *pay the postage*, as I am, in self-defence, obliged to refuse all letters not postage paid.

AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

In NILES'S *Weekly Register*, published at Baltimore, 1st April 1815, is a document, entitled, "*An Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain.*" This document is official, and comes, I dare say, from the pen of Mr. MADISON himself, or from that of Mr. MONROE. It has been published in all the American newspapers

that I have seen; and, I perceive from advertisements, that it has been published in a *pamphlet* form in every part of America, to the amount, perhaps, of a million of copies.—Now, as our government must have seen this document; as their consuls, or other agents, must have transmitted it; as it is impossible to believe, that all the numerous departments, and persons composing such a government as ours, should be ignorant of the existence of a paper, which contains such heavy charges, and which cites such a number of official documents in support of those charges, is it not calculated to give pain to those who feel for the honour of the country, that not even an attempt is made to *answer* these charges? They relate not only to the conduct of our government, but to that of our military and naval commanders, and the forces under them. The document is all *pth*; all *home blows*. It, therefore, should be *answered*. I hereby offer my paper as the vehicle of an answer, if any one will send it me. There are all the people in the public pay, as ministers, &c. There are about a thousand peers and members of parliament. There are all the 12 or 15,000 clergy of the established church. There are all the loyal writers in newspapers, magazines, reviews, pamphlets, and books. And, yet, will no one *answer*, or attempt to answer, this document? Where is the Member, who said that America, like an *assassin*, attacked us in the dark? Will he not answer this document? It is too long for insertion in the Register, and I am not in the way of publishing pamphlets, or I would certainly send it forth from the English press; for, it is fitting that every people should know what other nations say of their conduct, and of that of their government.

THE POLICY OF PUNISHING THE ADHERENTS OF NAPOLEON.

MR. COBBETT.—It is almost forgotten in this country, that in the year 1688 a revolution took place in the government. A successful rebellion is denominated a revolution, and the event mentioned has that name under the solemn sanction of the *law of the land*. There are many who would willingly forget it as a mischievous example. Many are prepared to revile it in these days of *loyalty and religion*. But they will do it at their peril,

as on it depends the throne of the Princes of the House of Brunswick, who, if that event be condemned, have no better title to the sceptre of these realms than usurpation. But, as no man can call to account the *glorious revolution*, it is useless to comment upon it, while it may not be amiss to record some circumstances connected with it.—William, Prince of Orange and Stadtholder of Holland, landed in Britain with a body of troops amounting to twelve thousand men, well appointed and disciplined, accompanied by a formidable fleet. He came to redress the grievances of the nation, and was soon joined by a considerable part of the *wealthy* and *noble* of the land. The force which he brought to war against the supporters of James the Second, was such as could not easily be resisted, had there been an inclination to oppose him. However, Bishop Burnet was much in the wrong when he represented William as having conquered this country, for it has been but once properly conquered, by William the Frenchman. At the same time, it must be allowed that the Dutchman was accompanied by a mighty power, over and above that which was furnished by the inclinations of the country in his favour. Indeed, had that inclination been all on the side of James, it is scarcely conceivable that William, with such a fleet and such an army, could have been effectually resisted. As it was, James stood no chance of withstanding him successfully. In this dilemma, the *poor superstitious king* took the only step left to him; he withdrew from the unequal contest, threw himself on the generosity and protection of his ally, the King of France, and prepared himself, as well as he could, for recovering that throne which he was forced for a time to abandon. The right of James to the monarchy, on the commonly admitted principles, was unquestionable. The force to which he yielded, at the moment, was overwhelming, consisting of the major part of the *rich* and *noble* of his own dominions and of a formidable *foreign army*, probably superior in efficiency to that which the king had collected on Hounslow Heath. The facts of the case are those now stated. They were attended by others of a civil and domestic nature, one of which deserves to be mentioned.—Immediately on the meeting of the Convention Parliament, the “state

of the nation” was taken into consideration. There was little need of proof that King James had withdrawn, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, a pressure which he had no means to withstand. It was certain also that *the King had made no surrender of his rights*. There was no act on his part indicative of his surrender of them except that he had *withdrawn*. He asserted his claim to his hereditary dignity without compromising it in the slightest degree. Other Potentates, and especially Louis the 14th, recognized in him the *legitimate sovereign* of the British empire. He was, in this respect, precisely in the situation of Louis the 18th of France, when he lately threw himself on the powerful aid of the confederate monarchs of Europe for the conquest of his country, and the recovery of his throne from the French and Napoleon, lately returned from Elba. But it is foreign to my purpose to pursue the parallel in that respect. This abandonment of the throne by James occasioned no small difficulty to “the Convention Parliament.” It was not voluntary; and *abandonment* was a word which included in it no *abatement of right*. Yet some word must be adopted, and one that should clearly pave the way for *transferring* the sovereignty to the *Prince of Orange*. It was resolved that he had *abdicated* the throne, a phrase not sanctioned by the grammar of the English, or perhaps any language, or by the usage and practice of the British or any other nation. However, it was resolved that James had *abdicated* the throne. Of course it is now useless to reason on the propriety or solecism of the term, or to attempt showing that it was not supported by fact, as might easily be done. James had not given up the smallest tittle of his rights, as the phrase was designed to signify. The Scotch Parliament spoke a more intelligible and a perfectly justifiable language, declaring that the King had *forfeited his crown*. But this the “Convention” did not choose to say, preferring the very questionable position, that James had, by deserting, *abdicated the throne*. There is now, however, no remedy left. *James, by quitting the government, abdicated the throne*, no matter under what force or pressure, which was undoubtedly great, and even irresistible. This position we are bound to maintain from the highest to the lowest, from the King

to Jack Ketch. All the lawyers in the land must join in the position. *It is the law of England.* It is law in Parliament. It is law in Lord Ellenborough's Court. Should any man deny it in the House of Commons or the King's Bench, woe betide the presumptuous wretch. Then, if it be *the law of England*, an inference clearly follows, that *it is the best law in the world, and ought to be the law of all kindred and people.* Wherever it is recognised, there a great advance has been made towards *a conformity with the most enlightened and thinking nation existing.* In this we have the unqualified suffrages of those arbiters of *taste and morality*, the Times and Morning Post. Those Messieurs of the *public press*, with grave and sapient decision, asseverate and affirm, that James *abdicated* the throne, inasmuch as he, yielding to the pressure of an overwhelming force, left his throne to shift for itself. We will not speak about *forfeiting*, because the term is not sanctioned and *legitimatised.* We will stick by the word *abdicate*, which all the world knows is a most excellent word. In short, when a King leaves his throne in such a doleful plight, forced thereto by foreign bayonets and by domestic disaffection, *it is a fair abdication* on the authority of the law of England, which no human being, and, especially, no Englishman, can gainsay. *A fortiori*, if a King leaves it to take care of itself, when he is compelled by no foreign force; when he has all the force of his own kingdom under his command. When his kingdom is entered, even without a force by a competitor, and when all the cause of deserting the poor throne is the *disaffection* of his subjects, or, as it has been said in a late instance, the disaffection of a very *small part* of them, aided by his own imbecility and cowardice; why, surely, in that case, such a King has *doubtly abdicated*—abdicated with a vengeance. It is as pretty an abdication, *by English law*, as one would wish to set eyes on. My Lord Chief Justice, the Right Honourable Speaker, and the Lord Chancellor, must say so. The lawyers have seldom seen so palpable *a case in point.* To a man they are bound to maintain it. And here, to shew the prowess of a man unlearned in the law, I challenge all the Inns of Court and courts of law to take the *other side* of the question. What is a written docu-

ment, such as Napoleon signed at Fontainebleau, when compared with a solemn enactment of Kings, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled; with the practise of our law courts by whose sentences, founded on this indubitable position, the block has largely *streamed with blood*; and with the stability of the throne of our august sovereign, which has *not a leg to stand upon* if this glorious truth be denied? What! will the miscreants attempt to prove that the Gwelf family are *usurpers*? And this would be the exact state of their case, if it be not granted that James *did* abdicate the throne. It is a very inferior matter to say that, precisely on the same ground—(a ground that can be undermined only with the law of England, whose fall will involve that of the King, and of my Lord Ellenborough, and all the lawyers)—*Louis the 18th abdicated the throne of France*, leaving it miserably to shift for itself, when he marched to Ghent, and called in *foreign armies* to reinstate him, as they have done by the battle of Waterloo, which has proved far more auspicious to him than the battle of the Boyne to King James, under the less prosperous star of the grand monarch, ancestor to *Louis the desired.*

Now, Sir, as we are always in the right, we did right in calling James's *flight* an abdication, and whatever we did afterwards *was all right.* Had James returned by the assistance of his allied sovereigns, he could have had no possible ground of justice for punishing us, or rather the revolutionists. What! could he have a right to punish them for the best deed that was ever done? What! James the Second, who had fair y abdicated, aye, *abdicated* the throne, punish the people of England who swore allegiance to another and most properly bore arms against *him*! No, I de y that he had any right whatever, for he had abdicated. No matter that he did not allow that, or that we had no Fontainebleau parchment to shew for it; we had that which was much better. He had *left* the throne to its fate, and like a *coward took himself off.* We chose to resolve that he *had* abdicated, and we had a right to say that, or much more, if we pleased, and I wish we had said a *little* more and a *little* better. We had all this to plead, and by the law of England, as it stands, our pleadings would have been irreposable. For James, indeed, to accuse us of being

perjured for swearing, after he had *abdicated*, allegiance to the Prince of Orange! What was it to him that William was *no* Englishman? If he had been a Russian or a Turk, we had a right to swear to him what we pleased. For James to punish us, for fighting against him or for driving him away to his *Allied Monarch or Monarchs*, would have been horrible. He would have been a *murderer* if he had shed a drop of blood. Or, if this be not so, our ancestors were a set of *perjured rebellious wretches*, and the house of Hanover are usurpers. But, Sir, I defy you, nay, I defy the judges and the lawyers in a body, and all the courtiers into the bargain, to dare to hazard such an assertion. As we were *in the right*, James, had he proved successful in the recovery of the throne from which he had been *hurled with contempt*, would have punished the innocent, the meritorious, however he might attempt to cloke over the *execrable action* by alledging his own success. Nothing could have made the death of good men performing their highest duty any other than *foul murder*. This cannot be evaded but by a confession that we were all *forsworn villains*, and that we joined in most *utrochous robbery* when we resolved on the succession of the Gwelfs. We are fairly on the horns of this dilemma, but it gives us no pain, because we sit on the easiest of all cushions, formed of the wigs of all the judges and lawyers of the land, past, present, and to come. Miserable, however is our unhappy condition in another respect. What becomes, at this rate, of *Louis the desired*? Either he, or we and our ancestors, must go to pot *in the turn of a hand*. Either he *abdicated the throne* on going to Ghent, or the King, Lords, and Commons, pronounced in the case of James the most *abandoned falsehood*. The pressure on James by which he was constrained to quit the throne, was beyond comparison greater than that which compelled Louis to do the same thing; and the former was *as much despised and execrated* by his subjects as the latter, and more. He could stand his ground with *quite* as little safety or success. Well, either the people of France were innocent of perjury in swearing allegiance to Napoleon, or our Revolutionists were all abominably forsworn in transferring their allegiance from James to William. The French did right in defending

themselves against Louis when he waged war with them, or our ancestors were rebels in repelling the attempts of James, aided by his Allied Sovereign. The event of the two cases was different, because the desired Louis had on his side a great plenty of Allied Sovereigns. But the event does not change the nature of things, or I do not know what can be said of our *two American wars*. Indeed, the case of the French has one advantage over our's at the revolution, for it is probable that they *despised and hated* Louis less than our ancestors did King James. It follows clearly, that if one drop of blood is shed in France, it *must be murder*, or we are at this day *perjured rebels* against the house of Stuart, whose representative is I believe the family of Savoy, though some have lately said that it is Louis XVIII. Be that as it may, we will not lie under so horrible an imputation. We will not give up the dear house of Gwelf. We are true, and let all else be liars. Every court of law and conscience in the kingdom is on my side here. We all, without hesitation, pronounce that, if blood be shed in France after this *abdication*, murder will be committed. We must so say, or we are the descendants of men that *ought to have swung at Tyburn*. Their successful resistance gives them no possible advantage, because that would be only adding *blood* to perjury and rebellion. I therefore expect the judges to stand forth, with the bar at their heels, to proclaim the innocence and glory of England, by *pronouncing a sentence of murder* on all in France that shall touch a hair of the head of those that, in imitation of our ancestors, abandoned and opposed a monarch who, if our law is the truth, *abdicated his throne*, and, by so doing, absolved the French from their allegiance, as our Revolutionists were absolved by the abdication of King James, which is their *triumphant and only plea* against the charge of *perjury and treason*. The French, miscreants as they are, may commit this horrid crime, and shed the blood of *our brother innocents*. What can be expected better from such as they are? But we will never let them hear the last of it. In our own defence, and in defence of our forefathers, we will, with our government and law at our head, ever stigmatise them, in that case, as *foul murderers*. We have no other means of shaking off

from ourselves the *foulest stigma*, and of retaining, as our liege lords, the blessed house of Gwelf.

'This is a new argument, not insisted on by the most sapient conductors of our *public press*. It is a bone which the iron teeth of all the *Gens de la robe* will not be able to crack. Let them goaw. I throw it down for that purpose, diverting myself with the growling which the sport must occasion among them.

At another time, I will take an opportunity of saying a few words on the right to *torture prisoners of war*, or to confine them by *perpetual imprisonment*: on the right to *kill them*, or to deliver them up to others to be killed, remembering the principle, *qui facit per alterum facit per se*; on the instances among *modern nations* of torturing and killing prisoners; on the honour of reviving the *wholesome example*; and on other subjects reflecting great renown on *generals* who suffer such things and approve of them, and on *officers* who make no protest against them after *confidence* reposed in them, expecting promotion and reward from *acquiescence* and *connivance*. I have also a very edifying tale to tell, truly characteristic of the *morals and feeling* of the wealthy English, and distinguishing them at this day among the nations of the earth. But you and I must first take some repose.

HOBTATOR.

TO MORRICE BIRKBECK, ESQ.

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundi!

VIRGIL.

SIR—I have read your last letter, addressed to Mr. Grattan, as I have done your former publications, with the highest satisfaction. There is no difficulty in perceiving, that you write not merely with the advantage derived from a strong and highly cultivated understanding, but under, what I wish was more prevalent in these odious and disgraceful times, the influence of the best feelings of the human heart. I am sure our enlightened and energetic friend Cobbett, as well as all his admirers, will cordially accept your aid to stem, if possible, the torrent of corruption, which

not solely threatens the total subversion of our boasted constitution, but absolutely to brutalize us as a nation. Why need we look beyond those sanguinary diurnal publications, the *Times* and *Courier* newspapers, for the proof of our national degradation? I do not know to what degree of baseness their editors are to be allowed to urge this once generous and high-minded nation; but if it is to be measured by the notion they have inspired me with of their own profligacy and malignity, so far from entrusting the honor and character of my country to such contaminating wretches, I would as soon commit my life and property to hired assassins or midnight robbers. The question you ask Mr. Grattan will confound all his sophistry.—“*Peace without security, or war without allies*,” and the rest of his delusive and empty *untilthesis*, has served the purpose of the day. But to revert to the cant phraseology of the great prototype of political apostasy, *Wm. Pitt*:—“*When*, I would ask of our profound logician, are we to establish a government in France, although her capital is in the power of the Allies, which shall be found “*capable of maintaining the relations of “peace and amity?”*” Such a government existed there after the return of the Emperor Napoleon, and we had the glorious opportunity of uniting with it to heal the wounds of a distracted world; to restore all the blessings of peace; and, in short, to ameliorate the condition of the human race. But, no: our *professed* and *real* objects, from the first to the last moment of our crusade against *French principles, or Bonaparte, or the rebel army*, or whatever we find most convenient for our purpose to denounce in France;—our *real* and *professed* objects, I say, are as much at variance as are the greatest opposites, either physical or moral. We might as soon reconcile the elements of fire and water, right and wrong, truth and falsehood, sincerity and hypocrisy. The reflecting part of this “*most thinking nation*” has laid at the door of a corrupt, venal and liberticide faction, and its convenient instrument, a profligate press, all the horrors that have desolated Europe for upwards of twenty years, and which, at present, give to the political world so portentous an aspect. With respect to the Emperor Bonaparte, it was truly unfortunate for this great man that he had not

the option of falling with arms in his hands, rather than trust his person to a government in which he might suppose such a man as *Lord Castlereagh* to have a decided influence. Although I am any thing but a panegyrist of the late minister Pitt, I do, from the bottom of my soul, verily believe, that if he had been alive, he would never have consented to so foul a stain on the honour of his country, as the insult meditated against fallen greatness, in the person of Bonaparte. This is not any compliment to the late *premier*, because it is only a contrast to the low-minded creatures who now crawl about a Court. I never did think so ill of Mr. Pitt, or, indeed, of any other public character till now, as to believe them entirely callous to that dignified feeling and generosity, which never before forsook the British public. I agree with you that the time will come when France must recover from her present prostration. The deep injuries she had received, but above all the insult to her national pride, honour, and independence, which, for the present, bows down her head with disgrace to the earth, must, so long as human beings retain their nature, be ultimately the cause of a dreadful *re-action*; and when stung and goaded with resentment, her revenge exceeds the bounds of moderation, we may prepare ourselves for the dolorous proclamations and manifestoes of the "legitimate" sovereigns against insatiable ambition! Whether these consistent teachers of ethics will again be listened to, remains to be proved.

I know perfectly well, that I might as well at this moment, offer counsel to the inmates of St. Luke's, as to my infatuated countrymen; but that shall not prevent me from recording my decided opinion, which is, that there is at this moment no other safe alternative for the powers of Europe, and more especially this country, than to immediately withdraw their armies, and leave the French people to settle their own internal affairs; with which, if we allow ourselves the slightest interference, it should be to recommend the restoration of Bonaparte, as the man of all others the most likely, at the head of the constitution lately adopted by the French nation, to consolidate a government founded on rational liberty, and consequently, "*capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity.*" For the present, however, I fear we are doomed to

yield to the insolent domination of the enemies of liberty, who have obtained a temporary triumph over the inalienable rights of mankind, and who are now certainly exerting their fiend-like capacity for mischief, in absolutely organizing *anarchy*. When they have sufficiently kindled the torch of civil war in the fairest portion of Europe, they will again tell us, with affected pity and horror, that it is all the work of a *russian soldiery* in France, which the *virtuous Louis* must *exterminate* before he can give the blessings of liberty to his loyal subjects. But it will be well for our own rulers to look a little beyond the immediate effects of the victory of *Waterloo*. The Spartan-like courage of our brave countrymen may, at no distant period, have a very different impulse, and, under the banners of liberty, display itself against *domestic* as well as foreign tyrants.

One word more, at parting, respecting the extraordinary man to whom my letter chiefly relates: the military renown of Napoleon has no fascination for me, who recognize no claims to the admiration and gratitude of mankind but those of *Citizen Soldiers*. Without pretending to exculpate Bonaparte from many faults during his political career, I think, Sir, you will concur in opinion with me, that from the period of his return from Elba to his second abdication of the throne of France, his conduct was not only irreproachable, but such as the most zealous advocate of liberty might admire. I wish it were possible to speak in the same terms of the French nation, which, I presume, repents, by this time, the pusillanimity and folly of its tergiversation in a moment of adversity, when honour, as well as the common safety, imperiously called upon all Frenchmen to rally round their chosen chief. This is a sad blot on the character of the Great Nation; and if ever it rests until it has at least done so much justice to Napoleon Bonaparte, as to rescue him from the fangs of his mean persecutors, it will never deserve to be governed by any thing better than such a treacherous wretch as a Prince Talleyrand or a Duke of Otranto. Your's truly,

HUMANUS.

POLITICAL VENGEANCE.

MR. COBBETT—There never was, and probably never will be, any scheme of national government without different views of policy being held by persons i.v.

ing under. These at length become decided partisans for the particular objects professed, and will be more and more avowed and determined, as either the importance of these objects, or the personal safety of the individuals advocating them, may be questioned or endangered. Legitimate doubts may arise in abstract views of government, and in the various practical details by which they are carried into effect, but none can morally exist as to the grand principle of political equality and freedom. In this indefeasible right, the boon of nature, never to be either lawfully alienated or vitiated, there can be no admissible dissention. Those who differ on this threshold of equitable government, must do it for the purpose of excluding that dignity and peace which are only to be enjoyed under a full recognition and observance of the rights of man. Either to resist the sacred principle of inherent liberty in the human race, or to contend for individual privileges in its application that would destroy its practical worth, is to lay the foundation of tyranny, of feuds, animosities, and ultimate anarchy. Nations may exist in slavery for ages, but who will say that such an unnatural and wretched degradation is not the social curse that all should strenuously avoid, and in no instance abjectly submit to? If the Supreme Being designed man for a free agent, that he might be morally accountable for his conduct in life, how is this sacred destination to be fulfilled by the inveterate hostility opposed to it by individuals, daring to govern in direct contravention of such a beneficent design! Can the unlettered slave, doomed to the vilest instrumentality, whose actions are an incessant libel on his intellectual endowment, can he accomplish the rational objects of his destiny; is it possible to pervert the sacred order of natural provisions, and to annul the rational character of man, without incurring the vengeance due to so unnatural an outrage? The laws of God and man equally forbid the heinous sacrifice, and will not suffer it to escape the visitation of condign punishment. Is it to be endured, that individuals, founding the political claims which they arbitrarily set up on the assumptions of tyranny and the degradation of man, shall talk of a resumption of legitimate rights, and of hurling destructive vengeance against those who may have justly entrenched themselves against such ancient

and renovating usurpation? Is it not deplorable, that factions should exist who unblushingly speak of the "indefeasible right of kings," and that nations, professing all kinds of government, should be leagued against the existence of one of the grandest instances of legitimate government that ever was proposed and adopted for the welfare of a country? Is it conceivable, that any ultimate good can result from such leagued power against political justice and civic protection; or rather is it not morally impossible for such violation of principle not to become sooner or later the pitiless victim of its own remorseless tyranny. Political principles that have for their object public justice, are founded in a moral necessity, that no men, nor any set of men, can modify or destroy, without incurring an offence that ought indeed to be punished with the vengeance of the law. But, for persons either aping political justice, or vauntingly setting its obligations at naught, to talk of vengeance, because their iniquitous systems might have been disturbed and resisted; is just as indefensible as for the criminal escaping from the trammels of justice to imprecate destruction on those who had dared to arraign and condemn him. If a momentary triumph of iniquity can be hailed by popular acclamations, and the sanguinary decrees of its unjust power be regarded as legitimate and laudable, how deplorable is the state of the human mind, and what complicated horrors must precede and attend its eventual emancipation from such an abyss of mental and bodily slavery. Ancient monarchies may be comparatively secure from the existence which they have in the habits of the people living under them. The multitude take things as they present, and the tenure by which governments in general are held, is that of unexamined adoption, rather than investigation and approval. Violent changes may lead to hurtful consequences in political institutions, but surely the consciousness of radical and practical defects in a system of legislature, should induce the patrons of such incorrectness to be reasonable in amending all inaccuracies, so that where there are materials worth rescuing from the crush of a final demolition, they may be preserved as the basis of an ameliorated and an unexceptionable superstructure. Well constituted Governments, if occasionally revised, and as often as necessary scrupulously amended, may be rendered as per-

manent as time. If wisely and virtuously administered, they would be indestructible, and would incalculably contribute, by their vigorous and uninterrupted duration, to the mental and moral aggrandisement of man. Time would be afforded for improvements in the civil line of government, that would infinitely benefit the state of society. Public buildings, roads, water courses, machinery, useful inventions, the condition of the labouring poor, and many other objects worthy of the Philanthropist, would then merit and obtain legislative attention. It would then be the virtuous endeavour of government to defend its own citizens, and never to intermeddle with the political concerns of foreigners. The military system would then be deprecated as subversive of the best interests of civic liberty, and no expence would be incurred by the state that would not be conducive to the public welfare. Public and private wrongs would then be redressed. Laws enacted against crimes, and every species of justice should be then revised, and made promptly available to every occasion that may require their protecting influence, without overwhelming the party claiming their aid in inextricable debt. If the vain glory of interfering with foreign governments should be at an end, the real glory and prosperity of domestic peace and happiness may be acquired and established. Where just and honourable intentions exist, there is nothing to dread; but where the semblance of correctness is assumed, to cloak sinister objects, delusion and artifice of every kind must be resorted to for their accomplishment, and are often actually practised at the expence of every thing that is valuable to a country until its foreign subjugation and overthrow be effected.

A TRUE BRITON.

BOROUGH SYSTEM.

"An ignorant, mercenary, and servile crew; unanimous in evil, diligent in mischief, variable in principles; constant to flattery, talkers for liberty, but slaves to power; styling themselves the court party, and the Prince's only friends.—*Davenant.*"

MR. CORBETT.—A few miles from Bedwin is Marlborough, another *free loyal and independent* Borough: of which place I now send you the following particulars:—It returns two members to parliament, the *Honourable* F. Stopford, of the 3d regiment of Foot Guards, Colonel in the

Army, &c. and the *Honourable* W. Hill, brother of Lord Berwick, and brother-in-law of the Earl of Aylesbury, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Sardinia. A younger branch of the Aylesbury family generally represents this place, possessing a paramount interest, without any opposition whatever. The present Earl of Aylesbury was returned at the last general election, then called Lord Bruce. The Mayor, who is the returning officer, two Bailiffs, and seventeen capital Burgesses, compose the Corporation; and at the general election the following persons were "the principal actors in the passing scene."

Rev. J. Francis, who has the valuable living of Collingbourne, Wilts. and another in Yorkshire, *both in the gift of the Earl of Aylesbury.*

Mr. John Ward, Attorney, Steward to the Earl of Aylesbury.

Mr. John Brown, Banker, in partnership with Mr. Ward.

Mr. John Brinsden, Sadler, to Lord Bruce's, (now Earl of Aylesbury,) Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry.

Mr. Fyre, cutler to ditto,

Mr. Hope, apothecary to ditto,

Mr. John Wentworth, brewer.

Thus your readers will perceive that the Earl of Aylesbury, of Tottenham, near Marlborough, Wiltshire, and of Tansfield-hall, Yorkshire, has it in his power to return, without difficulty, *four* Members to the *Honourable the House of Commons* of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland! That basest of all bigotted publications, the Gentleman's Magazine, in noticing the late Earl's death, last year, at the age of 85, says—"His Lordship *wholly* enjoyed the esteem of their Majesties, to whose immediate favours he owed various honourable appointments: in 1776 he was appointed governor of the Prince of Wales (now Prince Regent); in 1780, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; in 1792, Treasurer to her Majesty, which he held until his death."—I hope my countrymen will now reflect whether it is not time to establish some counterpoise to this despicable oligarchy, which, like the serpent, that is said to have sprung from Aaron's rod, possesses the power of swallowing us all up whenever it pleases to do so. I am, &c.

A REFORMER

Leamington Spa, 30th July, 1815.

NOTICE.

TO MANUFACTURERS IN EVERY BRANCH.

On Saturday, the 26th instant, will be published, in a double Number of the Register, FIVE LETTERS from Mr. COBBETT to LORD SHEFFIELD, on the subject of the WOOL TRADE; shewing his Lordship to be in error as to the grounds upon which he recommends a BILL to restrain the importation of wool; and exhibiting the clearest view of the present state of manufactures in America, proving that that country has extensive manufactures of cottons and linens, as well as of woollens; that machinery of all sorts is applied to these operations; that America has large flocks of Merino sheep, and that she already exports wool to Europe; also shewing, that, such are the inducements to emigration to that country, that it would be to aim a mortal blow at the manufactures of England to adopt any measure tending to enhance the price of our labour or of our raw-material; and that, to prevent our manufactures from experiencing immediate decay, it is necessary that the Corn Bill should be repealed.

NOTICE.

To the Readers of the Register.

The Indexes, Titles and Tables, for Volumes 25, 26 and 27, will be completed and ready for delivery to Newsmen and others, on Saturday, the 9th of September. In future, the Title and Index will form part of the Number which shall close ever quarter of a year; so that the readers will all be regularly supplied with them, without any inconvenience, or any additional expence or trouble.—The Tables of Prices of Bread, Wheat, and Meat, to which will now be added that of Wool; and of the English and French Funds, together with the number of Bankrupts, will now be given weekly, instead of at the end of each volume. It may be convenient for some gentlemen, for temporary purposes, to possess these weekly, without

the necessity of applying to other sources of information; but, the great object of them is to enable those who enter into subjects of political economy, that is to say, the matters most interesting to mankind, to refer, at any moment, to data so important to all discussions relative to the situation and prospect of this country.

There is intended to be a Supplement to each Volume, to contain such facts and observations, as may be suppressed, in the course of the Weekly Numbers, for fear of offending the modesty, and thereby exciting the anger, of the parties concerned. In what way this Supplement will make its appearance will hereafter be explained.

TO THE BACK-WOODS' MEN ON THE BANKS OF THE OHIO AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

On John Bull's Press; with a particular instance in the TOWN OF DUDLEY, where the publishing of EPITAPHS ON NAPOLEON, and where the expences of ADDRESSES TO THE PRINCE REGENT, have been charged in the Parish Accounts, to be paid out of the rates, raised for the relief of the poor.

Bolton, 15th of August, 1815.

If you lived in the Atlantic States, where you would have frequent opportunities of seeing English news-papers, you would not stand in need of the details, which I am now about to convey to you; because you would see, in those papers, quite sufficient to enable you to form a correct opinion of the sort of means made use of to give John Bull instruction in the science of politics, and to guard his political morality from adulteration, as well as to quicken and keep alive his loyalty. Indeed, some people may think it impertinent in me to address you upon such a subject, seeing that you need care nothing at all about John Bull or his Press or his Poor Rates. But, it may, in the midst of your labours, amuse you to hear of these things somewhat in detail; and it may,

besides, be useful, if you should, one of these days, take it into your heads to form your copper-coloured neighbours into a kingdom, and to put one of yourselves at the head of it.

There are two ways of teaching the science of Politics and of guarding the political morality of a people. One is not to suffer the Press to be unrestrained; that is to say, to stifle the voice of such persons as wish to promulgate matter on the wrong side. The other is, to encourage and to enforce, by all sorts of means, the promulgation of matter on the right side.

You have heard, long enough ago, of the means which are made use of in the way of *punishment*, after publication from John's press. You have also heard of some of the means, used to encourage promulgation on the right side. But, these are two very copious subjects, and cannot, be treated of here, in a manner to do justice to the parties, who carry on this important branch of John Bull's concerns, without wounding their modesty too deeply for them to endure it with any degree of patience; and, as they are persons, whom I should be extremely sorry to irritate, I will reserve the *full display* of their merits, in this respect, for the *Supplement* to this volume, as notified at the head of this Number. Therefore for this display, the reader will please to wait for Letter (A) of that Supplement.

All that I shall attempt, therefore, upon the present occasion is, to shew what pains, what infinite pains, what precautions, *previous to publication*, the government has taken to prevent John Bull from being led *astray*; and, then to give you the remarkable instance of the Town of Dudley, where efforts in the way of *promulgation*, or of leading in the *right path*, have been made in a manner that does the highest honour to the ingenuity of loyal zeal.

You will, therefore, please to observe, that it is only a small part of *John Bull's Press* that I am now going to exhibit to you; and, that the remainder of it is reserved for the Supplement (A), in which will be explained the nature of the establishment of our newspapers, magazines, and reviews, their connections, together with those of authors of political books and pamphlets.

The newspapers, and, indeed, all our

books, with scarcely a single exception, are eternally boasting about our *Press*. Mr. PERRY of the *Morning Chronicle*, upon a recent occasion, was so deeply affected by his feelings of exultation upon this score, that he really seemed to blubber out, "*England, happy in her own free press!*" And a Mr. LEROY HUNT, who and whose brother (as proprietors and printer) were, some time ago, led astray so far as to publish an offensive article about the Prince Regent, and who were, in consequence, shut up in separate jails for two years, and had to pay a good thumping fine each: this gentleman, having had time to reflect, has not only had his hostile passions cooled, but has kissed the rod with the most filial weakness, and has had such feelings awakened in his bosom as to draw forth the softest of sonnets, describing "*dear England*" as seated on her throne of Majesty, and administering justice and dealing out freedom to a barbarous and blackguard world; he, Mr. LEROY HUNT, being an *American* by birth as well as parentage, which adds to the *value* of his applause.

But these sentimental effusions, though very laudable, and, perhaps, very well adapted to this "*highly polished Society*," where MOORE'S *ALMANACK* and other such occult works are so much in vogue, are too fine, and too vague in their meaning, for you and I. You, after a week's toil at clearing woods, hunting, fishing, or digging up salt, and I with bones aching and feet smarting after trudging from day-light to dark about my farm, have minds too coarse and too callous to yield, like the sensitive plant, to these gentle touches. We want something more solid to be brought in contact with our minds. In short, we are insensible to every thing but clearly proved facts, and arguments that are conclusive.

In such I shall deal, upon the present occasion; my first object being to show you the precautions adopted, with regard to the Press, previous to publication.

There was a time, when in England, the government had no other controul, I mean, *known and openly-claimed* controul, over the press, than that of prosecuting men for *HAVING printed or published* that which the *law* (no matter what *sort of law*) deemed criminal. As far as relates to the *acting on the stage*, there

was, as there still is a direct imprimatur, or, rather, *ensorship*. That is to say, nothing can be played on the stage, 'till it has been submitted to an officer appointed by the government, who may, without any reason assigned, prohibit the performance of it. And this power is frequently exercised. Here, however, there is nothing very new. But it is not so with the press; for, during this king's reign; divers laws have been passed which give the government a check upon the press in its operations *previous to publication*; and of these I will first give you an account.

These modern laws begin at the very root of the press. That is to say, with the *Type-founders* and *Press-makers*. They could not go lower, unless they had gone to the metal mines and the timber-yards. I am not going to deal in general descriptions; but in specific facts. I am not going to tell you how the thing stands myself; but to make the laws themselves tell you how it stands, with regard to all the persons and all the occupations in any wise appertaining to the press.

LETTER FOUNDERS and Printing Press-MAKERS.—By an Act, passed on the 12th July, in the year 1789, these persons are compelled to give a **NOTICE**, in a given form, to the Clerk of the Peace, of their respective counties, that they intend to carry on the same businesses; and, they must have a **CERTIFICATE** from him of their having given such notice, before they can carry on the business.—The Clerk of the Peace is to *file* all such notices, and transmit copies of them to **THE SECRETARY OF STATE**. Mind *that!*—Next, these tradesmen are compelled to “*keep a fair account in writing of all persons to whom any such types or presses have been sold, and shall produce such accounts to any Justice of the Peace who shall require the same.*”

So far so good! No man can now buy a press or types without the knowledge of the government. The names of all the makers and all the buyers being thus registered, or on record, thus far the superintendence is complete.

PRINTERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.—Well, but there is another check even upon the raw material of printing. Printers, before they can exercise their calling, are compelled to give a **NOTICE** to, and obtain a **Certificate** from, the Clerk of the

Peace, who is again to transmit a copy of the notice to **HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE**, who thus has all the Printers enrolled too. What did I say? *Printers?* Aye, and **ALL OTHER PERSONS**, having *types or presses in their possession*. So that no man can have a press or types without being upon the Government's Register, or Roll.—In order to prevent presses and types from being made, sold, used, or kept, without the knowledge of the government, a heavy penalty is imposed in case of disobedience of the law; and, besides this, *any Justice of the Peace*, who may, “upon information upon oath, have reason to suspect,” that presses or types are kept contrary to the provisions of the act, empower a peace officer *to search for them*, and to seize them *and carry them away*.

Still safer! Here they are, then, all enrolled, all upon the file of the Clerk of the Peace, and on his Majesty's Secretary's Register. Type-makers, Press-makers, Printers, and all other persons, who make, use, or keep presses or types.

Well, now comes the *Manuscript* to be printed. Here the Printer is (by the same Act) not only compelled to know the *name*, but also the *place of abode* of the person, who employs him to print the *Book, Pamphlet, or Paper*. When he has done printing, or, when, indeed, he has printed a copy, he is to take one copy of the work, and on it is to **WRITE, or PRINT**, in fair and **LEGIBLE** characters, the *name and place of abode* of the person who has employed him to print it; and, at any time within six months, the printer is to *produce this copy to any justice of the peace* who shall require the same. All Privy Councillors are, *ex-officio*, Justices of the Peace. If this law had existed when the King came to the throne, how much trouble would have been saved in endeavours to ascertain the author of JUNIUS's **LETTERS!** And how long ago would the pretty turns and antithesises of that writer, for want of the tickling charm of *mystery*, have sunk into oblivion along with the disputes out of which they arose, and which, when placed on the side of the discoveries and events of the last twenty years appear too trifling for the mind to rest upon for a single moment.

Here we have the *Author*, then, pretty

safe in the hands of the Printer. But, out goes the work, and how is "*any justice of the Peace*" to know what printer ~~to go to find out the author?~~ The printer is to *keep a copy of the work, to write his employer's name and place of abode upon it, and to produce the copy when required*; but, who is to find out *who the printer is?* Ah! Do you think, then, my good hunters on the banks of the Mississippi, that we have not thought of this? Yes, yes. The same act compels the Printer, to print *his name and place of abode, on the first leaf, and also on the last leaf, of every thing that he prints.* The man who sells it is known, of course. And thus we have them: Type-founder, Press-maker, Author, Printer, and Publisher, all in a string.

Thus far, then, we are pretty secure as to *Books and Pamphlets*; and you are now going to see, that we are still *safer* as to newspapers.

NEWS-PAPER PEOPLE.—In England, generally speaking, one man is *Proprietor*, another *Printer*, and another *Publisher*. This last sells the papers to persons called *Newsmen*, and they vend them to the public. Before a newspaper can be printed, the Proprietor, Printer, and Publisher must all go up before officers appointed by the King (or, the *Crown*, as they call it here), and *swear*, according to a certain form, that they are the proprietor, &c. that their *names* are so and so, and that they live at such and such places. If the printer, or publisher, or proprietor be changed; they must all go and swear again. If any one of them changes his place of residence, a new swearing takes place of the whole. The *Affidavit* being signed by them all, and *registered*, they are all thus neatly and constantly kept in a state of supervision. But, this is not all. There would be no proof, that some one, under the same title, and same names, might not fabricate a paper. Oh, no! They are not to slide out thus. The Publisher is compelled to *write his name* upon one copy of every paper that he publishes, and to deliver that copy, so written upon, to the said officers of government. And, when a prosecution takes place, that copy, together with the affidavit are produced in

court, and the Act makes them *proofs of proprietorship, printing, and publishing.*

Leaving you to admire the ingenuity, which has here been brought into exertion in aid of carefulness in the way of *prevention*, we will now see the remarkable instance, at Dudley, in the way of *promulgation*. But, I must previously observe, that the *Taxes* raised under the name of *Poor Rates*, are by *law*, to be expended only for the *relief* of the Poor, for the purposes of *employing such of them as are able to work*, and for the carrying on of law-proceedings *touching the Poor*. If any Overseer, or other person, who is entrusted with the Poor's Rates, expend any part of them in any other way, he is liable to be compelled to refund the money to the Parish, and he may be compelled to this by any person, who pays towards the Rates, if such person chooses to *appeal* from him to the Justices at the Quarter Sessions of the peace.

At the *Town of Dudley*, it appears, that a Mr. RANN, a bookseller, has lately presented a bill to the Overseers, making the *Parish of Dudley* his *Debtor* for the articles contained in that Bill. It appears, from printed papers before me, that a part of the bill was objected to by some persons; that this part was left out; that the bill was then paid; but, that a Justice of the Peace, who knew the law and his duty, as imposed by that law, refused to pass the Overseer's amount, till the amount of Mr. Rann's modified bill was expunged.

A good deal of attraction seems to have taken place, and several hand-bills were published. But, the point, in dispute seems to have been, whether the Overseer wished to pay the whole bill, £26 5s. 5d. or the modified Bill, £22 8s. 11d. This is of little importance, seeing that the whole of the bill was for articles, which the Overseer could not legally pay. We shall see, by and by, what justified their paying the Bill by citing the *example of other parish officers*, which makes the affair the more interesting. But first, let us read attentively. Mr. RANN's Bill; and here it is verbatim.



Inhabitants of Dudley,

To JOHN RANN.

		£.	s.	d.
1813.				
April 14,	Printing 500 Bills, on <i>Christianity in India</i>	0	11	0
	Paid for dispersing ditto	0	2	6
	24 Skins of Parchment, ruled for Petitions	2	4	4
	Proprietors of Birmingham Gazette, charged for advertising, } sent by Mr. Bransby	1	4	0
		£4. 1s. 10d.		
Nov. 15,	Advertising Ball, Birmingham Gazette	0	7	10
	Printing 100 Cards, Gentlemen	0	3	6
	Ditto 100 do. Ladies	0	3	0
	400 Letters, hot pressed, Post Paper	0	17	0
	Mr. Jabet charged for advertising	0	6	6
		£1. 17s. 10d.		
Dec. 6th,	Printing 200 Requisitions on <i>addressing Prince Regent on</i> } <i>his Speech</i>	0	8	6
	Paid Messenger to the Rev. Mr. Smith	0	1	0
	Paid for delivering Requisitions	0	1	4
	Advertising do. 2 Advertisements, Birmingham Gazette	1	4	10
	Do. Tymbs, Worcester Paper	0	16	7
	Do. Thursday's Paper, Mr. Wainwright's order	0	17	10
8th,	1 Skin Parchment, for Address	0	2	3
20th,	Advertising Resolutions in Holl's Worcester Paper	0	16	7
	Ditto Courier	2	5	0
	Ditto Birmingham Gazette	0	15	10
	Ditto Stourbridge	0	14	6
1814.		£8. 4s. 3d.		
May 21,	Printing 500 Requisitions, for <i>Petitions against Corn Laws</i>	0	17	0
	Paid for delivering 300	0	2	6
24,	Paper and Pens	0	0	11
	37 large Skins Parchment, 2s. 4d.	4	6	4
	6 small do. do. ruled, 2s.	0	12	0
	Blotting Paper	0	0	10
	Stitching Skins, do.	0	1	0
	Paid Mr. Atkinson for Carriage	0	2	6
30,	1 Skin, not ruled	0	2	2
	6 do. ruled, 2s. 4d.	0	14	0
	Blotting Paper and Pens	0	0	9
		£7. 0s. 0d.		

DUDLEY FESTIVITIES.

June 8,	Printing 500 Bills, Folio, on <i>Bull</i> , &c.	1	0	0
	Advertising do. Birmingham Gazette	0	12	10
	Printing 120 Cards, <i>Peace Ball</i>	0	4	0
	100 do. <i>Dinner</i>	0	3	6
9,	500 Bills on <i>Squibs</i> , &c.	0	18	0
14,	Paid S. Marsh, for posting Bills	0	3	6
	2 Packs of Cards	0	10	6
	200 <i>Epitaphs on Bonaparte</i>	0	7	6
	250 <i>Wellington's Victory</i>	0	6	0
	Paid Letter Man for Delivery	0	3	0
		£4. 8s. 10d.		
July 13,	300 Post Folio Bills, <i>Requisition on the Slave Trade</i>	0	12	0
	Paid for delivering do.	0	2	0
14,	2 Skins Parchment, for Petitions	0	4	0

19, 10 Skins, ruled, 2s. 4d.....	1	3	4
4 do. Mr. Howells	0	9	4
	<hr/> £2. 10s. 8d.		
	28	3	5
Mr. Roberts paid	1	18	0
	<hr/> £26 5 5		

When you have read this bill attentively through, you will read the following, which has come to me in the shape of a hand-bill, printed by Mr. Rann himself. You will see, that the overseers are anxious to deny only that they would have paid the *first* bill. They justify their conduct in paying such bills on the ground that *other parishes do the same*; and the particular example of Birmingham is quoted to a pretty stiff amount. Here is their hand-bill.

"Dudley Workhouse, Aug. 9, 1814.

AN anonymous hand-bill, printed by J. Belcher and Son, Birmingham, containing a copy of Mr. Rann's account, having been circulated, the preamble of which states, "It will be observed that the sum total of the bill, and that stated as such in the summons precisely correspond."

The Overseers would not have noticed this anonymous production, but for the very illiberal report circulated by a few of the principal opponents to the payment of the modified bill, viz. "that the first account delivered by Mr. Rann to W. Bunch, (amount 26l. 5s. 5d.) would have been paid by the overseers but for their interference.

The Overseers, in justice to themselves, and in answer to the anonymous writer, conceive that the following declaration of W. Bunch will sufficiently refute such false aspersions, and prove to the parishioners that the first bill would not have been paid: on the contrary, Mr. Badger did not deem it admissible to be laid before the parish meeting.

JOSÉPH HADEN,
THOMAS BADGER, } Overseers.
WILLIAM FOLEY.

Workhouse, Aug. 9, 1814.

THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION WAS MADE THIS DAY BY WM. BUNCH, IN THE PRESENCE OF MR. E. GUEST AND MR. ATKINSON.

That after obtaining Mr. Rann's bill, he shewed it to Mr. Badger, who immediately said it was a 'SHAMEFUL BILL,' and wished to have

taken it home with him for inspection, which he (Mr. Bunch) objected to.

That when the hand-bill for convening the meeting at the Workhouse was drawn up, Mr. Badger objected to the amount 26l. 5s. 5d. being inserted.

Wm. Bunch also admitted, that he inserted such amount, contrary to the advice and consent of Mr. Badger. He further admitted, that the other two overseers had not the least knowledge of the meeting being called, or that they knew of Mr. Rann's bill having been delivered, or in fact that they had any knowledge of either transaction.

N. B. *Similar charges to those contained in Mr. Rann's last bill, are paid by the overseers of the neighbouring towns. The parish of Birmingham paid for the last year only,*

Stationary, printing, and advertising,	122	11	10
Constables' accounts, in which such charges as these are included -	906	0	10½

J. Rann begs leave to inform his friends and the parishioners, that his first bill was not delivered to Mr. Bunch, as *expecting payment of the whole by the parish*, but that the overseers might select such parts of it as they thought proper to be paid by the parish.—PRINTED BY J. RANN, DUDLEY."

Now, we may ask Mr. RANN, if he did *not expect* the whole of this Bill to be paid by the Parish, why he presented it to the Overseers? But, what says he in the bill itself? "*The Inhabitants of Dudley TO John Rann.*" That is to say *Debtors* to John Rann, to be sure. Come, come, Mr. RANN, deal fairly with us, and tell us, whether, if you had presented a bill to Mr. Badger, for instance, on his own private account, you would have left him to *select* any particular parts of it? Besides, why did you, at last leave out the *packs of cards to play with at the ball*, the *epitaphs on Bonaparte*, and the *placards about Wellington's Victory*? These were *as lawful* as the rest of the bill. So that, your endeavour to get out of the scrape is entirely useless, and only exposes you to laughter.

But, after all, the most interesting part of the affair is, the statement, that “*similar charges to those in Mr. Rann's Bill are paid by the Overseers of the neighbouring Towns, and that the Parish of Birmingham, paid for the last year only £1028 12 8½.*” This is a pretty large sum even for Birmingham to pay, out of the Poor's Rates, for the purposes of *political instruction*, in the course of one year. The *Poor*, I suppose, had their share of the placards of *Addresses, Squibs, Epitaphs, Wellington's Victory, Corn Laws, Christianity in India, and Slave Trade*; but, in all conscience, they, who form so considerable a portion of the population, ought to have partaken in the *Peace Balls and Dudley Festivities*. Why should they not have had their loyalty, humanity, and

widely expanding Christian zeal enlivened and rendered more “*vital*” by a game at cards or a dance? But, these, it seems, these enliveners of political and christian virtue, were reserved exclusively for the “*gentlemen*” and “*ladies.*” Faith! I would have had the thing general. I would have emptied the Work-Houses for once. All the tatterdemalions should have shaken their rags in the wind for joy at the victory of Wellington, and at the prospect of seeing the black slaves set free.

But come Mr. BADGER, since you said, that Mr. RANN's was a “*shameful bill,*” let us see what, in your opinion made it so; and, in order to see this we must see the second bill; and here it is, with your introduction.

“*Dudley, Aug. 3, 1814.*”

“*A false and incorrect Statement of Mr. Rann's Bill having been industriously circulated, in order to obtain signatures for opposing the payment of the same, the Overseers think it their duty to lay before the Parishioners an exact Copy of Mr. Rann's Bill, as presented for payment to the Meeting at the Workhouse on Friday last.*”

JOSEPH HADEN,
THOMAS BADGER,
WILLIAM FOLEY, } Overseers.

Inhabitants of Dudley,

	To J. Rann,	£.	s.	d.
1813.				
April 14.	Printing 500 Bills on Christianity in India	0	11	0
	Paid for dispersing ditto	0	2	6
	24 Skins of Parchment, ruled	2	4	4
	Proprietors of the Birminham Gazette charged for advertising ditto, (ordered by Mr. Bransby)	1	4	0
	£4 1 10			
Dec. 6.	Printing 200 Requisitions on addressing the Prince Regent on his Speech	0	8	6
	Paid Messenger to the Rev. Mr. Smith	0	1	0
	Paid for posting and delivering Bills	0	1	4
	Advertising do. (two Advertisements) Birmingham Gazette ..	1	4	10
	Ditto Thursday's Paper	0	17	10
8.	1 Skin of Parchment for Address	0	2	3
20.	Advertising Resolutions in Holl's Worcester Paper	0	16	7
	Ditto in Courier	2	5	0
	Ditto Birmingham Gazette	0	15	10
	Ditto Stourbridge	0	14	6
	Ditto Tymbs's Worcester Paper	0	16	7
	£8 4 3			
1814.				
May 21.	Printing 500 Requisitions for Petition against altering Corn Laws	0	17	0
	Paid for delivering ditto	0	2	6
30.	1 Skin of Parchment	0	2	2
	6 ditto ruled	0	14	0
	Blotting Paper and Pens	0	0	9

37 Skins ruled (2s. 4d.)	4	6	4
6 small ditto (2s.)	0	12	0
Paper and Pens	0	0	11
Paid Carriage of Parchments	0	2	6
Blotting Paper	0	0	10
Stitching Skins	0	1	0
	£7	0	0
July 13. Printing 300 Bills, Requisition on Slave Trade	0	12	0
Paid for delivering ditto	0	2	0
14. 2 Skins for Heads of Petition	0	4	0
19. 14 ditto ruled	1	12	8
	£2	10	8
500 Bills to preserve the Peace, by order of the Magistrates	0	18	0
Paid S. Marsh for posting ditto	0	3	6
	£1	1	6
	22	18	3
Cr. 4 Skins returned	0	9	4
	£22	8	11

PRINTED BY J. BANN, DUDLEY."

As far as I can gather, this bill was *actually paid* to Mr. RANN, but was ordered to be expunged afterwards by some sensible Justice of the Peace. However, be that as it may, you have, under your own hand, pretty clearly give it to be understood, that *this* was a *proper* bill to be presented to you as an overseer. Now, then, what is the *difference* between the two? Why, the squibs, the ball cards, the playing cards, the epitaphs on Bonaparte, the placards on Wellington's Victory, are left out of the second bill. But, were these *more* shameful or *less* lawful than the *requisitions* on addressing the Prince Regent on his Speech? Is there, in either bill, one single item which formed a legal charge against the parish? Against the many poor men, who pay towards the Poor-rates, and who, as is every where the case, are themselves upon the very verge of pauperism; though their still-remaining honest pride just enables them to keep out of the list?

Besides, in this modified, or reduced bill, there is a *new charge*, in my opinion more worthy of notice than all the rest put together. There is £1. 1s. 6d. for "Bills to *preserve the peace*, by order of the *Magistrates*." Where were all their peace officers? What! *order* parishes to pay for *printing bills to preserve the peace*! And, at *what time* was this? Why, at the very time that placards on *Wellington's Victory* and *Bonaparte's fall*

were sticking up! At the very time that the "Gentlemen" and "Ladies" were playing at cards and dancing for joy at our successes over Napoleon.

Adieu, Mr. BADGER. I thank you for the information, that you have assisted in giving us as to the mode of teaching John Bull the science of politics.

And now, Back-wood's men, if you ask me why I pester *you* with all this, I answer; that, if I can make my engine send but one drop to the banks of the Ohio, it will be sure to scatter more or less upon every spot between that and Botley.

WM. CORBETT.

No. I.
OF
THE ALARM;
OR,

Excitement to a New War with America.

Botley, 17 Aug. 1815.

One would have supposed, that no being less malignant than Satan is said to be would already have begun to sow the seeds of a new war with America, even at the moment, when, as we are told, a treaty of commerce and amity is forming between the two countries. Yet our principal newspapers are at this work already.

COURIER of the 15th instant: "We have received some more American

"Papers to the 19th July, and it is curious to see how the return of Bonaparte to France has revived the hope and language of the Americans. They are again for war. We should like to behold their countenances upon the arrival of the news of their favorite's final discomfiture and surrender to the British."

Times of the 16th instant: "American papers to the 16th ult. have been received. We have not generally noticed these lately, as containing little matter worthy of observation. The present merit a word or two. It will be observed that THE AMERICANS are as faithful to their OLD MASTER, as Ney, Labedoyere, and the rest of his respectable adherents in Europe. No sooner do they learn that Bonaparte has landed on the coast of France, than they, his trans-atlantic subjects, also assume the tri-coloured cockade, and hoist the tri-coloured flag. And yet the Americans never partook of the five and twenty years of glory, gained under those insignia that the French Rebels talk about, but have on the contrary, undergone five and twenty years of insult and wrong from the various revolutionary governments of France: by mounting the tri-coloured cockade, it will be obvious that they mean insulting us. They are almost as ready to make war on us, as Bonaparte was to attack the Allies at Waterloo. They are for short accounts. Unluckily the accounts in Europe are closed before their's is opened with us. They will, therefore, do well to take out their tri-coloured cockades, and use less swaggering."

This, the reader may be well assured, is only the commencement of a series of efforts to mislead the people of England, to inflame them, and to prepare them for another war with America. What short of this can these false and base assertions aim at? The writer knows, that all he has here said is false. He knows, that Americans have hoisted no tri-coloured flag or cockade; he knows, that they have fought their own battles, always keeping aloof from all connection with Napoleon; he knows that they never approved of Napoleon's title or his conquests; he knows, that they always complained of every infringement of their rights by him; he knows, that, at one period of the French revolu-

tion, they actually declared war and went to war against France; he knows, that they now earnestly cultivate peace with all the world: and, knowing all this, he again begins to call them the slaves of France, and to accuse them with a design to make war upon us.

And what is the publication, on which this war-trumpeter founds these his assertions! Here it is as published by himself, from a New York Paper of the 12th of July.

"Symptoms.—It is lamentable, that peace in form, does not produce reconciliation at heart. England seems still sour, sullen, and hostile. The butchery of American prisoners at Dartmoor, after peace was known to exist; the impressment of four American sailors since that event, and the correspondence of Colonel Nichols in Florida with Colonel Hawkins, relative to the Indians in alliance with Britain, &c. evince deep hatred to America. We cannot doubt, that our Government will profit by experience, and settle accounts with England, before delay increases the score, and endurance of one wrong be urged as a reason for bearing another. The vulgar adage is as true of nations as of private persons —short accounts make long friends."

Now, here are specific charges against us. Why not answer them? If true, are they not very serious? If false, why not answer them? The fate of the unfortunate Americans at Dartmoor was enough to move a heart of lead. Can it be supposed, that the people of America will not feel for those men? And, ought not the language of conciliation to be used, instead of that of reproach and defiance? As to the impressment of American seamen, it was the sole cause of the war with America. I do not know that the present charge is well-founded, and, I hope, it is not. But, of one thing we may be very sure; and, that is, that this is a practice which the Americans will never submit to.—With regard to the correspondence of Colonel Nicholls with Colonel Hawkins, I do not know what it is. The American papers, containing it, have not reached me, and these war-trumpeters have avoided giving it to the English public. Yet, they ought to have done that, in order to let us see what it was, in this correspondence, which had so offended the Americans.

No, you foolish men, you would not

see the Americans *hang their heads*, if you could see them on the arrival of the news of Napoleon's second fall. They may be sorry for it, because they may think, that it tends to the injury of the freedom of mankind, especially when they now hear it avowed in our prints, that it was *not* Napoleon but *free government* that was the object of, at least, *their* animosity. But, the Americans never relied upon any but *their own power* for their defence. They have always well known, that they must rest solely on *that rock*.

I repeat, that these men (without success, I hope) will use all the means in their power to re-kindle the flames of war with America, she being the *last* of *their* enemies left, as they think, in existence. It is the duty of every man to endeavour to defeat this horrible purpose. What! just as the two countries are re-opening their commercial connections; just when a chance offers of our still retaining some part of our former supply of America, would these vile men re-plunge the two countries into a war!

I have thus begun to *sound the alarm*. I beseech the people of England, the merchants, the manufacturers, every body to *take the alarm*, and to be upon their guard against the efforts of these mischief-bruing writers. It shall be my care, under successive Nos. of **THE ALARM**, to expose their conduct in this respect; so that, if, unhappily, they should succeed in their endeavours, I may, as in the case of the last war, be able to say, that I have done all I could to prevent it.

WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS;

OR, NOTICES FOR HISTORY.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.—I have given below, from the *Courier*, a continuation of those interesting particulars respecting this great man, which have been published down to the period of his leaving the shores, as a felon, of a country which, more than any other country in the world, boasts of its magnanimity, its justice, its religion, and its morality. The savage joy of our corrupt press at the treatment which this great personage has received, has been unbounded. They said every thing they could; they employed all the

means in their power to induce him to commit suicide; but they have been disappointed. Though fallen from a throne, though he has renounced all schemes of ambition, Napoleon could not renounce *the man*; he could not descend from that elevated station in which Nature had placed him. Nor has he closed his splendid career. If he escapes the perils with which he is now surrounded, he may yet calculate on, one day, witnessing the punishment of his vile traducers. As a justification of the base attacks which have been made upon him, and the ungenerous treatment he has received, our corrupt press is constantly repeating the story of, what they call, the murder of Captain Wright, which they unblushingly charge against Napoleon. But mark the inconsistency of these unprincipled hirelings. Before Napoleon unsuspectingly adopted the fatal resolution of surrendering himself to, what he thought, "*the most generous*" of his enemies, nothing would satisfy his calumniators, but his being brought to *trial* for the murder of Captain Wright. Of his conviction these men never hinted the smallest doubt. They never expressed any fear about the want of *proof*. "Only bring him to trial, said they, and we are certain of his being convicted." This answered the purpose at, the time, of these blood hounds. They were aware, however, that Napoleon could not be tried on so absurd a charge; that it was unfounded; consequently could not be proved. But while no one but themselves thought at all of this charge, they kept ringing the changes upon it, knowing well that, whether it was true or false, they would receive credit for it from their credulous readers, the greater part of whom, entertaining a personal enmity against Napoleon, though they know not for what, would rather believe a false tale of him than a true one. No sooner, however, was Napoleon in a situation where he might have been brought to answer for this alledged murder; no sooner had he given himself up to the protection, and to the justice of our laws; no sooner might he have been arraigned and tried for this foul deed, than those who formerly called for this, were the loudest in exclaiming against it. And what was the ground upon which they now insisted that he ought *not* to be tried for this murder? Not because of any defect in our law; not be-

cause it was contrary to our practice to try by commission, persons who may have committed offences in foreign countries, against our law. No such reason as this was stated. What plea, then, did these men urge for refusing to Napoleon this act of justice? Why, they said, that "*in all probability the result of the trial would be the ACQUITTAL of the accused for WANT OF PROOF!*"—Ye base hypocrites! could a better reason be given why Napoleon should have had the benefit of a trial? You persist in holding him *guilty* of a crime. How was that guilt to be made out but by a fair trial. But if you refuse him that trial, whether innocent or guilty, you set up your own *ipse dixit* as paramount to all law and justice, and plainly announce to the world, that you have all along been conscious of his innocence.—But the "want of proof."—Well then? What of that? Would you refuse a man justice, because there is no proof of crime against him? Is not this the strongest presumption of *innocence* that can be imagined?—If Napoleon murdered Captain Wright, where are the murderers? If these also were put to death, who committed this second atrocity? Could Napoleon himself shed so much blood with his own hands, and no one witness it; no means be left to trace it out? Was it not possible, even by *circumstantial* evidence, to place him in a situation which called for the vengeance of the law upon his head?—The truth is, the story of Captain Wright, as told in our corrupt newspapers, is, like all the other calumnies which have been promulgated as to Napoleon, the offspring of malice, and can only receive credit among those who are accustomed to believe without examination.—A correspondent informs me, that a proposal was lately made, in a certain quarter, by an individual possessing the entire confidence of Napoleon, to *assassinate* his master, for the purpose of removing all obstruction to the restoration of the Bourbons. I have no doubt, that there are wretches in the world, base enough to perpetrate even this crime; and had Napoleon continued in France, the sanguinary writers of the *Times* and *Courier* might, very probably, have soon had their wishes gratified, in the murder of the man whose blood they have so long thirsted after, and whose greatest crime, in their eyes, was, in the estimation of all liberal

minded men, his greatest virtue. But Napoleon has, for this time, escaped the dagger of the assassin. May the same good fortune always attend him; may he live to be an ornament, as I am sure he will be, to that society which he may fill during the rest of his life; and may he there experience more gratitude, and more generosity than he ever experienced among Europeans.

MOST INTERESTING PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO BONAPARTE.

(FROM THE COURIER OF AUG. 10th.)

The dispatches which announced the transshipment of Buonaparte from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, were brought by Lord Viscount Lowther, who had proceeded in the *Northumberland*, from Portsmouth, and who with the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, M. P. for Worcestershire, remained for two hours in earnest conversation with Bonaparte after such of his suite as were not to accompany him, had left him.

The following narrative is from such sources, that we confidently present it to the public as authentic:—The *Bellerophon* and *Tonnant* put to sea from Plymouth Sound on Friday, and here we must contradict the statement that they sailed to avoid the service of a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The facts of the case are, that the concourse of boats in Plymouth Sound, and the loss of some lives which had already taken place, induced the Government to remove the *Bellerophon*, to a greater distance; and the writ which is spoken of was no more than a common subpoena from the Court of King's Bench, obtained by some person who has some cause pending in that Court, in which he fancied he wanted the evidence of Napoleon and Jerome Bonaparte and Admiral Villamez. — The *Northumberland* sailed from Portsmouth on Friday last, and on nearing Torbay on Sunday, perceived two lines of battle ships approaching her, which proved to be the *Bellerophon* with Bonaparte on board, and the *Tonnant* with Lord Keith. In a few hours the *Northumberland* hailed them and asked after Bonaparte, who, she was informed, had not come out of his cabin for some days. The ships came out to an anchor off Torbay. General Bertrand went first on board the *Tonnant*, where he dined with Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne. He is a man of about 50 years of age, and extremely well behaved. At dinner, Sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Bonaparte; one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the *Northumberland*. Bertrand expressed his opinion strongly against the measure of sending the Emperor (as he and all the suite constantly style him) to St. Helena, when his wish and expectation were to live quietly in England under the protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne did not enter into any discussion upon the subject. After dinner Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne, accompanied by Bertrand, went on board the *Bellerophon*. Previously to their arrival, Bonaparte's arms and pistols had been taken away from him—not without consi-

dearable altercation and objections on the part of the French officers. Those who were not to accompany him were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers. Bonaparte took leave of them individually. A Colonel Pistowski, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him. He had received seventeen wounds in the service of Bonaparte, and said he would serve in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to go with him to St. Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish Officers were peremptory, and he was removed to the *Eurotas*. Savary and Lallemand however were not among those sent on board the frigate—they were left in the *Bellerophon*.

When Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne went on board the *Bellerophon* on Sunday afternoon, Bonaparte was upon deck to receive them, dressed in a green coat with red facings, two epaulets, white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, the star of the Legion of Honour, and a *chapeau bras*, with the three coloured cockade. His face is remarkably plump, and his head rather bald upon the top. After the usual salutations, Lord Keith, addressing himself to Bonaparte, acquainted him with his intended transfer from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*.—Bonaparte immediately protested with great vehemence against this act of the British Government—he did not expect it—he did not conceive that any possible objection could be made to his residing in England quietly for the rest of his life. No answer was returned by either Lord Keith or Sir George Cockburne. A British officer who stood near him observed to him, that if he had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the Emperor of Russia. Bonaparte.—“*Dieu me le garde des Russes!*”—“ (God keep me from the Russians.) In making this reply, he looked at General Bertrand, and shrugged up his shoulders.—Sir George Cockburne.—“At what hour to-morrow morning shall I come, General, and receive you on board the *Northumberland*?” Bonaparte, with some surprise at being styled merely General.—“At ten o'clock.” Bertrand, Madame Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Count and Countess Montholon were standing near Bonaparte. Sir Geo. Cockburne asked him if he wanted any thing more before they put to sea. Bertrand replied, 20 packs of cards, a backgammon and a domino table, and Madame Bertrand desired to have some necessary articles of furniture, which, it was said, should be furnished forthwith. One of Bonaparte's officers, the nephew of Josephine Beauharnois, his first wife, complained that faith had not been kept with the Emperor, who expected to reside with his suite in Great Britain. Bonaparte asked Lord Keith's advice. His Lordship merely replied, that he had to obey the orders he had received from his Government. Bonaparte then desired another interview with his Lordship. Lord Keith declined it, alleging that it could not but be unsatisfactory—he had no discretion—his fate could not be altered. An Officer who stood near him, said, “You would have been taken if you had remained at Rochefort another hour, and sent off to Paris.” Bonaparte turned his eye upon the speaker, but did not speak a word. He next addressed himself to Sir George Cockburne, and asked several questions about St.

Helena.—“Is there any hunting or shooting there—Where am I to reside?” He then abruptly changed the subject, and burst into more invectives against the Government, to which no answer was returned. Whether he had any idea of a writ of *Habeas Corpus* or no, we know not—but he was very solicitous to go ashore. He then expressed some indignation at being styled General—saying, “You have sent Ambassadors to me as a Sovereign Potentate—you have acknowledged me as First Consul.” He took a great deal of snuff while speaking. After reminding him that the *Northumberland's* barge would come for him at ten on Monday morning, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburne retired.

Early on Monday morning Sir George Cockburne went on board the *Bellerophon* to superintend the inspection of Bonaparte's baggage; it consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They were all sent on board the *Northumberland* about eleven o'clock. Bonaparte had brought with him from France about forty servants, amongst whom were a groom, postilion, and lamp-lighter. Two-thirds of these were sent on board the *Eurotas*. At half-past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the *Tonnant*, went on board the *Bellerophon* to receive Bonaparte, and those who were to accompany him. Bonaparte, before their arrival and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland and the officers of the *Bellerophon*. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again. Lord Keith received in the barge the following personages:—Bonaparte, General Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, with their children, Count and Countess Montholon and child, Count Lascaux, General Gorgaud, nine men and three women servants. Bonaparte's surgeon refused to accompany him, upon which the surgeon of the *Bellerophon* offered to supply his place. Bonaparte was this day dressed in a cocked hat, much worn, with a tri-coloured cockade; his coat was buttoned close round him, a plain green one with a red collar; he had three or ders—two crosses, and a large silver star, with the inscription *Honneur à Patrie*; white breeches, silk stockings, and gold buckles. Savary and Lallemand were left behind in the *Bellerophon*. Savary seemed in great dread of being given up to the French Government, repeatedly asserting that the honour of England would not allow him to be landed again on the shores of France.

About twelve o'clock the *Tonnant's* barge reached the *Northumberland*. Bertrand stepped first upon deck, Bonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a acrobat. The Marines were drawn out and received him, but merely as a General, presenting arms to him. He pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir George Cockburne—“*Je suis à vos ordres.*” He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr. Lytleton, who were near the Admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. To an Officer, he said, “*Dans quel corps servez vous?*” (In what corps do you serve?) The Officer replied “in the artillery.” Bonaparte immediately rejoined—“*Je sors de cette service moi-même.*—(I was originally in that service myself). After taking leave of the Officers who had accompanied him from the *Bellerophon*, and

embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St. Helena, he went into the after cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled Lord Keith, Sir G. Cockburn, Lord Lowther, the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, &c.—Bertrand—“I never gave in my adhesion to Louis the 18th. It is therefore palpably unjust to proscribe me. However, I shall return in a year or two to superintend the education of my children.”—Madam Bertrand appeared much distressed; said she was obliged to leave Paris in a hurry without clothes or other necessaries. She had lived in the house occupied by the Duke de Berri. She spoke most flatteringly of her husband—said the Emperor was too great a man to be depressed by circumstances, and concluded by expressing a wish for some Paris Papers.—Count Montholon spoke of the improvements made by Bonaparte in Paris; alluded to his bilious complaint, which required much exercise.—The Countess Montholon is a very interesting woman—she said little.—Bertrand asked what we should have done had we taken Bonaparte at sea? As we are doing now, was the reply.—Lord Keith took leave, in the afternoon, of Bonaparte, and returned on board the *Tonnant*.—Lord Lowther and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton now entered into very earnest conversation with him, which continued for two hours. As he was very communicative, and seemed desirous of a very free conversation with these two accomplished young Noblemen, they availed themselves of the opportunity, and entered into a review of much of his conduct. We understand that they asked him how he came to commit the impolicy of attacking Spain—the motives for the Berlin and Milan Decrees—the war against Russia—the refusal of the terms of peace offered him before the first capture of Paris, &c. To all these questions we hear he gave full answers, not avoiding, but rather encouraging the discussion. We hope to be able to give the particulars, which ought to be known. They are materials for history. At the expiration of two hours, Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton took leave of them and went ashore. His cabin in the *Northumberland* is fitted up with great elegance. His bed is peculiarly handsome and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet is of silver. Among other articles upon it is a magnificent snuff-box, upon which is embossed in gold an eagle with a crown flying from Elba to the coast of France—the eagle just seeing the coast of France, and the respective distances are admirably executed. The Valet de Chambres are particularly fine men.—They and all about him always address him by the title of Emperor.—The *Bellerophon*, *Tonnant*, and *Eurotas* returned to Plymouth Sound last Tuesday. The *Northumberland* was lying too off Plymouth on Tuesday though the wind was fair; but it is supposed she is waiting for the *Weymouth* store-ship, which was taking in stores, &c. and was to complete them by the next day.

August 11, 1815.

The *Northumberland* was still off Plymouth lying to on Wednesday. It is supposed she is waiting for the *Hamnah* frigate, the *Ceylon*, *Weazel*, and some store-ships.

As a great deal of misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of St. Helena as a proper place for the confinement of Bonaparte, we cannot avoid observing that the sentiments of many

of our correspondents are founded upon the supposition—First, that Bonaparte is to be at liberty on that island. Secondly, that neutral vessels are to have access to it. Thirdly, that the garrison is not to be trusted, and that the island does not belong to the Crown, but to the East India Company. With respect to the first objection, we can assure our readers that there is no intention of suffering Bonaparte to be at liberty in the Island; he will be as regularly guarded and confined as he could be in England, and permitted only to take air and exercise when properly attended. In the second place, all neutrals whatever will be excluded from the island as long as Bonaparte is to continue a prisoner there; so that no danger on this account can possibly exist. In the third place he will be placed under the custody of a General Officer in the King's service, and of a British Admiral; the former will have the government of the island under the present circumstances. The garrison of the East India Company will be reduced or wholly withdrawn, and the island will be garrisoned by a King's regiment. With these securities we should be glad to know what place in the world would be half so secure for a State Prisoner as St. Helena? In addition to all the ordinary securities of confinement, you have the advantage of a small island, many hundred miles from any land, remote from Europe, with a scanty population, and a station from which alone it is practicable and easy to exclude all neutral trade, and indeed all communication whatever.

August 14.

**BONAPARTE BEFORE AND AFTER HIS EMBAR-
KATION ON BOARD THE NORTHUMBERLAND.
(JOURNAL.)**

Friday, Aug. 4.—At four A. M. unmoored ship, and hove short. At eleven, *Bellerophon*, with Bonaparte, Bertrand, Kovigo, Lacasse, Madame Bertrand and three children, Madame Montholon and one child, also Count Montholon on board, got under weigh, as did the *Eurotas*, with the rest of his suite, and both made sail. At four P. M. *Tonnant* weighed and made sail. At 8. 30. Lord Keith came on board, hauled down Rear-Admiral Hallowell's flag, and hoisted Lord Keith's.

Saturday, 5.—At 1. A. M. wore ship and hove to; *Bellerophon*, *Eurotas*, *Express* schooner, and *Nimble* cutter in company. At 30 minutes past two the *Acleon* joined company.

Sunday, 6.—At 8. exchanged numbers with the *Northumberland*, Rear Admiral Cockburn, and bore up to join her; saluted Lord Keith's flag. At 10. 30. returned the *Northumberland's* salute, with 13 guns—shortened sail, and hove to. At 11. A. M. filled and made sail with the squadron. At 3. P. M. came to an anchor off Berry Head, about four miles off shore—*Bellerophon*, *Northumberland*, *Eurotas*, *Ceylon*, and *Bucephalus*, in company; the *Express* schooner and *Nimble* cutter keeping under weigh, running round the *Bellerophon*, keeping off the boats.

On Monday morning Lord Keith, Sir George Cockburn, and others, went on board the *Bellerophon*, to acquaint Bonaparte with his intended removal to the *Northumberland*, and conveyance in that ship to St. Helena. He appeared very uneasy at the communication, and after a long expostulation, sternly refused to go; but, on Lord Keith's observing that such was the

order of his Government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of resorting to coercive measures, Bonaparte replied—"Oh no, no! You command! I must obey! You may take me; but, recollect, I do not go with my own free will." He then formally protested in writing against the act before witnesses. He asked numerous inquisitorial questions of Lord Keith, which his Lordship very properly declined answering. As soon as his baggage had been removed from one ship to the other, the parting scene commenced, which was truly affecting. All wept, but particularly Savary, and a Polish officer (six feet two inches high) who has been exalted from the ranks by Bonaparte. He clung to his master's knees—wrote an interesting letter to Lord Keith, entreating permission to accompany him, even in the most menial capacity, which could not be admitted.

Before the *Northumberland* sailed, a yacht or large boat, with several gentlemen of the Pay-Office, had arrived to pay the ship, who, availing themselves of the opportunity presented by the folding doors of the cabin being open, beheld to their surprise, Bonaparte playing at *vingt un* with his companions, as cheerfully as if nothing unpleasant had happened! When Sir G. Cockburn saw Bonaparte for the first time, he simply pulled off his hat, in the same manner as he would have done to another General, and said: "How do you do General Bonaparte?" which was returned by him in a manner equally laconic, but with his head uncovered. Every thing was so well conducted in this removal, that the greatest order prevailed, and so little was it known at Torbay, off which place it occurred, that very few boats were present to witness it. The *Northumberland* has part of the military on board, and is full of stores and baggage. The cabin is neatly fitted up, and the after part divided in the centre, for sleeping, one side of which is occupied by Bonaparte, and the other by Sir G. Cockburn. —Liberty having been afforded to Bonaparte and his companions to procure from England any articles of luxury or accommodation they may desire, they have sent frequently ashore, and have purchased a billiard table, wines of the most costly description, and an immense quantity of playing cards, chessmen, &c. and the best books procurable in the English language, the Ex-Emperor having suddenly grown exceedingly fond of that language! Bonaparte solicited Mr. O'Meara, Surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, to attend him in the same capacity, which Lord Keith has consented to, and an exchange between the surgeons of the *Bellerophon* and *Northumberland* was in consequence speedily effected. Bonaparte endeavoured to make Mr. O'Meara forget his duty, even at the commencement, by offering him a salary of 500*l.* per annum; but this Gentleman rejected the overture, and said that the pay of his King was enough to satisfy him! When the person who wanted to serve a *subpana* called at Admiral Lord Keith's office, his Lordship was represented to be afloat, on which he immediately hired a boat, and proceeded to the Sound. As the boat approached the *Tonnant*, on the starboard side, his Lordship went down the larboard side, and steered for Cawsand, leaving orders, that if any person in plain clothes enquired for him, he should be informed that he had quitted the ship. The stranger shortly afterwards

made his appearance on the starboard side, anxious to see his Lordship. Captain Brenton directly stepped forward, and supposing the emissary to be a foreigner, addressed him in French, which he seemed to feel hurt at, declaring that he was not a Frenchman, and that he had important business to transact with Lord Keith. On being informed that his Lordship was not on board, he departed in a state of extreme chagrin and disappointment.

FRANCE.—It seems pretty evident that this delightful country is yet to be the scene of revolutionary measures. The new government knows not how to act. The presence of a powerful foreign army induces it, the one day, to assume the appearance of firmness, and even of rigour, but the very next it displays a timidity altogether inconsistent with the tone which it had previously adopted. A decree abolishing the liberty of the Press, by virtue of which two or three newspapers were suppressed, was promulgated; only, however, to re-appear on the following day. Another decree was intended to disband the armies of France; but instead of this being acted upon, to the extent which it intimated, the army of the Loire, that army naturally the most obnoxious to Louis the XVIIIth, because of its attachment to Napoleon, has been allowed to remain unbroken, without any other modification than the substitution of one of Napoleon's favourite generals the command, in the place of another; and that other, though he has, a thousand times over, been denounced the vilest of men, and the basest of traitors, still appears to hold rank in the army, without even the slightest censure having been pronounced upon his conduct. The policy which has occasioned these fluctuating proceedings, is evidently dictated, on the one hand, by the fear of offending the Allies, and, on the other, by a dread of the people, who, by all accounts, are less prepared than ever to give a cordial reception to the Bourbons. This has called forth the severest animadversions of our newspapers upon the talents of the King, who, it has even been hinted, is to be deposed, and another of his race more subservient to the views of the Allies, elevated to the throne. The following extract from the *Courier*, while it establishes the fact that the people are hostile to the cause of Louis, gives a tolerable specimen of the indecent language in which our corrupt writers now indulge while

speaking of that unfortunate monarch :—

"We have every reliance upon his honour and integrity, but it were vain to deny what is so visible to every eye, *that he has but little hold upon the people. There is a broad line of distinction between their characters, a deep gulph that we cannot expect to be filled up.*—When he was first restored, his 23 years' exclusion from the throne had entailed upon him the labour of *reconciling incompatibilities*. He had to claim the throne by an *hereditary* title, and yet to confirm the *revolutionary* disposition of property; to give to Europe a pledge of the tranquility of France, and yet to conciliate a ferocious and mercenary army; to bestow some influence upon the faithful adherents of his system, and yet to avail himself of that power by which his family had been proscribed and murdered. Is it surprising that he *failed*? Is it wonderful that now the experiment is to be repeated a second time under more doubtful circumstances,—is it wonderful that we should discover nothing but *inconsistency* in its development, and fear and forebode nothing but confusion in its contemplation?"—If this is to be held a faithful picture of Louis XVIII., it is not he, surely, that ought to be blamed for not accomplishing what, it thus appears, he could not accomplish. Why was not the *inability*, the *failures*, the *inconsistency*, of the poor old King discovered before the sword was again drawn in his behalf? Why is he thrust upon the French people against their will, merely for the purpose of removing him, and placing another object, perhaps more obnoxious, before their eyes?—But, the fact is, it was not the interest of the present King, nor of any of the Bourbons, that led our base writers to espouse their cause. This was a mere pretext to cover their views, until a favourable opportunity offered of declaring themselves. What is it to them, that Louis XVIII. is now seated on the throne of his ancestors? They still recommend war against his army and his fortresses, and the levying of contributions upon his best friends. It is the crippling, the partitioning of France, the blotting her out from the list of nations, the entire extinction of the principles of liberty. It is this, which our corrupt writers aim at; it is this which they have all along had in view, notwithstanding their pretended zeal for

the restoration of the Bourbons, and their hypocritical cant about the integrity of France. Every thing which, they formerly told us, was wanting, has been accomplished by the removal of Napoleon from all political influence in Europe. Yet it is said in the *Times* newspaper, that "there can be no security for Europe, but in the *inability* of France to do mischief;" and, in the *Courier*, that "the disease is not cured by the removal of Bonaparte;" that the giving up of the greater part of the frontier towns of France to the allies, is "absolutely necessary;" that it is "a substantial guarantee," upon which they ought to insist; and that "if it be for no other purpose than to vindicate the moral superiority of the rest of Europe, *let France be left to gaze upon her nakedness*, and thus learn to sum up the deformities, which her tinsel trappings have so long concealed."—It is impossible to mistake this language. It is the complete humiliation, the degradation, the spoilation of France, which these writers wish to see accomplished.

But the army. Aye, the army. This stands in the way of their favorite project. It is this that will prevent the "clipping of the wings of France."—Indignant at the attachment which this army has shewn, in all circumstances, to the country, and resolved, as it has declared, not to survive the loss of independence, these brave men have become the object of the rancour and viperation of our corruptionists. "We are certain," says the writer of the *Times*, "that a few *striking examples* made of the chief of the criminals would have more effect in teaching the rest a peaceable and honest demeanour, for the future, than a thousand proclamations addressed by their benevolent king to their obdurate natures."—This base tool of corruption, who lately recommended the assassination of Napoleon, now calls for the blood of his faithful generals, now stigmatizes them "ruffians" and "wretches," for no other crime than that of being faithful, like true soldiers, to the cause which they had sworn to maintain at the hazard of their lives. But it is not the blood of the chiefs only of this gallant army that will satisfy him. The whole army he consigns at once to the gibbet. "Those villains," says he, who, in imitation of their leader, "make an incessant talk of their disposition to serve their country, would indeed have served it in a most essential way by

"being HANGED for its good, as they have well deserved, and, as we suspect, they will deserve again, as soon as their conquerors are removed"—"tranquillity is only to be expected in proportion as the obstinate disturbers of it are removed, their reformation being wholly out of the question." Thus would the sanguinary and hypocritical knave, exterminate every man found in France, who refused to subscribe to his ideas of social order. Thus would he outrage humanity, deluge France with blood, if an individual was to be found there, who dared to question the truth of any article of his political or religious creed. And thus would all those men deal with France, who have been accustomed to apply the term Jacobin to Frechmen as a term of reproach, and who have regarded it as the worst of sacrilege to doubt, for a moment of the "divine rights of Kings." These men, however, seem to forget, in their eagerness for the destruction and humiliation of France, that the war which has been waged with her, for a quarter of a century, has been a war of opinions which must ultimately prevail, a war against principles, which, sooner or later, will render useless all the bayonets now arrayed against them. It is scarcely possible that France can remain long in her present state. With, at least, 200,000 foreign soldier in, and

about Paris, and all the great sovereigns of Europe as his friends, Louis cannot prevail upon the people to acknowledge him as their Sovereign, cannot protect himself from the tauntings and insults of an infuriated populace, who attribute all their sufferings, all their degradation, to his employing foreigners, the rooted and avowed enemies of France, to replace him by force, on the throne. He must be blind, indeed, not to see that the nation detest the whole of his race. It was an attempt on the part of his predecessor, Louis XVI. to induce an invasion of France by a foreign army, which constituted one of the principal charges against that Monarch, and caused him to lose his head. If such were the fatal consequences of a mere attempt, what must be the opinion about Louis XVIII. when the Allied armies are no longer near to form a guard round his person? It was, perhaps, well that Napoleon spared the Bourbons. Had he brought them to the block, it might have been doubted how far he was justified in the act. At any rate, his enemies have nothing to charge him with on this score, and all their other accusations have been proved to be false. The sins of Louis XVIII. are sins against the wishes of a whole, or nearly a whole people. Let that people, if they are so inclined, take their revenge.

PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; and Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain, during the last week.

BREAD.—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drams, 11½d.

WHEAT.—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 8s. 8½d.

MEAT.—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 7d; Mutton, 7d.; Veal, 8½; Pork, 7½; Lamb, 8½d.

WOOL.—Vigonia, 13s.; Portugal, 3s.; Spanish Lamb, 9s. 3d.; Leonese, 7s. 3d.; Segovia, 5s. 9d.; Seville, 4s. 6½d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Spain, 348lbs.—From Germany, 1,416lbs.—From Africa, 60lbs.

BULLION.—Gold in bars, £4 9s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 5½d. each.—Silver in bars, none.—N. B. These are the prices in Bank of England paper.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

ENGLISH FUNDS.—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper, 5s½.

FRENCH FUNDS.—The price of the FIVE Per Cents, in gold and silver money; 58.

BANKRUPTCIES.—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 39.

FIVE LETTERS

TO

LORD SHEFFIELD,

On his Speech at Lewes Wool-Fair, 26 July, 1815.

INTENDED TO SHOW,

1. That the real cause of the distress of the Farmers is not to be looked for in the low price of Wool and Grain, nor in the existence of Tythes; 2. That his Lordship's hopes of a more flourishing trade in consequence of the devastations in other countries are fallacious; 3. That Manufactures of all kinds are carried on to a great extent in America, and that Machinery has been there put into use with great success in the making of Woollen and Cotton goods; 4. That so extensive is the growth of American Wool, that some of that Wool is exported to England, and that though the importation of Wool is great in proportion to the whole quantity used, to impose a tax upon importation would be injurious to the country; 5. That the situation of England, compared with that of America, is such, and the inducements to emigration so great, that in order to preserve our Manufactures, not only ought there to be no tax imposed on Wool imported, but that the Corn Bill ought to be repealed.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

LETTER I.

Intended to show, that the real cause of the distress of the Farmers is not to be looked for in the low price of Wool and Grain, nor in the existence of Tythes.

Bolley, 9 August, 1815.

MY LORD—Your Lordship's speech, or report, to the Wool-growers, at the late fair at Lewes, pressing invites me to offer some remarks on it, an invitation which I the more readily accept, as it will, for an hour or two, at least, vest my readers and myself, in the respectable company of your Lordship, away from the degrading and abominable scenes of Europe, to a country, where mankind seem likely to live unyoked for a century yet to come, and where we may yet hope to see arise the means of avenging, in time, the cause of the oppressed.

Your Lordship expresses your disappointment that the prosperity of the wool-trade has not returned: "I had," say you, "flattered myself that after the failure of the American embargo and non-importation measures, and also of Buonaparte's attempts by decrees to ruin our trade, and that the difficulties respecting our foreign intercourse, were removed, that the trade in wool and woollens would return to its former state, and proceed steadily, as heretofore; but the mischief I had foreseen, and had repeatedly represented, as also the necessity of checking that mischief, has increased in a most extraordinary degree, and infinitely beyond even what had been apprehended."

I will stop here, for a moment, to observe, that you have omitted any mention of the American war. You will see, by and by, that the American embargo and

non-importation measures were *not* attended with a *failure*. You will see, that they had the wonderful effect of assisting in creating flocks of Merino sheep, manufactories of cloth, cotton, linen, iron, steel, leather, gun-powder, &c. &c. and in the construction of machinery of all sorts. This I shall show you by and by; but, amongst the causes of the depression of wool, why not mention the *American war*? That war lasted longer than the embargo and non-importation measures. It was far more complete in its operation; and yet you pass it over in silence. My opinion is, that you would not have passed it over in silence, if the events and the result of it had not been what they were. If these had not demonstrated to the world the excellence of free government, I am persuaded, that you would have put this war in the list of the impediments to the wool-trade. The omission, however, as far as related to your auditors, was perfectly safe; and, if you had ascribed the fall of their produce to the malignity of the *stars*, they would have been just as attentive and just as full of belief as you had the happiness to find them.

Your remedy for *this evil of low price of wool* is the old remedy: *a tax on all wool imported*. To be sure: as the hop-growers of Farnham would, if they could, have an additional tax put upon the hops of Kent; and as farmer Gripem would have all the wheat in the country blighted, except his own. You say, that the same arguments that were made use of in defence of the Corn Bill will apply with equal force to a Wool Bill; and here you are very right. But, you should have shown, that those arguments were sound; and, not having done this, you only said that a wool bill would be as wise and as just as a measure, against which petitions were presented from every part of the country, and which was, towards the period of its adoption, discussed with regular troops drawn up round the House of Commons.

If, when his Majesty, in his wisdom, was pleased to confer a title on your Lordship, he had, at the same time, endowed you with a capacity to embrace, in one view, the whole of the interests of a community, to comprehend and to develope

abstruse matters of political economy, he would have provided you with a shield against criticism, which, when you venture into the press, that bare title does not afford you. As yet, whatever we find in print about *wool*, at any rate, we may freely comment on; and, your Lordship will be so good as to excuse me, if, upon this occasion, I should sometimes seem to forget the *Lord*, while I am answering the *author*. I am about to lead your Lordship into new scenes. The sight, which it is my intention to open to your view, is one of such novelty and such grandeur; I am about to exhibit to you proofs of such astonishing enterprise and improvement; such a wonderful revolution in the most important affairs of human life; that I must beseech you to call to your aid, if possible, an expansion of mind commensurate with the interest and the magnitude of the subject.

But, before I venture to lift you to this point of elevation, let us, if you please, discuss the subject of your projected wool-bill; let us, before we cross the Atlantic and the *Alegany*, see if we can come to something like common sense on the question which you have now again set in agitation.

You see the farmers distressed; you see them breaking; you see the newspapers filled with notices of sales of their effects. The immediate cause of this is the want of money. *The cause of that want*, however, you do not seem to understand; and, if you do understand it, you keep it out of sight. You say it is the *low price of their produce*; you would, therefore, compel the mass of the people to pay them a *higher price*, not seeming to reflect, that, if you could succeed, you would only produce, in other classes of men, just that quantity of distress and ruin, of which you wish to relieve the farmer. If your Lordship was attacked by a ruffian, who aimed at putting out one of your eyes, and were to aim at your left eye, should you think you had done much by *warding* his bayonet from that eye to have it thrust into the other?

But, my Lord, the *foundation* of your reasoning, if reasoning it must be called, is unsound; namely, that the distress of

the farmer arises from the *low price* of his produce. In the time of Mr. TULL, that is to say, seventy years ago, wheat was *five shillings a bushel*. It is now *from eight to nine shillings a bushel*. If low price be ruin, how could farmers have lived in his time? It is not, then, *positive* low price, it is *relative* low price, which, not to deny you very confined common sense, I must understand you to mean. Well, then, can you show, or can any man living show, that labour, tackle, horses, and seed, do not *always* bear, upon an average of even a very few years, an exact proportion to the price of wheat? In Mr. TULL's time wheat was five shillings a bushel, and the price of reaping an acre of wheat was five shillings. Wheat is now from eight to nine shillings a bushel; and the price of reaping of an acre of wheat, in this part of England, is nine shillings. In other parts it must be much less, labour being always higher here than in almost any other part of the kingdom. This is the price that I and my neighbours are actually giving at this moment. As to the present day, I state facts that are notorious; and, as to the age of Mr. TULL, thousands have his work in their hands.

If, therefore, from the very nature of the thing itself, it were possible that the price of labour (including smiths, wheel-rights, and horses) should *not* descend and ascend, step for step, with that of wheat, which, upon an average of years, is the standard of the price of all other products of the earth, we have proof positive, that such has not been the case in our own country. How, then, must that mind be constructed; how narrow its views; or how perverted its faculties, which can see the cause of ruin to the farmer in the low price of his produce?

You ascribe his ruin to the *want of a sufficiency of money*. Right so far; but, there are *two* ways in which a want of a sufficiency of money may come: the first is by not receiving a *sufficiency*: the other by the disproportionate greatness of the demands upon what is received. The man who has five hundred a year may be in no want of money; while he who has twenty thousand a year may become a bankrupt. The farmer always does, because he must, receive enough money proportioned to the

labour on his farm: its receipts and expenditures here regulate each other with the greatest correctness: but, if there be a demander of money, whose demands never lower with prices; who pays no respect to seasons or any other circumstances; who comes for large sums many times in the year; who will not wait a moment; who needs none of the usual forms of law to obtain payment, but who, at once, lays hold of the crop or the utensils; and, withal, whose demands are continually increasing: if there be such a creditor, it is very clear, that, as prices fall, the farmer must sink into ruin.

Now, has not the English farmer such a creditor? His taxes, direct and indirect, far exceed the amount of all his other outgoings. Let us suppose, then, a man on his own land, who paid a hundred pounds a year for labour and a hundred and fifty pounds in taxes, when wheat was eighteen shillings a bushel. He was then able to live. If the wheat be nine shillings a bushel, his labour will cost him fifty pounds, and if his taxes fell down to 75 pounds, he would be still where he was. But his taxes continue to be 150. It is manifest, therefore, that the taxes, and the taxes *only*, are the cause of his ruin.

Your Lordship does, indeed, *allude* incidentally to our taxes; but, then, this allusion is accompanied with nothing to induce the belief that you wished to point the attention of your hearers towards them as a *cause* of that ruin, of which you were speaking; much less do you hint at any hope of relief in this all important respect. You say: "If the landed interest (in which I include the land-occupier) will *not make known its grievance*, it cannot expect attention *or redress*, and it will be responsible for the ruin that will fall on the growth of fine wool. For if the wool of all countries, *untaxed and untithed*, is to be poured in upon us without restriction, every man the least acquainted with the subject will agree with me that it never can be worth while to raise fine wool in this kingdom; and the agriculturist will aim only at *quantity*, neglecting the quality of the wool."

Here, again, what a jumble of ideas! Why should he aim at *quantity* if his

prices are depressed by any cause, no matter what, seeing that, upon an average, the coarse *must* bear a proportion in price to the fine? These are notions which might be excused in a farmer or a wool-merchant; but they become not one, who sets himself up as a political economist. They belong to the sheep-fold and the carding house. How nature has been thwarted. What mischief has been done by perverse man's setting her laws at defiance!

But, my Lord, you talk of *grievance* and of *redress*, and then you talk of the "*untaxed and untithed*" wool of other countries. Was it not then to be expected, that you were going to propose to make other nations adopt our taxes and tythes, or, to induce our government to remove them? Neither of these do you propose, however; but, in their stead, a tax, more tax, to be paid on our coats and blankets, and on the goods which our manufacturers export. And, then, the *confounding* of *taxes* and *tythes* as the cause of relative expensiveness; as the cause of the English farmer's inability to contend with foreigners; though not calculated to excite surprise when coming from the lips of a vulgar, uninformed farmer, it is so grossly absurd that it really fills me with shame at hearing it uttered by an English gentleman. During six centuries the land of England has yielded tythes; and, surely, English farmers have seen prosperous days! If the farmer did not yield tythe, would he not pay the full worth of it in additional *rent*? Where, then, is, where *can be*, the difference to him? If the purchaser of an estate were not to yield tythe, would he not pay the full worth of it in the purchase money? Where, then, can be the difference to him? Far otherwise is it with the *taxes*. These are not of six centuries standing, and hardly of six years. They are a clear addition to the out-goings of the farmer; their amount, like that of the tythe, is not proportioned to the value

of the crop; but keeps always to its full height whether the crop be small or great, dear or cheap. If, indeed, you had spoken of tythes as the means of supporting a body of men, having enormous weight in the state, and invariably, *as a body*, ranging that weight on the side of political and military power, you would have spoken of them in a manner becoming a gentleman of liberal ideas; but, to point them out as a cause of the ruin of the farmer, and that, too, in a mere pecuniary point of view, was to emulate the conduct of those grudging and unfeeling clowns, who and whose wives have all along been bawling for war in the cause of "*Religion and Social Order*;" who have been branding as *Jacobins* all those that wished to see an end to that war; and which clowns, groaning at last, under its consequences, now, like the much-more-to-be-pitied canine unfortunate, unconscious of the real cause of their sufferings, fly for vengeance on all that falls in their way.

Still, I have taken but a very limited view of the subject. Yet, if your Lordship's head turn at the first step of the stair-case, how am I to get you to the top of Saint Paul's? The task is hopeless. Unable, therefore, to stretch your mind to the measure of such a view; unable to make you capable of seeing, how, even the taxes laid upon the farmer affect him *no more than they affect all the other classes of the community, except those who live upon those taxes*, and that it is a *general* and not a *partial*, a *lasting* and not a *temporary*, depression that the nation now feels; unable to accomplish this object, I shall proceed to that part of your speech, where you express your expectation of *speedily seeing an extraordinary demand for wool*. This, however, must be the subject of another letter.—I am, your Lordships' most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.



LETTER II.

Intended to show, that his Lordship's hopes of a more flourishing trade, in consequence of the devastations in other countries, are fallacious.

MY LORD,—After expressing your disappointment that prosperity had not returned to the wool-trade in consequence of the “*failure*” of the American *embargo* and *non-importation* laws, and the cessation of the “*continental-system*” of Napoleon; after skipping over nearly three years of war with America, a strange skip on the part of a person who became known to the literary world by his writings on American navigation and commerce; after ascribing the low price of wool and other produce here, and the consequent depression of the farmer, to the importation of produce from abroad, grown on untaxed and untythed lands; after exhorting the landlords and farmers to apply for a *law* to make foreign wool pay a duty, or, in other words to make foreign wool higher priced in England, instead of exhorting them to apply for the abolition of tythes and the reduction of taxes, which the premises seemed to point to as the only rational conclusion: after all this, your Lordship comes to *new grounds of hope*; you discover, in the fall of Napoleon and in the present state of foreign nations, “*sufficient ground to expect an extraordinary demand for wool.*”

The passage, I alluded to, is as follows: “*But I should add, that there is sufficient ground to expect an extraordinary demand for wool* in consequence of the “*complete subjugation of those who have so long disturbed the world and deranged its commerce. France, and the other countries which have been overrun by desolating armies, are exhausted, and will not immediately re-establish their former occupations, and settle to manufactures, it is therefore most probable there will be a very unusual demand for those of woollen, not only from the countries alluded to, but also for those countries which used to be supplied from those parts which have been ravaged by war.*”

Whether it discover any great degree of benevolence, and whether it be wise in an

Englishman, thus to describe the hope of our prosperity as built on the devastation and misery produced in other countries by wars, by invasions, of which it is well known that we even boast of having been, by the means of our money, the principal cause; whether this discovers much benevolence and wisdom in an Englishman I leave others to decide. But, I think myself able to show, able to convince any rational man, that your Lordship is as much deceived in your present expectations as events have proved you to have been in your expectations of four years ago.

The “*extraordinary demand for wool,*” which you anticipate, is to arise from the *exhausted* state of other countries. Now, my Lord, we will leave *America* aside for separate observation; and then let me ask you, whether Spain, Saxony, Silesia, Holland, Sweden, are *less* likely to grow wool *now*, than they were *three years ago*? France never exported wool. Whatever may be the *political* evils now to be expected, is there any reason to suppose, that the continent of Europe, *settled in peace*, will not grow as much wool as it has grown during its years of war? What then, as far as Europe is concerned in the *growth* of wool, is to cause an “*extraordinary demand*” for our farmer’s wool?

But, the benignant armies have devastated in such a way, that other nations will not “*soon settle to manufactures,*” and, therefore, woollens will be wanted from England to supply the place of those which were formerly made abroad. Does your Lordship think that we shall thresh the *French* into the wearing of our woollens? And, do you think, that the *exhausting* of the nations of Europe, that is to say, the making of them *poor*, will tend to make them *better customers* than formerly? You should not think so, seeing that you tell your hearers, that the ruin of the farmer produces that of the tradesman, seeing that the former is the *customer* of the latter. Observation had enabled you to reason correctly enough

upon what was passing just under your nose; but, you appear not to have been able sufficiently to enlarge your mind to extend that same reasoning to a larger scale.

Besides, supposing your notion of the suspension of continental manufactures to be correct, does not that notion make directly against your main hope; namely, an increase in the price of wool at home? If those manufactures were to be wholly suspended, the *whole* of the wool of the continent must come here; and, would *that* tend to enhance the price of wool in England? Thus it ever is with a mind incapable of enlarged views. It catches hold of detached ideas; it puts them forth one at a time without combination; it gets entangled in confusion and absurdity.

But, your Lordship appears to me to be completely in error even as to the devastating effects of war and invasion. The injuries of invasion are great, very great; but, as has been proved by numerous examples, these injuries are seldom of lasting duration. Armies pillage, rob, violate, murder; but, in a country of any considerable extent and population, they can actually commit these violences only on a comparatively small part of the property and persons. In the invasions of Napoleon he always took care, not only to protect, but to cherish and promote, every science and every art. He hoped to remain master of the greater part of his conquests, and, therefore, he every where favoured the pursuits of industry. The agriculture and manufactures of Germany suffered but little from his irruptions. He *dispersed* indeed, but he did not *destroy*, the flocks of Spain. While he left a sufficiency behind, his invasion stocked many other countries in Europe with fine woolled sheep; and, as I shall by and by show you, the United States of America. The two staple commodities, in all countries, are, *man* and the *earth*. From these all the rest arise. Numbers are killed in wars; but what are two or three millions, and that is beyond all computation, when compared with the population of Europe? The earth, the climate, cannot be changed. The character of a people for industry, cannot be changed very suddenly. Men cannot be made to for-

get what they know. Invading armies oppress and often murder; but, the invaded soon revive, unless some dead weight on them be left behind. Belgium, the theatre of everlasting wars, conquered and re-conquered many times in every century, has always continued to be the most populous and most flourishing part of Europe, even the environs of London not excepted. The United States of America, invaded by English and German armies in every quarter; all their cities and towns alternately taken; a formidable division amongst the people themselves; intestine as well as foreign war assailing them at one and the same time; a government without credit and without money, not only carried their point in war, but, as soon as peace returned, started at once in a career of prosperity that astonished the world, and that completely falsified all the predictions of those, who had foretold that feebleness would be the consequence of their independence, amongst which foretellers your Lordship occupied a distinguished place.

I have not yet heard it proposed to burn the several manufactories in France. The *Times* and *Courier* newspapers recommend the murder of a great number of people; applaud the requisitions imposed upon the French; would have the country dismembered; but, I have not heard even them point out the burning of the manufactories, though, perhaps, they look upon that as understood amongst "*the measures necessary to the security of England.*" But, even this would answer us no profitable purpose. These manufactories would soon rise up again; and, if they did not, France would be supplied from other countries than this. If from this, our payment must be in *her produce*. She would rise again quickly in one way or another; and, nothing that we can do against her will have any very *durable* effect as to her prosperity, while every day of war is adding to those taxes, which are the real cause of the depression, of which your Lordship complains, and of which no man living expects ever to see any diminution, except as the consequence of an event, of which most men turn from the contemplation as something too distressing for the mind to endure. England, in following the advice of the writers I have

mentioned above, might still add much to the sufferings of her neighbours ; she might lacerate and tear them a good deal, but still the terrible and incurable disease, which she has contracted during the war, would cling to her bowels, and, in the work of palsying her limbs, would only be assisted by the prolonging of a state of hostility.

One would have imagined, that past experience with regard to France herself would have prevented your Lordship from indulging such fond hopes of seeing other nations ruined by devastating armies. The first ten years of her revolution drove all the great proprietors from their houses ; stripped them of their estates ; reduced all the opulent merchants to beggary ; ruined all the manufacturers and broke up their concerns ; produced a bankruptcy of the government ; laid the people under contributions. Yet, how did we find France in 1814 ? So full of prosperity ; so rich ; with so little debt ; with such improved agriculture and such flourishing manufactures, that we were compelled to pass a law to stop the importation of her corn, while she stood in no need of either our woollens, linens, or cottons. Nay, it is the recollection of the evidences of prosperity, that we then saw, which is now urging on our base and foolish writers to call for her destruction by means of German armies in our pay.

What becomes, then, of your Lordship's hope ? What becomes of the "good ground" of your new expectation ? Even NOW : already, while there is a civil war in France ; while half a million of English and German soldiers are there, living at free-quarter ; even from the Departments where some of those soldiers are, the French are now, at this very moment, bringing in their butter, poultry, eggs, fruit, &c. &c. to *Potsmouth* and *Southampton* ; and, after paying a duty upon them, selling them at less than half the price at which we can afford to sell similar articles ! To throw such a country back, to make it tributary to our agriculture and manufactures, even for one year, would require the power of the Deity and the malignity ascribed to the Devil ; and, though there are persons enough, who manifestly possess the latter, they are, happily for mankind, not in possession of the former.

If, then, there be so little foundation for your hope with regard to Europe, on what can you build that hope on the other side of the Atlantic ? But, I will reserve the discussion of this question as the subject of another Letter, it being of too much importance to be mixed, in any way, with inferior matter.—I am, your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER III.

Intended to show, that Manufactures of all kinds are carried on to a great extent in America, and that Machinery has been put into use with great success in the making of Woollen and Cotton goods.

MY LORD,—It is America to which I now solicit the honour of calling your attention. If you will oblige me by laying aside, for only half an hour, your solid columns of exports and imports, your laborious details of outward and inward trade, your two-and-two-penny and three-and-three-penny accounts of wool prices, I promise to lead you into scenes of such novelty, such enterprise, and such interest, as shall make you forget, for the time, the tyranny and cruelty, the meanness and baseness, the profligacy, the perfidy, and the hypocrisy, now acting upon the theatre of Europe.

You, my Lord, wrote a book, soon after the first American war, the objects of which were, to point out the means of keeping back the navigation and commerce of America, and to shew, that she could not become a manufacturing country : I was of this latter opinion about six years ago only. Three years of embargo and non-importations and dispersions of Spanish flocks convinced me of my error, which, as soon as I perceived it, I hastened to retract ; and, before the last war began, I endeavoured to convince our Ministers, that if they still persisted in their right to impress persons out of

American ships on the high seas; they would, in the space of a few years, find manufactures rising up in America that would astonish them. In short, I predicted, in my Letters to the Prince Regent, *before the war began*, that, if he did enter on that war, he would, at the end of *seven years*, render the United States wholly independent of England for manufactures; or, at least, *enable her to dispense* with English manufactures.

The war did not last *three years*, and yet this important revolution in human affairs was accomplished; and, be you assured, my Lord, that it will form an epoch in the annals of the world.

But, *how* shall I convince your Lordship that what I say is *true*? That is the great point. *Hearsay* regarding a country at such a distance is nothing. A newspaper account would not be much better. A book written by some American might mislead; for writers have a point to carry, a doctrine to establish, an opponent to beat, or a bias, at any rate, to yield to. Even an *official* account, published by the American government, *might* be incorrect and overcharged; for your Lordship and I have seen many such accounts in England. What am I to do, then? Bring some persons who have been upon the spot and have actually *seen* what they describe? I have no such persons at hand. I have not a single American acquaintance; and, besides, I live out of the world. How, then, am I to convince your Lordship, that the Merino Flocks; the Fulling Mills, some going by steam and some by water; that the Cloth Manufactories; that the Cotton Manufactories; that the Spinning Jennies; that the Iron Mills; that Wire Manufactories; that Crockery-ware Manufactories; that the Powder Mills, Cannon Foundries; that the Manufactories of Flax and Hemp; and that a great many others, and all others, as far as I know, exist in America? Why, my Lord, since you will believe nothing but *your own eyes*, for which I do not blame you; and, as I cannot take you to America, I will *send* the Merino Flocks, the Manufactories, and the Bales of Goods, *into Sussex to you*.

I have taken a parcel of American newspapers, that came to me altogether about

a month ago, and which were published in February, March, April and May last, or the greater part of them. I have cut out of these *advertisements* of Merino Sheep, &c. &c. FOR SALE. They come, as you will see, from almost *every State in the Union*. Some are from Boston, some Baltimore, some Philadelphia, some from New York, some from Albany, some from Pittsburgh; thus embracing what may fairly be deemed the *whole country*. And, besides, these newspapers have come to me quite promiscuously. They have been sent by persons whom I do not know, and without any other motive than that of showing me civility. Of some of these papers I have only a single number; of others two; of others nine or ten. From Pittsburgh I have only one number, and that is of a paper called the *Commonwealth*; and yet, in this one paper, matter is contained sufficient to establish all I say.

This is certainly a *new* way of describing the state of the manufactures of a country; but, really, I do not know of any other so good. To make such a description correctly, a man must go himself to collect information all over a country. The difficulties of doing this are many and great. Here we ask no questions, rely on no reports, listen to no stories, expose ourselves to no deception. We *know* that these advertisements *speak of things that are*. We have here, indeed, merely a SPECIMEN of what is going on. Out of *three or four hundred American newspapers*, I have received and quoted from only about *eight or nine*. What, then, must the *whole* of them present? Besides, we are not to suppose, that a quarter part of the factories and goods, &c. &c. are mentioned in any paper at all. So that, what we have here is a mere SPECIMEN; but, it is quite sufficient to enable us to form a sound judgment upon the subject.

That I have *fabricated* these advertisements is not to be believed. I could not have invented so many names, dates, and circumstances. Besides, I put the name and date of each particular newspaper. If falsely, I am exposed to detection on both sides of the water, many of the papers being in other hands, in England, as well as mine. No: the advertisements

must be genuine; and they form one of masses of presumptive evidence, which is preferable to any positive proof upon oath.

Your Lordship will soon see, that, in some of the advertisements, American goods and English goods both are offered for sale. I wished to leave each advertisement *entire*, just as I found it. I have only further to observe here, reserving my further remarks till by and by, that I have not thought it necessary to follow any particular order in placing the several advertisements. They are placed in the order in which they happened to fall under my scissors. They form, as they stand here, an undigested mass of evidence; but, it is evidence of that sort, which is impossible to fail of producing conviction. *Attention* in the perusal is all that is wanted. I shall number the advertisements for the sake of more easy reference in my subsequent remarks.

No. I.

*From the Philadelphia Democratic Press,
13 February, 1815.*

FOR SALE,

A VALUABLE COTTON MANUFACTORY.

SITUATE in the County of Philadelphia on the Bustleton turnpike road, ten miles from the city, and upon the Pennepack creek. There are on the premises, one three story stone mill 40 by 45 feet, having therein 660 spindles, with the necessary preparing machinery—one frame mill occupied as a blade mill, one mansion house with convenient outbuildings, seven stone houses substantially built, the greater part new, conveniently adapted for workmen, one weaving shop 60 by 20 feet, one substantial new frame building 8 1-2 stories high, 28 feet by 33 feet, the lower story of which is fitted up as a weaving shop; the second as a store and counting house, the remainder as bed rooms, together with

25 ACRES

OF GOOD LAND.

Any capitalist disposed to enter into a lucrative business will find here a favourable opportunity.

The distance is short from the city—the seat capable to drive 3000 spindles, the road turnpiked, the neighbourhood populous, and producing the necessary labourers for the manufactory. The country fertile, healthy, and pleasant.

Apply on the premises to

Thos. F. Gordon.

I cannot resist the temptation to indulge myself, before I go any further, in a few remarks upon this advertisement. I am here at home. In this Bustleton I lived for some time. My most intimate

friends were the principal landowners of the spot. Upon the banks of this Pennepack Creek I have, I verily believe, shot at more Partridges than there were English and Hanoverian soldiers sent against America during the last war. What was my surprize at seeing (for here I really see it) a Cotton Manufactory upon the Pennepack on the Bustleton Turnpike Road and in a populous neighbourhood! Fifteen years ago, there was not a turnpike road, and, as far as I can recollect, there were but eleven houses of all sorts within a mile of the spot here described. Bustleton is on the level, after rising the hill from the Creek; and, I believe, the principal part of the land on both sides of the road, was owned by my friend THOMAS PAUL. He was a Quaker, a sensible, active, and most benevolent and public-spirited man. He was about to erect a School-House when I came away; but his town contained only his own house, a tavern which was his, a large house which he had built for a Doctor, and, I believe, two or three small houses besides. Yet, we see, not only that there is at this place a cotton manufactory, but a populous neighbourhood, capable of supplying it with hands. Before I have done, I shall show you how towns grow up in America. Thus it is that men flourish and increase in a soil of freedom. Taking it for granted, that you will believe these details about Bustleton and the Pennepack to be true, seeing that, if false, I expose myself to the contempt of all America, I shall now proceed, without interruption to the insertion of the Advertisements.

No. II.

From Poulton's American Daily Advertiser, Philadelphia, 4th May, 1815.

FULL BLOODED MERINO SHEEP.

AT PUBLIC SALE,

ONE HUNDRED EWES,

THE principal part of which have Lambs, will be offered at public sale, on, the 16th day of the 3d month next, (March) at half past 2 o'clock, at Elmfield Sheep Walk, near the Rising Sun, on the Germantown Road, about four miles from Philadelphia. An opportunity like the present has rarely been offered to those who are desirous of possessing this valuable animal or of improving their stock. The Flocks, of which these are a part, is so celebrated, that it is deemed almost

unnecessary to say any thing respecting it, more especially as it is expected that those who may wish to purchase will examine the Sheep, when they will at once be satisfied of their genuineness and superiority. Great pains have been bestowed on them and frequent selections made of those that could be considered inferior.

No. III.

From the Boston Repertory, 15th March, 1815.

Spinning Machinery,

UPON a new and *exceedingly* improved construction, requiring only *FIVE* persons to do the same quantity of work that requires at least *TWENTY* persons to do, and saves much of the cotton which is unavoidably wasted in the usual method.

In addition to these advantages in the newly invented machinery, it requires much less power, less space, and the cotton comes out much more equal.

The new and elegant establishment at Waltham contains 700 spindles upon the improved construction; and the most respectable and satisfactory references can be adduced of their giving *COMPLETE SATISFACTION*.

Individuals or companies who are about establishing new or rebuilding their old machinery, will find it to their advantage to call at Mr. JOHN M. DEARBORN'S Machine and Balance Store, No. S. Harris' Building's Water-street, Boston, who will give any further information upon the subject and who has authority to dispose of Rights to individuals, companies, towns, counties, or states.

No. IV.

From the Rhode Island Republican, 15th March, 1815.

WOOLEN MANUFACTORY.

THE Subscribers deem it proper to inform the public, that they have formed themselves into a Company for MANUFACTURING PURPOSES, and having erected a building, &c. on a mill privilege, recently owned by Joseph & Benjamin Mott, in Portsmouth, (R. I.) about 8 miles on the west road, from Newport, have assumed the appellation of the

Enterprize Manufacturing Company. and have appointed EDWARD W. LAWTON, agent in Newport, and committed to PHILIP ANTHONY the charge of their concerns at the Factory in Portsmouth.

They wish likewise to inform, that they shall have ready for operation in a few days, a set of machines for

Carding Merino and common Sheep's WOOL.

which they intend to perform in the best manner. at the customary prices.—Those who favour them with custom, will please to leave their Wool either at the Factory, or at the store of EDWARD W. LAWTON, in Newport.

As the quality of the Carding depends much on having the Wool clean, and in good order, they beg leave to request of their customers, that they pay particular attention to that point.

PHILIP ANTHONY,
HARVEY SESSIONS,

GEORGE ENGS,
EDWARD W. LAWTON.

(A Machine for picking and cleaning Wool, (which will be done at the usual price) is added to the above.

No. V.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3d May, 1815.

COTTON YARN,

For Sale at the Baltimore Manufacturing Company's Warehouse,

197, MARKET STREET,

OF ALL NUMBERS

From No. 4, to No. 40.

Of a quality equal to any made.

"From the quality of the Machinery, and the improved plan of their whole works," country merchants will find considerable advantage to call and look at the Yarn.

They have also on hand, and are daily receiving from their Looms,

PLAIDS,
STRIPES,
GINGHAMS, and
SHIRTINGS.

Of a quality superior to any imported, are in patenting equal.

NATHAN LEVERING,
Agent B. M. C.

No. VI.

From the Boston Gazette, April 27, 1815.
AMERICAN GOODS.

JOSIAH VINTON, Jr. has removed his business from 65, State-street, to No. 60, Cornhill—where he continues to sell American Manufactured Cotton and Woollen Goods on Commission.

He has now for Sale, for Cash or Approved Credit,

20,000 yards Gingham, No. 12 to 30;
5,000 yards Shirtings, No. 9 to 30;
3,000 yards Stripes;
2,000 yards 3 4 and 4 4 Checks;
2,000 yards Chambrays, No. 12 to 30.
15 ps. Bedticks;
1,000 lbs. Cotton Yarn—Threads;
27 ps. Sattinets, some Merino;
Cassimeres—blue Plains.

* * Part of the above will be sold for N. York or Philadelphia Bills.

No. VII.

From the same.

GLASS WARE.

BOSTON and Chelmsford Window

Glass of all sizes, from 6 by 8 to 24 by 14, Coach Glasses and Fan Lights, and South Boston Flint Glass Ware, such as TUMBLERS, Wines, Decanters, Pitchers, APOTHECARIES SHOP FURNITURE, Entry Lamps, Electrical Apparatus, Reports and Receivers of all sizes, Salts, Mustards, Creams, Jellies, Phials, assorted, Watch Crystals, Nursing and Sucking Bottles, globe and straight Lamp Tubes, and many other articles too numerous to particularize, are offered for sale. Having ma-

nufactured during the late war, and now on hand, a large quantity, both of Window Glass and Glass Ware, viz:—

Of Boston Glass.

1000 boxes 6 by 8, 7 by 9, and 10 by 8, with almost all other sizes.

Of Chelmsford Glass.

1500 boxes 6 by 8, 7 by 9, and 10 by 8, and larger sizes.

Of Glass Ware.

From 60 to 80,000 half pint Tumblers,
Cases of quart do.
do. pint do.
do. best and Tale Ship do.
do. Wines, &c. &c.

Making a general assortment of Window Glass and Hollow Ware.

Dealers in the different articles are requested to call and examine. As it respects the quality, the public are acquainted with the superiority of the Boston and Chelmsford Window Glass to any of the kind ever offered for sale, and the Glass Ware is pronounced by judges, not to be inferior in quality and workmanship to any imported.

The Proprietors now offer for sale at reduced prices, and on liberal credit for approved paper, by the large or small quantity, any of the above mentioned articles. For terms, apply to C. F. KUPFER, at the Glass Manufactory, Essex-street, Boston. By whom orders will be executed with all possible dispatch.

N. B. An extra discount will be made to dealers in Window Glass and Glass Ware.

No. VIII.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3 May 1815.

Gunpowder, Hemp, Indigo, &c.

70 kegs best Virginia made Gunpowder
10 tons Country Hemp
10 seroons Spanish Florant Indigo
50 qr Casks Smyrna White Wine
10 pipes London particular Teneriffe Wine
90 boxes Whittemore's Cotton and Wool Cards
Just received and for sale by

TALBOT JONES.

No. IX.

*From the Philadelphia Democratic Press,
25 February 1815.*

Lancaster Cotton Works.

COTTON YARN.

From No. 5 to 40, Twists and Filling, to be sold at our store in the borough of Lancaster by wholesale only.

Orders addressed to us shall receive prompt attention.

Jacob Miller & Co.

No. X.

*From the Albany Register, 17 March,
1815.*

Looking-Glasses and Plates.

WINNE & FONDEY,

Have received a large supply of GERMAN and AMERICAN LOOKING-GLASS PLATES, a part of which have been mounted by them in the most elegant manner, and approved fashionable patterns, consisting of

Swelled Pilds, Frames, full guilt and ornamented,
Twisted do. do. do.
Plain do. do. and Common of all
the various sizes, from 10 by 8 to 14 by 24 inches.

—ALSO—

A general assortment of plain edged Bird and edged Pillaster and Pillared Mahogany Framed Glasses; Toilette Glasses, of various patterns.

Shaving Glasses, with and without
sliding covers,
German embossed paper Pocket- } assorted
Glasses, } sizes.
do. Statia do. }

Which in addition to their former stock, renders it better than any ever offered for sale in this place, and will be sold wholesale and retail at the New-York prices.

LOOKING-GLASS PLATES.

Of the different sizes above enumerated, by the single Plate or Box, together with an assortment of GILT Mouldings from 1-2 to 6 inches.—Bed and Window Cornishes, and other Ornamental Work, done in the best manner.

No. XI.

*From the Boston Advertiser, 21 March,
1815.*

Weavers' Shuttles,

R. P. and C. WILLIAMS, No. 8, State-street, will be regularly supplied with a large assortment of Shuttles, and in a few days will have Pickers and Bobbins—the above articles are made by O. Robinson, one of the first rate workmen, and are much APPROVED OF. Upwards of one thousand of these Shuttles were sold the last year.

No. XII.

*From the Baltimore Federal Gazette,
4 May, 1815.*

Baltimore, 14th April, 1815.

THE Stockholders of the UNION MANUFACTURING COMPANY OF MARYLAND, are informed that a Dividend of ten per cent. upon the capital stock of said Company, has been declared for the last year, and that the same will be paid to the Stockholders or their legal representatives on or after Monday the 8th day of May next, on which day they will take notice, the last instalment on the augmented stock becomes payable.

They are likewise informed, that an election for twelve Directors, for the ensuing year, will be held at the Company's Office, on MONDAY the first day of May next, from the hour of nine, until 1 o'clock.

JOHN HILLEN, President.

No. XIII.

From the same.

Hand and Machine Cards.

The New-York Manufacturing Company
Inform their friends and customers, as also the customers of the late firm of

WM. WHITEMORE & CO.

BOSTON,

that having extended thir MACHINERY for STICKING all kinds of CARDS, they keep constantly on hand a regular supply of

Wool and Cotton Cards, Tow Cards
Horse Cards, Clothiers and Hatters Jacks
ALSO,

Machine Cards,
Fillitting and Comb Plates,
all warranted of superior quality. Orders
punctually and faithfully executed on liberal terms.
TIMOTHY WHITEMORE.

Agent N. Y. M. Co.
The Subscribers, agents of the New York Manu-
facturing Company, are constantly supplied with
an assortment of the above-mentioned Cards.

MITCHIL & SHEPPARD,
No. 20, Cheapside.

No. XIV.

From the Boston Advertiser, 21 March 1815.

Factory Goods—Wool.

FOR Sale at the American Goods Com-
mission Store of Z. HAYDEN, No. 3, Corn-
hill-square, by the piece or package, on the most
reasonable terms,

8000 lbs Cotton warp Yarn,
150 do knitting and filling do.
16000 yards Shirting and Sheetting,
22000 do Gingham, Stripe and Chambray,
2500 boxes Cotton Balls,
300 lbs Cotton Thread,
12 Bolts Cotton Duck,
10000 lbs Cotton Warp, 1st quality, MADE PAR-
TICULARLY FOR SATINET,
Bedtickings and diaper,
40 peices Flannel, 150 do Satinet,
100 do plain Cloth,
90 do Broad Cloth, various qualities,
4000 yards Tow and Linen Cloth,
2600 pair women's, misses' and childrens Shoes,
1 case Bengal Indigo,
Bales Sea Island Cotton,
Boxes Starch, &c. &c.

ALSO,

WOOL.

6400 lbs pelt Wool, 1st quality,
3500 do do do 2 1 3 4 do,
2800 do common fleece do,
500 do half-blood Merino do,
800 do 3 4 and 7 8 do do.
1900 do full blood do do.

No. XV.

From the Philadelphia Democratic Press, 25
February, 1815.

A Paper Bundle,

Containing a few Prints of the Bush Hill Floor
Cloth Manufactory. They being of no use to any
person but the owner—will be thankfully received
at either of the above places.

Isaac Macauley.

No. XVI.

From the Boston Repertory, 25 March, 1815.

WOOL

Burroughs & Perkins,

No. 73, State Street,

CONTINUE to receive on consign-
ment, MERINO, MIXED and COMMON WOOL,
and advance cash thereof.

They have now for sale, the Fleeces of THE BEST
FLOCKS in this country, viz.

Full blood Merino,
Halt and 3-4 blood do.
And Native Wool.

N. B.—Consignment of Wool, WITH ORDERS
TO SHIP TO ENGLAND, attended to by them with
punctuality and dispatch.

No. XVII.

From the Baltimore Federal Gazette, 4
May, 1815.

PATAPSCO COTTON.

FACTORY.

Near Ellicott's Mills,

IS now in complete operation. The excel-
lence of the machinery and improved plan of the
works, will enable the proprietors to furnish.

COTTON YARN,

Of the best quality on as cheap terms as any in
the U. States,

The Warehouse for the sale of Yarn is at

NO 140, MARKET-ST.

The store formerly occupied by the Union Manu-
facturing Company.)

Country Merchants, Weavers, and others, deal-
ing in this article, will find it to their interest to
avail themselves of the present extensive assort-
ment, to whom the most liberal terms will be
given.

E. GRAY & CO.

No. XVIII.

From the Boston Gazette, 3 April, 1815.
At Private Sale,

St. Domingo Mahogany, in planks and
boards, seasoned and fit for use — 1000 Chairs,
suitable for shipping—20 Bureaus, do.—10 Secre-
taires, do—30 field Bedsteads, do—200 Looking
Glasses, do.

Goods received at all times as above for public
or private sale.

No. XIX.

From the same.

A General Assortment of Cut Goods, on hand,
which will be sold at Peace prices.

American Manufactured Cotton and
WOOLEN GOODS, at the lowest Factory prices,
for sale by S. H. BABCOCK, Dock-Square,
corner of Exchange-street.

No. XX.

FOR SALE,

BY JOHN BRADLEY,

No. 78, Market-street,

PITTSBURG GLASS,

Consisting of

Tumblers, Decanters, &c. &c.

30 Reams of GLASS and SAND PAPER,
HARDWARE, CUTLERY, &c. all which
he will sell on the lowest terms.

No. XXI.

From the Norfolk Herald, 8 May, 1815.

GUN POWDER.

The Subscriber has for Sale,
80 kegs of Single, Double, and Triple
GUN POWDER,

From Dagent's Brandywine Factory.
 and can supply any quantity that may be required
RICHARD DRUMMOND.

No. XXII.

From the Baltimore Federal Gazette, 4,
May 1815.

Grey Granite Stone.

The subscriber, who has taken for a term of years, the Granite Quarry at Ellicott's Patapsco Mills, is in readiness to receive any orders with which he may be favoured, and which will be executed at a short notice. From the nature of the stone of this quarry, and their length and solidity, they are peculiarly adapted to the following purposes: Columns or Pilasters of any dimensions, Basement Stories or Fronts of Houses, door or window Cases and Cills, and all other purposes for building, where elegance, strength and durability are required. Those unacquainted with the stone, I would recommend to view them in the Cathedral, or the basement story of Mr. W. Lorman's house, or at other places where they had been used in the city. The quality of this stone is such, that it alike resists the effects of frost or time, and retains its original colour and beauty without the aid of paint. Those who are unacquainted with me will please to enquire of Robert Cary Long, James Carey, Elias Ellicott, or Isaac M'Pherson.

BENJAMIN BROWN.

No. XXIII.

From the same.

MACHINE CARDS.

The subscriber is appointed Agent for vending Machine Cards, manufactured by Becklay and Springer—which will be found on trial, equal to any made in the U. States. All orders left with Hugh Balderston, Hanover-street, nearly opposite J. Gadsby's—Jonathan Balderston, No. 12, S. Charles-street, or with myself, will be executed with the least possible delay, and on the best terms.

ELY BALDERSTON,
 No. 61, Smith's wharf,

Who has in Store,

Cheese in casks; Crum Creek Scythe Stones,
 Mould Candles, Tow Cloth, Cut Nails, &c.

No. XXIV.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3 May, 1815.

WOOD SCREWS.

CHARLES SCHUDDER,

No. 24, State Street—BOSTON,

AGENT FOR SELLING.

AMERICAN PATENT WOOD
SCREWS,

Informs the importers of Hardware in Baltimore, that he can supply them with that article at a less price than they can be imported, and solicits their orders, which they may depend upon having faithfully and promptly executed.

Boston, 30th March, 1815.

The Subscribers have just received several Casks Wood Screws from the agent in Boston, which are offered at private sale, at their

auction store, Market-street, corner of N. Charles-street, where orders for any particular kind or quantity of the above article are received.

M. POOR & J. HASTINGS.

No. XXV.

From the Boston Advertiser, March 21, 1815,

Factory Shares for Sale.

FOURTEEN SHARES in the Danvers Cotton Factory Company of 500 Dollars each—the property of the Corporation—is divided into 60 Shares, and consists of the Factory Building, 60 by 32 feet, containing 600 Spindles and the preparations of Cotton Machinery, and a few for Woollens, which latter the company contemplate considerably to increase—Besides the Factory they have a Smith's Shop, a Dye Shop, Barn and two Dwelling Houses, and another Dwelling House building—The Water privilege is probably the best in the county, and sufficient in the driest season. The Shares will be sold together, or any less number, as the purchaser may choose, and further particulars may be known by applying at the Factory, or forwarding a line to the Post Office in Salem, directed to

EBEN. FELTON.

No. XXVI.

From the Baltimore Patriot, 3d May, 1815.

COTTON YARN.

The customers of the UNION MANUFACTURING COMPANY of MARYLAND, and the public in general, are informed that a general

Assortment of Cotton Yarn,

may be had at their warehouse, No. 152, Market street, next door to the Bank of Baltimore, at the lowest Peace prices.

No. XXVII.

From the same.

Shaw & Tiffany,

HAVE Removed to Store No. 238, Market-street, (nearly opposite Sharp-st.) where they have for sale, and are receiving from the Manufacturers, a complete assortment of

American Cotton Goods.

—ALSO—

A few pieces sup. fine Black Broad Cloths
 6 boxes Cotton hand Cards, Nos. 8 and 10
 90 pieces Russia Sheerings.

No. XXVIII.

From the New York Columbian, 1st April,
1815.

AN Englishman of sober, steady habits, for an adequate compensation, would undertake the entire care and trouble of a WOOLEN MANUFACTORY, having followed it for 20 years in England; or any person desirous of manufacturing, and could advance a sum of money sufficient, may hear of a partner who would take the entire management of the business. Enquire of the printer.

No. XXIX.

From the Albany Register, 17th March, 1815.

An Interesting Bargain, FOR SALE,

THE equal, undivided, one half part of the establishments at the *State Bridge*, or the passage of the Great Western Turnpike over the Schoharie river, 26 miles west of Albany.

The river here divides the Eastern from the Western District. On the eastern bank, in Dutchburgh, are situated—

A Saw Mill.

A Grist Mill—with 3 runs of stones, and the improved movements of Mr. O. Evans, and others. The horizontal water wheels by Mr. Burr, and never obstructed by ice, and but little affected by high water.

Two new Carding Machines, for fine and coarse wool.

A Mill House.

On the western bank, in Schoharie, are—

A Fulling Mill—rented out for a short term, unexpired.

A Paper Mill—occupied by an incorporated company for a term, and then reverts to the owners. 500 dollars of the present stock passes with the sale.

A Distillery—by steam.

A House and Store—and a house appurtenant to the fulling mill.

A stone wall 4 feet thick, 14 feet high, and about 130 in length; parallel with the creek is a foundation for any future erections of machinery, which the interests of the owners invite them to place there.

The situation of these works upon a road so frequented, and a stream so abundant, can always secure the wide circle of custom, with which they are now favoured. The revenues and expenditures will be satisfactorily made known to the purchaser, and comparing them with the price asked, no speculation like it can be offered in that country. Enquire of

H. W. Starin & Co.

State Bridge, Schoharie.

All the advertisements, that follow here, are taken from one single paper, the PITTSBURGH COMMONWEALTH, dated 11th March, 1815.—Pittsburgh is in the State of Pennsylvania, and, I believe, at nearly 300 miles distance from the Atlantic sea-shore. Read here, then, and see what America can do. If the poor little Lawyer whom Bellingham killed had seen this, he would hardly have claimed so much credit for magnanimity, when he said that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government to DESTROY America.

No. XXX.

PITTSBURGH WIRE-MANUFACTORY.

THE subscriber has on hand, and offers for sale, at the Philadelphia prices, with the addition of

carriage, an assortment of WIRE, made of the Juniata Iron, from No. 1 to No. 21, inclusive. Any higher number made to order. He expects that the manufacturers and merchants of the Western Country will give him a portion of their custom, to support a new and expensive establishment.

Square inch Iron will be rolled down for smiths, and other mechanics, at the following prices, viz.

7 8 one dollar per cwt.

6-8 two ditto per ditto.

5-8 three do. per ditto.

4-8 four do. per ditto.

3-8 five do. per ditto.

WILLIAM EIGHBAUM.

No. XXXI.

THE STEAM ENGINE FOUNDERY.

ON Front-street, behind the Pittsburgh-Steam Mill is now in complete operation, and ready to supply castings of every description, but particularly those in a mechanical line, viz—All kinds of castings appertaining to Merchant Flour Mills, Rolling and Slitting, Forging and Tilting Mills—Fulling and Oil Mills, &c. &c. Sugar Mills, Sugar Boilers, Potash Kettles, Stills, Soap and Salt Kettles.

The Pittsburgh Steam Engine Company,

As usual, carry on the making of Steam Engines of every description. They will also furnish Paper Mill Screws, Fullers and Mill Screws, and all other kinds, of the large order; also Mill Spindles and Rynes, &c. Saw Mill Cranks and large work generally.

No. XXXII.

Steam Fulling Mills. THE PITTSBURGH STEAM FULLING MILLS *Are now in complete operation.*

THE proprietor is happy to inform the public, that he has engaged experienced workmen, and will be able to execute any orders in the dyeing and fulling business, in the best manner and with punctuality and dispatch.

JAMES ART URS.

No. XXXIII.

JUST RECEIVED & FOR SALE BY BOSLER & Co.

AT THEIR WHOLESALE AND COMMISSION
WAREHOUSE,

On WATER and FRONT STREETS.

Prime New-Orleans Sugar in barrels,
White Havannah ditto in boxes,
New Orleans Rum, Indigo and Cotton,
Best green Coffee in barrels and bags.
Logwood,
Kentucky Rifle Powder and Bacon.
Mexican Copper, &c.

June 23, 1814.

No. XXXIV.

PITTSBURGH POTTERY.

TROTTER and Co. having established their Manufactory of Queens-ware in Pittsburgh,

now commenced fabricating wares similar to those of the potteries at Philadelphia, take the opportunity to inform the public, that they are ready to execute such orders as they will do them the favor to address to the Pottery, corner of Seventh and Grant-Streets, or to Anthony Beelin and Co. or Richard Brown and Co. where specimens of the ware may be seen.

List of Articles at present Manufacturing.

Wash hand Basins	Coffee pots
Ewers	Tea pots
Chambers	Coffee cups
Dutch jugs	Tea cups
Bowls	Chocolates
Mugs	Sugar basins
Goblets	Butter tubes
Pitchers	Baking dishes

February 11th, 1815.

No. XXXV.

BROAD CLOTHS

AND

SATTINETTES.

For sale by George Cochran at his Woolen Manufactory, corner of Diamond alley and Liberty-street, by the piece or yard, as cheap as they can be had in New York, Philadelphia or Baltimore. Also a few Stockingnettes, Worsted, Woolen, and Cotton Half Hose.

G. C. Respectfully solicits the patronage of the public to encourage his Manufactory, and assures those who may wish to purchase, that his cloth is not inferior according to quality, either in colour or durability to that imported from Great Britain.

GEORGE COCHRAN.

February 11, 1815.

No. XXXVI.

Fulling & Wool Carding.

THE SUBSCRIBERS respectfully inform their friends and the public that their works lately erected at the lower falls of BIG BEAVER creek, are now in operation.—Being supplied with two pair of fulling stocks and the necessary implements and convenience for dressing broad and narrow CLOTHS, in the best manner; together with two wool carding machines covered with fine cards, calculated for carding merino and common wool, and conducted by experienced workmen—the subscribers are encouraged to solicit a share of the public patronage, and hope to give satisfaction to those who may please to favour them with their custom in the above line of business. Cloth to be dressed, or wool to be carded, will be thankfully received by James Taylor at the Mill, and finished according to directions, with punctuality and dispatch at the customary prices.

Cloth will also be received by George Cochran, at his Woolen Factory in Pittsburgh, forwarded and returned when dressed.

JAMES TAYLOR,
JOHN WALKER,
M. EVANS,
GEO. COCHRAN, of Rdff.

No. XXXVII.

SALT.

A quantity of first quality KENHAWA SALT, all of which he will sell low for CASH.

C. LATSHAW.

No. XXXVIII.

CASH for GRAIN.

ONE DOLLAR and twenty cents for WHEAT
—and Sixty-two and a half cents for RYE, given
at the PITTSBURGH STEAM MILL.

No. XXXIX.

Settlement of a New Town.

**NEW TOWN OF
COLOMBIA.**

THIS place laid out in a handsome situation, on the bank of the Monongahela River, in Washington County, commanding all the advantages of a rich and opulent country, offers the most flattering prospects to such as choose to purchase lots.

As the improvement of the place is the principal object of the proprietor, he offers inducements which will make it an object for persons to purchase and build.

The prospect of a new county, of which COLOMBIA will in all probability become the seat of justice, and a prospect of public roads leading through this place to all the most important towns, makes it worthy the attention of all classes of mechanics and others.

A STEAM MILL is now erecting and a number of Manufactories in contemplation; there is a grand prospect of its becoming a flourishing place.

As a further inducement to purchase, the proprietor offers to each purchaser, who will build on his lot within one year from the first day of April next, timber for building a frame house 25 by 30 feet, or more, and stone coal for 4 years, gratis.

There are stone quarries within one hundred rods of the town, which purchasers are at liberty to use.

A number of valuable lots are yet on hand and will be sold at private sale on application to Samuel Hughes, of Washington, to James M. Riddle, Esq. and the Editor of "the Commonwealth," Pittsburgh, or to the proprietor on the premises, at which places respectively a plan of the town may be seen.

N. B. Those who have purchased lots are informed that their deeds are ready for delivery.

CHARLES D. HIAS.

Here, my Lord, I close my extracts. Instead of 39, I could have made the number 100 or more. But, not being necessary to any rational purpose, I have declined making the list any longer. And, now, leaving your Lordship to pause for a while and to ruminate over these indisputable facts, as they lie heaped up before you, I will, in my next Letter, endeavour to show you how they apply to the subject of our discussion. I am your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER IV.

Intended to show, that so extensive is the growth of American Wool, that some of that Wool is exported to England, and that, though the importation of Wool is great in proportion to the whole quantity used, to impose a tax upon importation would be injurious to the country.

MY LORD,—In proceeding to apply to the subject before us the matter contained in my last Letter, I must beg your Lordship to observe, that it is not only proved, that almost every sort of manufactory was going on in America during the war; but, that, as appears from the date of many of the advertisements, if not from all of them, they were neither dropped, nor likely to be either discontinued, or, apparently, to be rendered less active, by the peace; all the advertisements being dated *after* the peace was proclaimed in America, and many of them in the month of May.

You see, in No. 33, that *sugar* and *indigo* are produced on the banks of the Mississippi and in the territory of the United States; you know that *cotton* is one of the great staple commodities of Carolina and Georgia; that *tobacco* is the native of Virginia; you see that *hemp* and *flax* are largely cultivated and manufactured; you know, that *Indian corn*, the cultivation of which characterizes the fairest and richest part of Europe, and is the criterion of fertile soil and good climate, is produced in abundance, throughout the whole country, fourteen hundred miles in length; you know that timber is every where in abundance; you see that salt, iron, lead, copper and coal mines, are there, and stone and marble and slate quarries; you see, that machinery of every sort, and worked by every kind of power, is in motion; and, have you still the expectation, or the hope, that America is dependent on England for the means of tilling her land, clothing her people, or furnishing her dwellings, or fighting her enemies?

But, the objects more immediately before us are WOOL and WOOLENS.—I have shown, I think, pretty clearly, that there is no reason to expect your hoped-for extraordinary demand for English Wool from the change of affairs in

Europe. And, on what does that hope rest when you look at America? No. II. shows you that *Merino Sheep* are, in flocks in America. And, observe, that Pennsylvania, a very few years ago, had scarcely any sheep of any sort. The States to the Northward, according to Mr. Livingston's account, abound much more in sheep of all sorts. No. XIV. shows you that Wool, in all its varieties, is a great article of commerce; and, No. XVI. shows you, not only that wool is a great article of commerce, but that it is sent from America to be sold in England! You see here, that there are merchants, who take consignments of Wool with orders to ship to England; and this is at Boston; not at New York, which State Mr. Livingstone belongs to and resides in. I know, that several cargoes of American fine wool were sent to England more than four years ago. I saw the samples myself. But, this advertisement, which proves the frequency of the thing, is worth the personal observation and testimony of a hundred witnesses sworn upon the Gospels.

Now, my Lord, when I come to treat of the extent to which American manufactures will be carried in peace, and which will depend, perhaps, in a great measure, upon the laws that shall be passed there, I shall speak with great diffidence; because the subject, on the score of foreign policy, as well as on the score of internal prosperity, demands an extent of knowledge as to the whole of the interests of that community, which it would be presumption in me, or in any man not upon the spot, to pretend to possess. But, with regard to the capacity of America to grow wool, and export it to England, I can speak with nearly as much confidence as I should upon her capacity to send us Cotton or Tobacco.

That the soil of America is fertile is well known; and, it has now been proved, that it is well adapted to the breeding and

keeping of sheep. It has been proved, because such numerous flocks already exist. The only question, then, is, whether the American farmer can grow wool *cheaper* than the English farmer, and, from that cause, can afford to sell it at a lower price. Lower it must be sold, in order to open a market for it here, because it must come loaded with the charges of freight, and other expences, from which our wool is exempted. The price, at which the American farmer *does* sell wool, I have nothing to prove; but, I know, that the price of *wheat* is the criterion, whereby to judge of the price, at which he can *afford* to sell wool. Now, we see from No. XXXVIII, that the price of wheat is *one dollar and twenty cents a bushel*. That is to say, a dollar and a fifth. Call it *six shillings* of our money. This is at Pitts-burgh; but, it must be a pretty fair average. If, then, our farmers are sinking into ruin with wheat at 9s. a bushel, it is clear that the produce of the earth can be raised *one third* cheaper there than it can here. A third, or $33\frac{1}{3}$ per centum, will, I should suppose, amply meet all charges on a raw-material like wool. So that, at this moment, with our *low prices*, our *ruinous prices*, the American farmer can meet us in our own market, even in the infancy of his flocks.

But, we must not stop here. We cannot stop here. Produce must rise in England, or the taxes cannot be paid. Wheat cannot stand at 9s. a bushel. Upon an average of the last ten years, it has been 12s. a bushel; and, to enable us to pay the taxes, it must go even higher than that. Wool, however, must keep an even pace with the wheat, or wool will not be grown; and, how is it to keep that pace, if importations of "untaxed" wool be permitted, without a tax imposed on it here?

"Well," you will say, "and do I not recommend the *taxing* of foreign wool?" Yes; but, what would that effect? Why, just as much *evil* to the manufacturers of cloth, as *good* to growers of wool? Indeed, in the *end*, it would be an evil to the former as well as to the latter.

But, before I proceed to show to what extent your proposed measure would affect the manufactures, it is necessary to make a few observations as to the relative

quantity of wool *grown* and *wool imported*. You say, that of wool imported, the quantity, in 1789, was 2,660,828 *lbs.* and that in 1814 it rose up to the *appalling* quantity of 15,712,517 *lbs.* I dare say that this statement is correct; because you had the actual account of imports to refer to. As to the quantity of wool *grown in the country*, it is *impossible* for any one to state it with any thing like precision. The wool is not *taxed*; neither the grower nor the dealer nor the manufacturer is compelled to keep or render any account of it. Yet, a writer in the *Courier* of the 8th inst, says that "your Lordship *must be well acquainted with the amount of it*, which, so long since as 1800, was "192,000,000 *lbs.*" Hence he is led to ridicule your alarm at the importation of 15,712,517 *lbs.* in a year.

If this statement of the quantity of the *home growth* were correct, your proposed tax, would, indeed, have nothing in it very serious to the manufacturers. But, besides that it is next to impossible that any one should be able to come at the amount of the home growth, this statement is so monstrous as to shock even the credulity that gives a currency to Moore's Almanack. This gentleman has heard of *millions* so uncountable, that he thinks nothing of hundreds of millions. The average weight of a sheep's fleece is 4 *lbs.* consequently there must be 48,000,000 of sheep in the country, *shorne* every year, or, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to every human being, including the cities and towns. Ewes are, on an average, killed at 4 years old, weathers at 3, and lambs at 4 months. They are, then, killed, on an average, at 29 months old. They live one year before they yield any wool. Thus, for every sheep that is *shorne*, there is one killed in every 17 months. So that, including a fraction, there must be *killed every year*, 34,000,000 of sheep and lambs; or, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to each human being, man, woman, and child, paupers, gypsies, felons and all. The average weight of sheep is about 60 *lbs.* and of lambs about 36 *lbs.* The number of sheep killed far exceeds that of lambs. But, suppose the average weight to be 50 *lbs.* Then there is for each human being 175 *lbs.* of mutton in a year, or very nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. a day, for *beggars, paupers, babies* and all, observe. But this is not all. The neat cattle nearly equal the sheep in

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amount of meat. The hogs surpass the sheep in this respect. So that here is $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of meat, besides fish and poultry, every day in the year for every human being, sucking babies and all, when it is well known, that *millions* of even the fathers and mothers do not taste a morsel of animal food from month's end to month's end, and sometimes hardly a morsel of bread, their chief diet being tea and potatoes. What monstrous absurdity!

But, the *wool*! what shall we do with the *wool*? Suppose it all to be made into the shape of broad cloth and that each yard in length requires 3lbs. of wool. It would not require so much, but suppose it did. Here are 64,000,000 of yards in length, and 128,000,000 of square yards of cloth. There are 3,097,600 square yards in a square mile. Leaving out fractions, then, here is cloth enough made in *one year*, without the wool imported, to to cover 40 square miles! The very skins of the animals would cover 10 square miles! If this statement were correct, the idea of hiding the sun with a blanket would not be so very absurd.

We have, then, no means of ascertaining, with any degree of exactness, the quantity of the home growth. But, it is rational to suppose, that the 15,000,000 of lbs. imported, are not less than a *fourth* of the whole quantity of wool manufactured in the country. The amount of *all the wools* exported last year was £5,600,000 sterling; and, suppose only one *fourth* of the wools to have been sent abroad, leaving three fourths for home consumption, the whole of the *manufactured wools* would have amounted to £22,400,000 sterling. If we allow a *third* of the cost of the wools for the raw material, and put the wool upon an average at 3s. sterling a pound, we shall find that the whole *amount* of wool before it was manufactured amounted to 7,400,000 and some odd pounds sterling, and that the whole *quantity* of it was 54,000,000 of pounds weight; which is not *four times* as much as the quantity of wool imported, and which wool, I believe, is *nearly all* of the fine quality.

Whether I am wrong in my supposition that *not less than one fourth* of our

woolens are exported, and that the raw material amounts to *not more than one third* of the price of the manufactured goods, I must leave, as I do with great deference, for the reader to decide; but, I must be very wide indeed of the mark, if the quantity of wool imported does not bear a proportion of, at least, a *sixth* in value to the wool of home growth.

It is clear, therefore, my Lord, that the importation of wool has a very great effect on the price of wool grown at home. But, lay a tax upon wool imported, and the consequence is, a *rise in the price of manufactured wools*; for, to suppose as you appear to do, that the manufacturer does not *now and always*, upon an average of transactions, *sell at as low a price as he can afford to sell*; to suppose that ever-active and all-seeing competition is not sufficient upon an average of years, to apportion with the most scrupulous precision the profits of unfettered trade, is a notion so well known to belong exclusively, and of Right Divine, to the mob, that for any gentleman to attempt to encroach upon it is to set at open defiance every principle of justice and humanity.

The consequences of a rise in the price of manufactured wools would be, first, a diminution in the consumption at home, unless you could by some sort of gipsy conjuring trick convey the sums into all our pockets necessary to meet the rise of price. The same would take place as to exports. But much *more* might take place as to our foreign trade; for, if you were to prohibit the importation of wool altogether, it would be manufactured abroad; and as *price* is the great and true and everlasting regulator, the moment wool became so cheap elsewhere as to enable other countries to work it up and sell it at a lower price than we, that very moment would the export trade disappear. What is true as to total prohibition is true as to prohibition in part. For though the countries sending wool hither would not, *all at once*, begin to manufacture their own sufficiently to shut out our wools *entirely*, they would do the thing by degrees; and so truly would the prohibition operate as to leave not a fraction of cause unaccounted for in the effect.



From this general view of this part of the subject, I should now proceed to the particular case of America; but, I must postpone that till my next, in which I hope to be able to shew, not only that no tax

ought to be laid upon imported wool, but that the Corn-Bill ought to be repealed.

I am your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER V.

Intended to show, that the situation of England compared with that of America, is such, and the inducements to emigration so great, that, in order to preserve our manufactures, not only ought there to be no tax upon Wool imported, but that the Corn Bill ought to be repealed.

MY LORD.—The situation of England, compared with that of the United States of America, is such as to induce every man to emigrate to them, who professes any degree of knowledge in the making of machinery and manufactures, or, indeed, who possesses enterprize in any art or science, and who is not bound to England by ties which cannot be broken. The number of the former is very great. There are always a great many persons, who wish to better their lot; who aspire to something more than fortune has given them. And the number of these, in agriculture as well as in arts and manufactures, must be greater now than ever, seeing the general depression, which at present reigns in England, with the most gloomy prospect for the future.

Taxes, no matter by what part of the community paid, in the first instance, or in what shape collected, produce, according to their amount, a diminution of the means of living in all those who do not share in them after they are collected. The mob, both high and low, are eternally backing on the government to tax what they call *luxuries*. Just as if the taxes on wearing hair powder, on armorial bearings, and on sporting dogs, did not descend, though the hair-dressers, powder-makers, seal-cutters, dog-breakers, and game-keepers, to the bakers, butchers, chandlers' shops, taylors, shoemakers, farmers and labourers. We have an additional tax on *Bachelors*. "Oh! 'aye! tax *them* as much as you please," exclaim the ripened spinsters. But, my good ladies, do you think, that the taking away of a part of their fortunes will quicken their disposition to indulge in that greatest of all *luxuries*, a wife? Do you not see, rather, that what is taken from the bachelor produces a ramification of

privations, some of which reach even you, my dears, who so loudly applaud the tax? Such notions as this, as they have had their rise amidst a belief in hob-goblins; amidst all sorts and sizes of superstition; so they will vanish for ever, when common sense shall indignantly kick down the last jug of Holy-Water, and scatter the last manuells of stupidity and deception to the winds.

Taxes are necessary, in some shape or another, to pay for their services, those who carry on the public affairs, in which I include the business of the public defence. But, if they be carried to an enormous amount; if the book-keepers, the overlookers, &c. of a manufactory, for instance, take away so much that the working people are reduced to half allowance, the former may cut a brilliant figure, but the concern must languish and decay; and the working people will, the moment they are able, endeavour, by a change of place, to better their lot.

This is the state in which England now is, including amongst the working-people, all those who receive no share of the taxes! because they who live upon the proceeds of their private incomes suffer in the same degree, according to their wants, as the poorest labourer suffers. That which is now taken from the people in England forms so large a part of the produce of the estates and labour (including that of professional men, that every one feels the hardship to be most pressing. And, we all know besides, that this pressure is not now to be of *temporary duration*. We all know now, that the pressure is to last *for ever*, unless, which is little less appalling, the burden be shaken off by a total overthrow of the funds.

It is frequently said, with what folly or

impudence we shall soon see, that the *trade* and *navigation* of the country have kept *pace* in their increase with that of the *taxes*. The best way will be, not to show, by reasoning, the utter absurdity of this; but, at once, to go to the government's own documents, laid before parliament, and, from them, to prove its falsehood. In order to take away all pretext for saying, that I am comparing a state of peace with a state of war; that I am reckoning the heavy expences of the present, or late, years, as if they were to last for ever, I will take in no taxes, at present, but such as are to *last for ever*. That is to say, the taxes on account of the *debt*, the capital of which, as all the world now sees, never can be paid off, or diminished, without a *sponge*. Well, then :

In 1789. The taxes raised on
account of the debt } £.
amounted to } 9,600,000

In 1814. ————— to 43,000,000

Now, if the exported produce and manufactures, if the imports, and if the number of men and boys employed in the merchant service, in 1814, were nearly *five times* as great as in 1789, I should be ready to say, though I see the people sinking every where under the taxes, there is some reason to doubt even the evidence of my own senses. But, the following table, which I take from the accounts laid before parliament, and for the correctness of which table, I am answerable in the eyes of a public who have these authentic documents in their hands, will show what sort of *pace* the *trade* and *navigation* have kept with the taxes demanded by the *debt*. I have taken three periods; but with regard to the first period, I have in my possession no amount of *exports* and *imports*.

YEARS.	Taxes raised on account of the Debt.	Value of Exports of British Produce and Manufactures.	Value of Imports into Great Britain.	Number of men and boys employed in the merchant service in all parts of the British Dominions.
	£.	£.	£.	
1789	9,000,000	—	—	108,962
1800	21,000,000	39,471,208	25,641,053	143,661
1814	43,000,000	36,092,167	30,091,801	172,786

N. B. The account of *Exports* for 1800, embraced produce and manufactures of *Great Britain* only, while that for 1814, included those of *Ireland* also.—The *Imports* from *China* and the *East Indies* are not included in either year, because they are omitted in the account for 1814, in which account it is stated, that the time, allowed by law, for presenting an account of those *Imports* was not arrived.—The merchant seamen include many thousands employed in the *Transport* service.

Now, to make good the assertion, that the navigation and trade have kept *pace* with the taxes paid annually on account of the debt, from 1789 to 1814 inclusive, the number of merchant seamen in 1814 ought to have been nearly 544,810 instead of 172,786. And, to have made good the same assertion, as relating to the period from 1800 to 1814 inclusive, the *Exports* ought to have amounted, in the latter year, to rather more than £78,942,416, instead of £36,092,167 ;

and the *Imports* ought to have amounted to rather more than £31,282,106, instead of £30,091,801.

This shows how ignorant, or what cheats, those men are, who would persuade, and who do persuade, this “*MOST THINKING nation in the world*,” that the *ability* of the country keeps pace with the *demands* of the government.

Here, however, before I proceed to

compare our situation with that of America, I must observe, that a deduction ought to be made from this fearful amount on account of the *depreciation of our currency*. We pay in paper, which is now, in fact, a *legal tender*. It sometimes requires more, and sometimes less, of this paper to buy a guinea, as bullion is more or less plenty in the market. But, as the average price of a guinea of full weight is about 28s. in paper, let us take the depreciation at a *third*. Then we pay on account of the debt, in the money of 1789, only two-thirds of £13,000,000; or £32,000,000, leaving out the thousands. But this is more than 3½ times what we paid on account of debt in 1789; and, therefore, for the navigation to have *kept pace* with the taxes on account of debt, from 1789 to 1814 inclusive, there should have been in the last-mentioned year, 381,367 merchant seamen, instead of 172,786; and, if we a little mend the matter by this deduction, what a blow do we give to the *concern* on the other side? For, if we insist on a depreciation in the paper to the amount of a third, for the sake of lightening the burden of the taxes, common honesty calls upon us to *deduct a third from the value of the imports and exports*.

Thus, it does not signify much how we turn the thing about. On every side it presents a permanent increase of burden without any adequate increase of *ability to bear*: the certainty of decline thus far, of present distress, and the most gloomy prospect as to the future.

Compared with this situation of England, how stands that of America? But, before I make any observations as to what that situation *is*, it may not be amiss to remind you of what, in 1783, *you foretold she would be*. In that year, just after the conclusion of the first American war, your Lordship wrote a book, the three principal objects of which appeared to be, to keep up the spirits of His Majesty under his recent loss of dominion; to keep up the spirits of the nation by causing them to believe, that America was not at all likely to become a manufacturing and commercial country, or a naval power; but that, in order to prevent the latter, we ought to employ all the means

in our power, amongst which means was the *withholding of all protection* of American vessels FROM THE BARBARY POWERS, and the *inducing of the other great maritime powers to do the same**.

I will not attempt to characterize this last sentiment, the mind that could have given birth to which must have received appropriate punishment in seeing this same America, not asking *protection* from any of your "great maritime powers;" but sending a squadron of ships of war across the Atlantic, and chastising the Pirates, as far as regards her, into a submission to the principles of humanity.

America has *taxes* and a *debt* too. But, this is not a debt that must *necessarily last for ever*, or be wiped off with a sponge. It is a debt, at this time of £27,000,000 sterling, or 108,000,000 of dollars.

The capital of our debt (of *Great Britain*, for Ireland has her debt too, in an

* The following has been published (Aug. 19) in the London newspapers, as the list of the American Fleet, employed against the *Algerines*.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Independence.....	74	.. Com. Bainbridge
Washington.....	74	.. — Chauncey
Guerriere	44	.. — Decatur
Java.....	44	.. Capt. Perry
Macedonian	38	.. — Jones
Constellation	36	.. — Gordon
Congress	36	.. — Morris
Ontario (ship from } Holland.....)	18	.. — Elliott
Erie.....	18	.. — Kidgley
Epervier (brig)	18	.. — Downs
Fire Fly	18	.. — Rogers
Boxer.....	16	.. — Porter
Chippawa	16	.. — Reed
Saranac	16	.. — Elton
Flambeau	16	.. — Nicholson
Spark	16	.. — Gamble
Spitfire	14	.. — Dallas
Torch	14	.. — Chauncey
Lynch	14	.. — Storer

N.B. It was stated in the London Prints about three weeks ago, that our Prince Regent had made the *Dey of Algiers* a present of a *frigate*, completely fitted out with rigging, guns, &c.—It would be mortifying enough if this should have been the frigate, which Commodore Decatur is said to have captured from his Majesty of Algiers.

equal proportion), is now a thousand millions, laying aside odd hundreds of thousands, and out-standing debt. Suppose our population, even now that the foreigners are all gone away, to be 10 millions, here is a debt of £100 a soul, taking in babies, paupers, gipseys, beggars, soldiers, sailors, seapoys, prisoners in jails, and convicts on board the hulks; yea all, from those who feast on strawberries at five guineas a pint, down to the troops of ragged and squalid wretches, whose Sunday's dinner consists of rumps and burrs from the skinners, or of bullock's liver from the slaughter-house. The population of America is now, to your great surprise, eight millions; and, therefore, the capital of her debt amounts to not quite £3. 10s. a soul. Whether the skinners and tanners in that country have *now* any customers for the fragments of flesh, that have been left by the butcher, is more than I can say; but, if she adopt our system of *poor laws*, and couple with the institution a suitable proportion of *cant*; if she suffer, in any degree, however small, the quantity of relief of the distressed to be regulated by the quantity of godliness professed by the object of that relief; if she do this, or, in the most trifling degree, lean towards it, she will soon find, that a premium for misery and hypocrisy will operate, as all other premiums do, to increase the quantity of that on which it is bestowed. She, when it is too late, will find, to her sorrow, that fleshy bits of skin, and sheep's trotters, and bullock's liver, are not things to be thrown to the dogs. If her people should live to see that day; if they should live to see pauperism established by *law*, they will see all hospitality, all real charity vanish; all the paternal, and filial, and fraternal offices of life exchanged for those of the poor-house; and, instead of an erect and independent race of labourers, proud of their *rights* and *liberties*, they will see a crawling, fawning, canting herd, knowing not the meaning of such words, and, like the beasts of the field, caring for nothing but the satisfying of their hunger, without the smallest regard as to the means. If the people of America should live to see that day; if they should be so foolish as to draw over them, though by slow degrees, this blistered shirt, they will wish, that, as in the days of their bold and handy fore-

fathers, their country were a howling wilderness.

However, as yet, this greatest of all calamities has not made any very considerable progress in America, and it will be the fault of the people if it ever does. There are no common beggars, no gypsies, few soldiers by profession, at present few unproductive sailors, no seapoys, the prisoners in jails are few, none in hulks. But, be there what there may of these several descriptions of persons, the capital of the debt of America amounts to only 3½ pounds sterling a soul, while that of ours amounts to more than 100 pounds sterling a soul.

Let us now see, the *progress* of the debt in America. The latter had the misfortune to *start* with a debt; to set out in the world with a debt upon her back. It was a misfortune, and a very serious one, because it gave rise to a spirit of speculation, of adventure, of gambling, which has been productive of lasting and very mischievous effects. The debt, at the outset, or in 1790, amounted to 72 millions of dollars; and, before the last war, it was reduced to 40 millions of dollars. That war has brought it up to 108 millions of dollars, or 27 millions sterling. But, in the mean while, she has *purchased* LOUISIANA, so necessary, as we have seen, from the affair at New Orleans, to her *security*. And, she has, *some how or other*, got a pretty tolerable *navy*, which, as experience has proved, is not less necessary to that security. I am aware, that she *must* keep augmenting this navy. She will NOW see, that her *bare existence*, as an *independent* nation, depends upon her *haring*, at the end of even *five years*, a navy of at least 30 ships of the line, with a proportionate number of vessels of war of an inferior size. The notion, that it was her true *policy* to keep out of the European quarrels must, by this time, be exploded. It was wise to *wish* it; but wishes and possibilities are different things. She sees what jealousy, what envy, what hatred arising from *fore-boding fears*, she has inspired. She is not to be deceived by the fawning professions, which, for temporary convenience, deep-rooted enmity may assume. She knows that her navy is the infant Hercules, and that it must make haste and grow, or be strangled in the cradle. She knows how easily quarrels are hatched,

when people have a mind to quarrel. Knowing all this, and a great deal more that might be mentioned, she will not, in peace neglect, one moment, to be well prepared for her defence, and thereby preventing, if possible, the recurrence of war. She cannot hide her situation from the world. She cannot go on growing populous and commercial in a corner. The world sees what she will be, if she be left quiet; and therefore, she may as well begin to prepare without any attempt at disguise. And all this the American government, and the American people, know as well as I know that I am now writing. I most ardently wish, that there may never more be war between England and America; that the people of the two countries may never more be engaged in shedding each other's blood; that the rivalry may in future consist in the arts of peace and in acts of hospitality and benevolence. But, without reference to particular foreign countries, it is *certain*, that, for America to have a chance of remaining at peace, for any length of time, she must be well-armed, and, in all respects, prepared for war.

This navy will be a considerable expence; but, if it were to cost 50 *millions of dollars* in the space of *five years*, how amply would that cost be compensated by the preventing of a war with any power in Europe? Yet, even this expence, which I grant *must* be incurred to render the country *safe*, would carry the taxes to a mere trifle compared with ours, and

would, besides, be met by a more than proportionate increase of population, trade, navigation, and all the other sources, whence taxes are drawn.

How *able* America is to accomplish this grand object, and to pay the interest of her debt, and even to clear it quite off, at the same time, will appear upon comparing the increase of population and commerce with that of her debt.

My materials for doing this are not so ample as I could wish; but, I think, they are sufficient for the purpose. In 1790 the Debt of America was 72 millions of dollars; her population less than four millions; and her exports, domestic and foreign, 19 millions of dollars in amount. In 1800, her population exceeded five millions; her exports 69 millions; and her debt was 82 millions of dollars, she having in the mean while, built, fitted out, and manned, several frigates and otherships of war. In 1810, her population rose to more than seven millions, and her debt sunk down to less than 60 millions of dollars; but her exports fell off to 60 millions of dollars, owing to causes resembling war. Now her population must exceed eight millions; her debt amounts to 108 millions; but, then, she has, during the last period, *purchased Louisiana and acquired a navy of 81 ships of war*. What she will naturally be, at the end of a very few years, I must leave your Lordship to say; but what she is now, compared with what she has been, the following table will partly clearly show.

YEARS.	Population.	Amount of Exports of Domestic Produce and Manufactures.	Amount of Exports of Foreign Products and Manufactures.	Total Amount of all Exports.	Annual interest of the Public Debt.
		<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
1790	3,929,326	—	—	19,012,040	3,611,865
1800	5,303,666	—	—	69,366,000	4,100,083
1810	7,239,303	36,321,000	24,116,000	60,437,000	2,689,110
1815	8,208,021	—	—	—	5,431,930

N. B. The population of 1815 is computed. The increase from 1810 to 1815 is supposed to have been *half* as great as that from 1800 to 1810.—The cause of the falling off in the Exports from 1800 to 1810 was, the sort of *half war* that was going on at the latter period. Our *Orders in Council* had produced the Non-importation and Embargo measures, which, of course, diminished the Exports by, probably, nearly one half.

Without pretending to ascertain and to state *precisely* what the exports of the United States *now* amount to, it is very clear, that the *capacity of America to bear* has far exceeded any *increase in the demands of the government*. Her exports of domestic produce and manufactures can, at this time, hardly amount to less than 60 millions of dollars, or 15 millions of pounds sterling; so that, if we regard (as our ministers always pretend to do) the amount of exports as the criterion of the capacity to pay the interest of debt and other taxes, here is America with 15 millions of exports and an interest of debt of £1,357,982; and Great Britain with an export (including Ireland) of £36 millions, and interest of debt of £43,000,000.

But, let us put America in the *worst possible light*, in order to build upon nothing in the way of conjecture. Let us take her exports *now* to be no more than they were in the time of embargoes, orders in council, &c. Even then she has an export of domestic produce and manufactures of 9 millions of *pounds* to set against our 36 millions. Thus, even in this worst of all possible lights, she will stand, compared with England:

	Export.	Interest of Debt.
England —	£36,092,167 —	£43,000,000
America —	9,080,000 —	5,431,930

Having thus put the matter in a light not to be misunderstood, and to leave no possible ground for cavil, I venture to offer as an opinion, that *peace*, which will infallibly give new wings to American commerce and navigation, will clip the wings of English commerce and navigation. Great part of what has lately swelled out the latter, consisted of *Transports* in the pay of the nation, and did, in no wise whatever belong to *commerce*, and form no part of the means of bearing taxes. We have already seen crowds of sailors going to the Admiralty to complain of *want of employment*. They have been to the *Lord Mayor of London* on the same errand! As if *he* could create commerce! As if *he*, though a very loyal man, could find work for them, or cause bread to descend from the clouds. Is this the case in *America*? Oh, no! There *peace* makes the wharfs full of business. Every man and thing belonging to the sea is called for from twenty voices at once. It

is said, that, in order to procure the chance of employment for our native sailors, all *foreign* sailors are to be *sent home*. Those in our *Navy* may be thus disposed of; but, a law must be passed before merchants can be compelled to prefer ours before foreigners; and a law, too, precisely opposed in principle to the laws already in force; and, even in the case of the *Navy*, violating the principles of common justice, seeing that our laws make *British subjects* (as far as rights and privileges go) of all *foreign mariners* who may have been a certain time on board of English ships. “Every *foreign sea-man*, who, in time of war, serves *two years* on board a *British ship*, is *ipso facto* *NATURALISED*.” This is the *LAW*; and, therefore, if it be true, as the newspapers tell us it is, that the government is going to *send home* all the foreign seamen to make room for the employment of our own, it is going to do a deed, which I will leave your Lordship, or any body else to characterize; for I will not beggar my sentiments by doing it in the way in which alone I should *dare* to do it. But, if this deed were to be done. If it were to take its place in the list of the deeds of 1815; the consequence would be, that the seamen, thus *sent home*, would be ready to man the ships and carry on the commerce of *other countries*, who will, now that the seas will be open again, stand in need of them.

Peace, so far from *reviving* commerce, will, in all human probability, have a *contrary* effect in England. The late *wars* have been different in their effects on commerce from former wars. They swept the sea of all commerce but our own. They made all the world tributary to us. The profits of the world's commerce centered here. By the means of our loans and taxes we obtained a force sufficient to effect these purposes. But, this cannot continue in *peace*. Other nations will have each its share of commerce. Our *Navy*, withdrawn from the Ocean, will leave the nations of the world at liberty to communicate with each other. And, as every ship of ours must sail loaded with a part of our debt, other nations will be able to sail and carry goods cheaper. If we attempt to prevent this by *force*, it is war again. More loans. If we remain quiet, we sink in the general scale, and

particularly with regard to America, which must keep rising in the commercial scale.

As to Manufactures, whether the government of America will pass laws to protect their own against ours I know not. That will depend more upon its view of *political* effects on a larger scale than that of mere custom-house calculations. But, it is pretty certain, that something will be done in this way, as the President recommended it in his last message to the Congress. So that our manufactures, going loaded with their full share of our erroneous and everlasting Debt, together with freight, insurance, and shipping expences, and having to encounter a pretty heavy duty in America, must, even as things now stand, have a hard struggle to make their way to any great extent. At any rate, they will go upon a very different footing from that on which they formerly went. And yet you would lay a tax upon the *wool*, of which the principal of manufactures is made. And you applaud the tax upon *Corn*, which tax enhances the wages of the man who makes the woollen goods. Yes, such is the state of things, in which you would adopt measures to make woollens higher in price than they now are.

The inducements to migrate to America are so great, that every thing should be avoided which tends to discourage the manufacturers at home. You will say, that there are *laws* to punish those who *entice manufacturers to go out of the kingdom*, and also those who attempt to *export machines*. What *use* these laws are of your Lordship will easily guess, now that you have seen so many *machines* at work in America. In 1811, I told your Lordship that this would be the case. I was, at that time (Nov. 2, 1811) endeavouring to prevent the war; and, in answer to those who pretended to laugh at the effects of an Embargo in America, I made the following remarks, now well worthy of being called to mind.

"In the articles, upon which I have been observing, mention is made of a design on the part of the American Government to *lay an Embargo*, at which measure our writers affect to *laugh*. They say that America has tried it be-

fore, and was glad to abandon it.—They do not advert to the change that has since taken place in the situation of America; they do not perceive, that, since the year 1807, America has reared manufactories nearly equal to the supply of her own wants. Lord Sheffield, at the last *Lewis Wool Fair*, fell into the same mistake. He there told his hearers, that America must deal with us for cloth; that she could obtain it in no other country? that, if she excluded our woollens for a year or two, she must make up for it by larger importations afterwards. How deceived he was! How little did he know of what had taken place in America during the last four years! How little did he know of the immense quantity of woollens, since that time, fabricated in the American states! The present non-importation law will tend to increase the manufacturing establishments in America; manufacturers will follow the manufactories; and capital will follow too, where capital is wanted. Of the raw material America will have a superabundance, and manufacturers are soon taught.—The following paragraph from the *Times*, three days ago, will afford a specimen of what is, and long has been, going on: 'Yesterday s'enight a discovery was made at Liverpool, which is of considerable importance to our manufactories. In consequence of private information received by Mr. Miller, Superintendent of the Police, at Liverpool, that a man of the name of Hugh Wagstaff had arrived in Liverpool from Manchester, for the purpose of conveying implements used in manufactures to America; Mr. Miller found Wagstaff out, and watched his movements. He observed him go several times on board the American ship called the Mount Vernon, bound to New York. The information Mr. Miller had received stated, that the implements were in boxes; and yesterday s'enight he observed Wagstaff assisting in loading a cart with boxes, and then watched them to the water-side, and continued his observations till he saw some of the boxes put on board the Mount Vernon; the offence not being complete till the boxes were put on board. Mr. Miller then took Wagstaff into custody, and seized twenty-three

"boxes. On opening them, they proved
 "to contain *spindles, which are used in*
 "*the spinning of cotton.* The prisoner
 "was taken before James Drinkwater,
 "Esq. the Mayor, and has been committed
 "to Lancaster Castle, for trial at the en-
 "suing Assizes, under the Act of 21 Geo.
 "III. chap. 37.' Does the reader believe
 "that these spindles would have been pur-
 "chased if there had not been hands in
 "America to use them? The non-impor-
 "tation Act of America would have pre-
 "vented the landing of the spindles; but
 "the shipper knew, doubtless, before-
 "hand, that he could ship them without
 "risk, and that a relaxation of the law
 "would be obtained in his favour.—Well :
 "the spindles will not go in this instance;
 "but, is it to be believed, that preven-
 "tion will take place in all cases? And,
 "if that were possible, what then? Why
 "then the *Spindle makers would go to*
 "the place where spindles are wanted to
 "be made."

Now, my Lord, who was right and who
 wrong? I do not know what was done
 to Mr. Wagstaff; but, I know this, that
 I have shewn you 600 cotton *spindles* at
 work in one mill on the Pennepack Creek;
 and, you may see, that they are an article
 of *common sale* in that country, whither
 Mr. Wagstaff, less than four years ago,
 was shipping them. This shows how ut-
 terly impracticable is the enforcement of
 any such laws. I remember a Yorkshire
 Clothier, who very kindly called to see
 me, in Newgate, in 1810, 1811 and 1812,
 while I was imprisoned for two years for
 writing about the flogging of the English
 Local Militia Men, at the town of Ely,
 under the superintendence of German
 Troops. To this gentleman I used to for-
 get, that America would soon make her
 own cloth. He smiled, and said he supposed
 she would in *half a century*. There are
 only four years gone yet of the half-cen-
 tury. I have forgotten his name; but he
 has not forgotten mine; and, if he will
 write to me, when he comes to London
 again, I will send him up my Albany suit
 of clothes, that he may judge how long it
 will be before his half-century will expire.

Nevertheless, I suppose, that a great
 deal of woollen goods will still be exported
 to America from England, unless new ob-
 stacles are created. But, it will, perhaps,
 require but very little to turn the balance

against us. Beyond a *certain price* we
 cannot go, as it is now evident, for it is now
 proved, that America can, and does, make
 large quantities of woollen goods of all
 sorts. Let her demand diminish much
 and the manufacturers will follow. They
 will go, and they must go, where they are
 wanted; and, besides, by going thither,
 they pay off their share of our Debt; or,
 which is the same thing to them, they
 leave us, who remain, to pay the interest
 of it, *'till they come back.*

As to *working* manufacturers, they
 follow each other like the sheep of a
 flock. One goes; he writes home to
 another, that he may dine every day
 upon good meat, and once a week, at
 least, upon turkey or goose. Away goes
 another; and so on. And, the worst of
 it is, that the young, strong, unmarried
 and *enterprizing* go, leaving behind those
 who are aged, feeble, timid, or encum-
 bered with numerous families. Those
 who go will be such as have full confi-
 dence in their health and abilities; while
 those that remain will have an eye to the
 poor-house. As to mechanics and manu-
 facturers, emigration is a sieve, that lets
 through the grain and leaves the chaff
 behind.

And *how* is this great evil to be pre-
 vented? I do not know, that it is to be
 prevented at all; but, I am sure it is not
 to be prevented by laws made to *punish*
 emigration. If prevented, it must be by
 affording the manufacturers *full employ-
 ment at home*; this cannot be, unless we
 can sell cheaper than any other country;
 and, if *wool* and *food* be a great deal
 dearer here than in any other country,
 it is *impossible* that we can *long* continue
 to sell cheaper. The obvious conclusion,
 then, is, that we should do every thing in
 our power to keep down the price of the
 raw material, and of the food of the ma-
 nufacturer; and, therefore, that, not
 only ought there to be no tax laid upon
 wool, but that the Corn Bill ought to be
 repealed.

And now, my Lord, in taking my
 leave of your Lordship, suffer me to ex-
 press my hope, that, after comparing the
 undeniable facts, contained in these let-
 ters, with your prophecies of 1811 (See
 APPENDIX), you will resolve never to

prophecy again; or, at least, if you should, that the *Wool-growers* will not again keep their wool, at your recommendation, in expectation of a higher price. Lord Chichester, it appears, told these persons, assembled at Lewe, in 1811, that they were *under great obligations* to your Lordship, without whose information, they would have been *under great difficulty to form a conjecture as to the real value of their wool*. Just as if the *market* would not have taught them! By following your Lordship's advice, some of them kept up their wool, of which a conti-

nually falling price must have made them sorely repent. The old adage, that "a thing is *worth* what it will *bring*," applies to every vendible commodity, to all trades, to all countries, and to all times. The *Market* is the only criterion of value with the trader of sense: other grounds of calculation are left for the visionary and the speculator.

I am your Lordship's most obedt.
and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 18th August, 1815.

APPENDIX.

LORD SHEFFIELD'S REPORT.

Lewes, July 29, 1811

Notwithstanding the unpromising prospect of a good meeting, at our wool fair, on Friday, we never had a more respectable assemblage of the principal wool-growers and wool-staplers. Every room at the inn was filled with company, several of the staplers were from London, Yorkshire, &c. After dinner, the company from the different apartments assembled in the principal room (as many as it could contain) and Lord Sheffield made his annual report from the chair, in the following terms:

"The difficulties I experienced in forming the report on wool, and the woollen manufacture, which I had the honour of submitting to the meeting last year, are greatly increased, and I fear it will prove an arduous undertaking to present a satisfactory statement on the same subject for the present year.

"The continued extravagant conduct of the enemy, infinitely more hurtful to the countries under his protection than it is to us, has greatly deranged trade and intercourse among nations; yet the distress which has fallen on this country, did not arise merely from the efforts of the enemy; much has been done through precipitate and mischievous speculations, as well as by the dissemination of notions, tending to destroy confidence, and to prejudice the credit of the country; for notwithstanding the asserted decay of the

woollen trade in consequence of the war, I trust I shall be able to prove that the export of woollens has increased, and that the consumption at home must also be greater than ever it has been. It will be necessary to remark at some length on the enormous importation for several years past of foreign wool, which, not without reason, has occasioned a great degree of alarm among the wool-growers of the united kingdom.

"In January, 1808, the quantity of foreign wool then in England was smaller than usual; the speculators, some of whom held considerable stocks, purchased every bag as it was offered for sale during that year. Previously to those speculations, Spanish wool sold at the following prices, viz. *Leonesas*, 6s. 9d.; *Segovias*, 6s. to 6s. 6d.; and *Sorias*, 5s. to 5s. 9d.; at a credit of eight months; and in the first six months of 1809, *Leonesas* rose to 25s.; *Segovias*, 21s.; and *Sorias*, 18s. per lb.

"It is said the foreign wools had cost the merchant 10s. per lb. and that they were in the hands of a few men of large capitals.

"Very many who had engaged imprudently in the speculation, were ruined; whereas immense profits were made by those who had purchased at the low prices of 1808, and contrived to sell the whole of their stock at very high prices, and then retired from the market: since that

memorable speculation, Spanish wools have declined gradually in price, the manufacturer having no disposition to buy more than his necessities required, which being less than usual, in consequence of a very considerable suspension of the manufacture, and the importation of wool very much greater than at any former period, reduced Spanish wools to their former prices; and in January and February last, the prices were low. Speculation then recommenced. The purchases of prime qualities in the months of May and June last, have been very great, and Leonesas are now sold readily, at from 8s. to 8s. 6d.; but this advance in prime, has not much affected the inferior sorts. Fully two years consumption is said to be on hand, and the price asked for Segovias is 6s.; and for Sorias 5s. per lb.; and not much is sold even at those prices. But as the prime wools are now taken out of the market, and in the hands of those who will not sell at low prices, the manufacturer of superfine woolen cloths may resort to the next or inferior qualities, which probably will raise their price. At this time the manufacturers in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and their neighbourhoods, are in general employed, and, as it is called, at fair work, on the finest Spanish wools. The consumption of superfine cloths made of that wool, has been almost entirely by British subjects, and no considerable quantity has ever been exported to foreign countries. Superfine woolens are actually scarce, in consequence of the late suspension of the manufacture; but there can be no doubt that this manufacture will resume its former flourishing state, while Spanish wool is at its present moderate price.

“The manufacturer laid on his wares, as usual, double the amount of the rise in the price of the material. Blue cloth rose to 34s. per yard and upwards; but the extravagant price of Spanish wool, and of the cloth, checked the manufacture. There was much more parsimony in the use of it, and inferior cloths were worn. Now the blue cloths which, sold for 34s. are reduced to their former prices, viz. 24s.

“The foreign wool imported in 1810, amounted to 10,831,000 lbs. the greatest importation ever known, except that of 1807. It appears also, that 1,727,000 lbs.

of foreign wool has been imported into England in the quarter ending 5th April last, but that quarter falls very far short of the same quarter last year, which was 4,630,416 lb. Prime English sorted wool previously to the speculation, was generally estimated at half the price of the finest Spanish wool, that is, when the latter was selling at 6s. 9d. per lb. the English wool was worth 3s. 4d. but in consequence of the late speculations, it sold at 6s. Since the great failures among the Wool Staplers, comparatively little was sold till lately, when considerable quantities have been disposed of, at prices however much reduced and lower than they have been during many years; prime South Down in the fleece at from 2s. to 2s. 3d. per lb. The principal growers of English wool, not having sold the growth of last year, there must be a large quantity on hand; there is very little, however, in the hands of the manufacturers, who seldom keep any large stock.

“The Staplers of English wool, although many of them are very wealthy, few have money unemployed, their capital is not at command, it is partly locked up in the estates of those who have suspended payment or become bankrupts, consequently they have not the means of increasing their stock, and the lack of money obliges many of them to sacrifice the stock they have. Nothing has tended more to cripple and distress this description of persons, as well as many others, than the general withdrawing of discounts by all Banks, the result of the publication of the Bullion Committee Report, and the gloom which has operated upon commercial men, has induced them to purchase much more sparingly than formerly.

“As to the state of the woolen trade in Yorkshire, I learn that the stock of unsold goods on hand in the last month, was much greater than usual, that the best sorted English wool, which was lately sold at 5s. 5d. per lb. now sells at 3s. 4d. 6l. and 8d. all the lower sorts are fallen in that district, but as their advance was less, their fall has been comparatively not so great. The best Spanish wool, which was once at 15s. and upwards, is now at 7s. But Spanish is by no means a principal part of the wools worked up in Yorkshire.—We are apt to dwell too much on our export trade to foreign countries; the home market, or the supply of the British Empire, infinitely exceeds the foreign demand, and undoubtedly has greatly increased. Exclusive of

the consumption arising from an increased population, the circumstance of our having nearly 600,000 men in our armies and fleets, who formerly required comparatively a small part of the woollens now used, for those fleets and armies, must greatly increase the demand for woollens. We have no method of estimating the real amount of the home consumption, but we know it is immense; we therefore are not very essentially dependant upon foreign countries for the consumption of our woollen manufactures, and a very great proportion of what appears under the head of exports, is for different parts of the British Empire.

The official value of woollen manufactures exported last year, viz. 5,773 £14s. exceeds in value the exports of the year 1809, by 350,000l. and those of that year considerably exceeded the exports of the preceding year.—The average exports of the last 40 years, which includes the most flourishing period of our trade, is 4,662,523l. considerably more than 1,000,000l. below the exports of last year; but these, it should be observed, are the official, not the real value. They, however, answer the purpose of comparison. The estimated real value would probably amount to nearly double. I learn also there is no diminution of the exports of woollen manufacture in the first quarter of this year. The exports of cloth to America in the early part of the present year, were very great, probably in the anticipation of the American prohibition being again enforced; but cautious dealers detained their goods which were not ready in time to reach America before the 2d of February, and have them on hand, whilst those who ventured to ship in our ports till the 1st of February, succeeded in having them received.

“ The East and West India demands for woollens are the same as usual, but very little business is doing with Germany, Holland, and the North of Europe. It should be observed, that France at no time took a considerable part of our woollen exports. The average importation of wool in 19 years, ending 1715, was only 869,727lbs. and even at that time we considered woollens as our principal and most valuable manufacture. The average importation of eight years, ending 1789 (the commencement of the French Revolution), was 2,660,898lbs. The average of eight years, ending 1799, was 4,020,000lbs. and the average of eight years, ending 1810 inclusive, was 7,722,929lbs. This immense increase since 1789, must of course greatly clash with the essential interests of the landed property of the United Kingdom; and although the prime foreign wools, viz. Leonesas,

even at 6s. 9d. can hardly interfere with English fine wools at from 2s. to 3s. yet as a great proportion are the lower wools from Spain and Portugal, which, in consequence of the great failures, have often sold of late for less than the freight and insurance, they not only interfere with the first crosses of the Merino with the British ewes, but also with the prime cloathing wools of English breeds, such as the Hereford and South Down; and the knowledge of the very extraordinary quantity imported, and of the stock of wool in the hands of the growers, has prejudiced so much the sale, that the growers seem entirely at the mercy of the buyers; and the latter are not averse to take advantage of those circumstances, which will tend to keep down the value of wool.

“ As it is now demonstrated that we can raise in these islands wool as fine and as well adapted to our purposes as those that are imported, it is a highly unprincipled policy to continue an importation which costs us some millions sterling yearly. And at this time, when we are necessarily so greedy of revenue, a duty of 1s. per pound on foreign wools would be supported by good principles, and would have produced last year 546,550l. One shilling per pound would check the importation of inferior foreign wools, which principally interfered with the English fine wools, but would not prevent the introduction of the prime Spanish sorts, such as we used to import. The tax would scarcely be felt by those who speculate in that article, and in consequence of the competition, the manufactures would pay little more than he otherwise would do: and as a very small proportion of our manufacture of Spanish wool goes to foreign countries, there can be no objection to the duty on the ground of hurting our export trade. It is a sufficient sacrifice of the landed to the manufacturing interest, to prohibit the exportation of any kind of produce such as wool; but the admission of all wools without paying any duty, to the great discouragement of the growth of wools in these kingdoms, is a sacrifice of essential interests, not to be supported on any principle of justice or policy. The patriotic introduction of Spanish sheep, by his Majesty, and by several spirited individuals, has succeeded more rapidly than the most sanguine has expected, and there is every reason to believe, that the Merino wool of British growth, such as his Majesty, Mr. Tollett, and other gentlemen, have raised, if it were washed and sorted in the Spanish mode, might go to market in competition with the average of the Leonesas or best wools, and the heavy expences of importing wools be saved.

But these exertions must soon decline, if the wool of every part of the world is to be admitted duty free, the wool grower will be obliged to relinquish his present endeavours to improve the quality of his wool, as he finds he cannot have an adequate price, and of course he will aim at an increased quantity, instead of an improved quality; and thus we shall relapse into our former slovenly inattention to the character of our wool.—But to return to the *causes of the dullness of the wool-market*, it may be imputed not only to the overstock of foreign wool, but to the *general distrust so diligently promoted*, to mischievous speculations, and the difficulty in having bills discounted; these have produced many bankruptcies. The *scarcity of gold* is most erroneously attributed to particular operations of the enemy, to the war, and sometimes to the conduct, highly inflated, of the American States; but it may in great part be imputed to *our own bad policy, the neglect of encouraging tillage*, the suffering it to labour under great expences, permitting the grain of countries *comparatively untaxed and untithed*, to enter our ports, when the *price of grain is too low to pay the farmer his expences*. These prevent the growth of a sufficiency of grain, and have entirely put an end to our former export trade in that article, which sixty years ago was very great. It was the *deficiency of grain in 1796*, far more than foreign subsidies, that drew from this country its gold, and brought on the *bank restrictions in 1797*; and from that time to this we have imported on an average yearly to the amount of 7,000,000*l.* sterling; which, added to the large sum we pay for foreign wool, accounts for upwards of 10,000,000*l.* sterling, unnecessarily sent yearly out of this country. In addition to this we have perhaps too largely run into the measure of importing prodigious quantities of articles more than we can re-export, they remain warehoused here, free indeed from duties, but they must be, and are paid for by us, and bills on this country are thus increased. These and the necessary supplies of our army and fleet, sufficiently account for the unfavourable state of exchange. The restoration of confidence is principally necessary to maintain a reasonable degree of commerce; but we are liable to *such mischievous suggestions*, that the *rental of England*, and its produce and manufactures, are dependant on, and must vary with the *price of bullion on the Continent*, and on foreign circumstances, a doctrine which can *only tend to distress his Majesty's Government*, and through it to occasion *great confusion and mischief to the country*. Too many of us are apt to be misled by insinuations, though *superficial and scarcely plausible*, and often mis-

chievously intended. It is a false notion that this country, till lately, depended on the precious metals for its circulating medium. Our trade would have been much more limited, if we had not had in aid a great paper currency; and if our coin had not found its way to the continent, I do not know how we should have been able to pay for the immense quantities of grain, wool, and other articles we have imported, and also the freight, and how we could have supplied our armies abroad. The rate of exchange is not affected by the issue of Bank of England paper; and I have little hesitation in saying, that *the depreciation of that paper will not take place as long as the immense revenue of this country is received in Bank of England paper at the Exchequer, and the deeming it a legal tender, secured a natural consequence of the restriction*.

“ I fear some of these details will appear superfluous, but they are necessary to justify and explain some conclusions that I mean to draw from them.

“ That the demand for woollens for the home market is not diminished, but probably much increased, and that the export of them is much increased also.

“ That comparatively, with the whole amount of the manufacture, the demand for foreign countries with which we are now at war, was not considerable.

“ That it is not the decay of the manufacture, or the want of demand for it, but difficulties respecting money and the great stock of wool in hand, that occasion the debasement in price.

“ That speculations in foreign wools, and the extravagant variations of price, have deranged the trade and manufacture of that article; but those wools being now reduced to their former price, and the manufacture of them being principally for the home-market, there is little doubt of its being restored to its former state.

“ That the staplers of English fine wool, are greatly distressed by the distrust arising from erroneous notions, and by the difficulties of obtaining discounts.

“ That the sale of fine English wools is greatly prejudiced by an immense importation of Spanish wool, and by the distressed state of the staplers.

“ That the scarcity of gold is not to be attributed merely to the war, to the particular conduct of the enemy, nor to the hostile and unfriendly conduct of the American States, but in a great degree to bad policy in our interior management.

“ That through the want of a due encouragement of agriculture and the cultivation of waste lands, this country has paid, during the last 15

years, considerably more than 10,000,000*l.* sterling yearly, for grain and wool, which might have been raised in the United Kingdom.

"That the great import of grain in 1796, occasioned a drain of gold, much more than foreign subsidies, and in a great degree brought on the Bank restriction in 1797, and that the value of grain imported in the years 1800 and 1801, amounted to 19,000,000*l.* sterling.

"That large quantities of gold coin are not necessary to commerce, as appears from the example, particularly of Holland and Scotland, which countries had a very small quantity of coin in their most flourishing state.

"That the restoration of confidence is more wanted than any other circumstance to promote the woollen manufacture.

"The want of opportunity for enquiry and information, often renders us liable to admit fallacious opinions and suggestions. If the positions I have stated for your consideration, should assist you in the investigation of a subject so very interesting to the country, it will afford me great satisfaction. My wish is, that we may not be led away by incorrect notions of the causes of the difficulties that have occurred. If we see distinctly how they arise, it will prove less difficult to obviate them.

"I now come to the most disagreeable part of my report; the statement of the low prices lately given for fine English wools.

"Hereford fair, the first of this month, was very ill attended, and the several sorts of wool were sold at prices very considerably reduced; the finest wools sold from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 4½*d.* which is nearly one-third less than the price of last year, but very little was sold. There was no demand for the inferior wools; sufficient business was not done to enable the price to be stated, but every thing sold very ill at that fair.

"At Ross fair, on the 20th instant, best ryeland wools sold at 2*s.* 4½*d.* to 2*s.* 6½*d.* which is considered very low, and not much business was done; and at Coleford fair, remarkable for fine wool, the prices from last year, were greatly reduced, and some was sold as low as 2*s.* 1*d.* per lb.

"Shropshire wools are selling from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* in the fleece; these are not much more than half the price they sold for during the speculation.

"In the neighbourhood of Bristol, in the beginning of this month, South Down sold for 2*s.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* Dorset, Devon, &c. 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* long wool 9*d.* and little was disposed of. These very low and discouraging prices of course prevented the owners of the wool from selling; but

Spanish wools are the great article for sale in that district, and its price has already been stated: some English Merino wool, washed, sold at Bristol at the very low price of 4*s.*

"At Dorchester fair, in Oxfordshire, South Down wool, certainly of an indifferent quality, sold for 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. the same as sold last year for 2*s.* 5*d.* The wools of Wilts and Berks, from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 1*d.*; one lot of coarse Leicester and Gloucester cross at 11½*d.* and some Spanish lamb's wool for 4*s.* but almost the whole of the wool offered for sale, notwithstanding the depreciation in price, was sold. The farmers being aware of the utility of the fair, are determined to support it.

"At Thetford fair there was a very large attendance, and it was evident that the Wool buyers were disposed to purchase at 2*s.* 1*d.* Some was sold at that price; but little business was done in the dinner-room.

"In Suffolk only 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. is talked of for Norfolk and South Down wools; but it is only little farmers that have sold any. The great farmers consider the price unsettled, and the demand so trifling, that they do not sell at all.

"In parts of Staffordshire, where wool is grown about the quality of untrinded Herefordshire, and full as good as the South Down, some has been sold at 2*s.* and 2*s.* 1*d.* about a third less than last year.

"I learn that the great sale for wool in Ireland was not to take place till the 23*d.* of which we could not yet have any account; but it is expected there will be a ready demand and good prices, at least for the best lots. The prices of the common cloathing wools of an inferior quality have been from 1*s.* 7*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per lb. and from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.* for wools of the first cross between Wicklow and South Down: so much have the native breed been improved by crossing with South Down Rams.

"I have confined myself, principally, to the fine cloathing wools, but as to the low-priced English wools, I understand they have been bought up in many parts of the country as freely as usual.

"With a view of obtaining the best information in my power, I have engaged in a very extensive correspondence, and I have collected a great number of the best documents that could be acquired; I have not made use of any information but that on which I was satisfied I might depend, and the authorities are as respectable as any possibly can be. I have examined with great care all the details, and I have made a selection of what appeared consistent and what I conceived might be useful both to the buyer and the seller.

The information I have received, shews that so little business has been done, that no fixed price can be stated. In many parts, the dealers had not come into the country as usual, but the price is certainly rising, and considerably; and it is a general opinion that it must and will speedily rise higher, and that credit is in a considerable degree re-established. There is an expectation that some ports which are now shut, will be open to us, and that when the check which has taken place in consequence of the late derangement is at an end, the wool will be required at its former prices. It is known that, until very lately, no wool was sold except by the necessitous, that the Wool Staplers have supplied the manufacturers from their old stores, which must now be much exhausted; that the manufacturer draws his supplies monthly, and sometimes weekly, and seldom has any large stock in hand; and it is well known that the embarrassment of the Staplers is greatly increased by the difficulty of obtaining discounts; that under these circumstances, the growers of fine wools, in all the principal districts, had no expectation of a sale at present, the price being inadequate to its value, that they concluded on keeping it, perhaps, till the two years' stock supposed to be in hand, is exhausted. The fair of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, where inferior wools were sold, is the only exception that has come to my knowledge.

"It is the opinion of many, that there is no more wool now in the hands of the growers than there used to be in those of the Staplers; but I conceive it probable, that the late good prices for fine wools may have increased the growth of them considerably; and that if the Legislature should not give the country that protection to which it is entitled, by adequate duties on the import of foreign wools, it is certain that such immense importations must utterly put an end to the growth of fine wools in the United Kingdom.

"As to the price that should be accepted for our wool, it is very difficult to give an opinion. I have stated all the facts that appeared to me worth the attention of the meeting, and notwithstanding the home consumption and the exports are both increased, perhaps in consideration of the state of the trade, and the market being overstocked with Spanish wools of all kinds, it may be advisable to take from 2s. to 2s. 4d. per lb. for the best South Down; and this reduction I am sure is full as much as the times require."

The meeting appeared very much satisfied with the Report. Lord Chichester proposed the health of Lord Sheffield, and the thanks of the company for the useful information, and comprehensive view he had given of the whole subject, observing, that without the advantage of the information Lord Sheffield had yearly communicated to the meeting, they should have been under great difficulty to form a conjecture of the real value of their wool, and of the state of the trade. The wool buyers acknowledged the fairness and correctness of the statement; they said they had suffered so much, that the trade could not afford even the reduced prices proposed by his Lordship, and they alluded to the *Non-Importation Law of the American States*. Lord Sheffield insisted that the home consumption, and the export trade, being both increased, there was no ground for a reduction of the price given of late years for the South Down wool, except that of the market being overstocked with foreign wools. That the reduction he proposed was from 10d. to 1s. per lb. nearly a third; and that previously to the late speculation, the best had sold at 3s. 3½d. per lb. that the manufacture had been raised upwards of a third per yard, but that the average between the low and the high prices did not justify a rise of more than 1s. 8d. per yard; that he was satisfied that if a non-intercourse with the American States should continue, for a time, through a partiality for France, on the wrong-headedness of a party in the American States, it will not be general. The people of that country will not go naked through their affection to the French, or enmity to this country; and whatever they can pay for will find its way to them, and if they do not take any thing from us this, they will another year, and thus, on an average, it has always been found, they have taken nearly the same quantity. It does not appear that they can get cloathing from any other country at present, nor will it be possible for them, for a long time, to manufacture sufficiently for themselves; and this is most certain, that they cannot get payment for their produce or merchandise but through this country, and that the United Kingdom can get every article of the American States' produce or merchandize, full as good and cheap from other countries. Lord Sheffield added, that at all events it would be advisable to keep the wool if they could not get 2s. 3d. for the best lots.

NOTICE.

In consequence of the additional tax of a halfpenny, imposed by government, on newspapers, the Register will in future be sold at 1s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Numerous complaints having been made of irregularity in the delivery of the Register, the readers are informed, that this may be obviated by applying, (*letters post paid*) to the publisher. Those gentlemen who have not received the *Five Letters to Lord Sheffield*, published last week, may still be supplied, on giving orders to their newsmen.

The Indexes, Titles and Tables, for Volumes 25, 26, and 27, will be completed and ready for delivery to Newsmen and others, on Saturday, the 9th of September. In future, the Title and Index will form part of the Number which shall close every quarter of a year; so that the readers will all be regularly supplied with them, without any inconvenience, or any additional expence or trouble.—The Tables of Prices of Bread, Wheat, and Meat, to which will now be added that of Wool; and of the English and French Funds, together with the number of Bankrupts, will now be given weekly, instead of at the end of each volume. It may be convenient for some gentlemen, for temporary purposes, to possess these weekly, without the necessity of applying to other sources of information; but, the great object of them is to enable those who enter into subjects of political economy, that is to say, the matters most interesting to mankind, to refer, at any moment, to data so important to all discussions relative to the situation and prospect of this country.

There is intended to be a Supplement to each Volume, to contain such facts and observations, as may be suppressed, in the course of the Weekly Numbers, for fear of offending the modesty, and thereby exciting the anger, of the parties concerned. In what way this Supplement will make its appearance will hereafter be explained.

AMERICAN HOAX.

In the "DAILY COURIER," published at Petersburg, in Virginia, on the 10th of July last, and which some friend in England has had the goodness to forward to me, I find the following curious article.

"COBBETT.

"Cobbett is silenced:—We are sorry for it; his price was 1500*l.* per ann.—it was given him, and he writes no more. This we have from passengers who lately arrived from London. This new instance of a corrupt heart will make the friends of England chuckle; they ought not; it is not only a proof of Cobbett's venality, but also of the corrupt means used by the Government of Great Britain to procure the silence of its adversaries. The great Burke was purchased. Why then feel surprised at Cobbett's tergiversation; both were worth buying, both told unwelcome truths in a style of irresistible language.—We repeat that we are sorry for it. Independent of the facts he descanted upon, his language was fascinating: Americans, therefore, have lost much newspaper amusement. If the truths disclosed by Cobbett had not galled the ministry, the ministry would have suffered Cobbett to sink into oblivion."

How delighted must this gentleman have been in a few days afterwards (for it could hardly be longer) when he found that these passengers had deceived him; and that, in short, he had been hoaxed!—For myself and my conduct I have nothing to say here, except that this gentleman's compliments as to my talents are too high; but, there are two passages, in the article, which call for a short remark. "The great Burke" was not purchased by the "Heaven-born Minister," who only gave him a pension of 3,000*l.* a year, with a reversion of 1,500*l.* a year to his wife for her life. That was all.—The reader will perceive that the Editor of the Petersburg Courier supposes, that the "friends of

England will chuckle" at my having been silenced; and he will wonder why *they* should, seeing that I am, in proportion to my ability, labouring more for England than any other man living. But, he must observe, that a "*friend of England*" in America means something very different indeed from what the same words mean here. Here, they mean a man attached to the honour and interest of England; holding in abhorrence bribery, corruption, oppression and fraud; a man, who is so anxious about nothing as the real liberty and happiness of the people of England. In America, they mean a man who is the eulogist of bribery and corruption; who justifies the selling and buying of seats; who, being an Aristocrat in heart, would calmly see the people in all countries moulded into mere beasts of burden; and who is now burning with rage to see that America has come out of her late struggle with real glory, and that, while she is pushing forward in the path of greatness and prosperity, she has retained her cheap Republican Government. It is monstrous to think, that there should be men of this latter description, even amongst the native Americans; but, that there are such men, though few in number, is undoubtedly true. These are "*the friends of England*," of whom the Petersburg editor speaks; and that such men should have been supposed to be pleased at my being silenced, is certainly what I have no reason to complain of.—However, I must say, that the Petersburg editor was a little too hasty in his publication. He should have known the "*passengers*," and have obtained something like *evidence* of such a fact. If these passengers arrived early in *July*, they might have carried out Registers of the *middle of May*; and, could they carry out one, *any one*, which did not contain evidence of the falsehood of their tale? The proceeding, therefore, of this gentleman was not strictly just. The penalty I impose on him shall, nevertheless, not be very heavy. He has certainly done me wrong, and the satisfaction I demand is, that he send me, by the earliest opportunity, to the office of the Register, in London, about 100 grains of tobacco seed, and about 50 seeds from a fine water-melon

WM. CORBETT.

No. II. THE ALARM,

or,
Excitements to a new War with America.
—Addressed to the Manufacturers of
Great Britain and Ireland.

I have, I think, in my Letters to Lord Sheffield, clearly proved, that manufactures, in all branches, have been established in the United States; that machinery of all sorts is in motion; that the raw material is possessed in abundance; and that, as the effect, immense quantities of goods have been made and are making in that country. This wonderful change in the commercial affairs of the world I have proved to have been produced by our Orders in Council, Impressments of American Seamen, and by the late war. Still there is room for English goods in America. For many years, if peace continue between the two countries, English goods may be sent to America in great quantities. The population goes on increasing there at a rapid rate. Supposing the manufactures in America to hold their own, still there will be a demand for English goods. But, only let us have another war with that country of a few years duration, and we may bid adieu to that market for ever. Yet are there several writers in England, who are labouring hard to produce a new war with America.

The COURIER newspaper, which is one of the principal vehicles of these efforts, has the following paragraph upon the subject of American Manufactures. "We are glad to learn that cotton goods continue in great demand. Manchester was never known to do more business than it has done for some weeks past. The Americans have assisted greatly in clearing the market; and we may hence be satisfied that the stories of the progress of the cotton trade in the United States are not authentic."

The Editor, or, rather, the authors, the real authors, of this paragraph, had seen the Notice of my intended letters to Lord Sheffield, proving, not asserting, that the cotton and other manufactures were making great progress in the United States, under a cheap, republican government, and amidst a people, the labouring part of whom eat butchers' meat every day once

at least, and, in general, if they choose it, *poultry* once a week, or oftener. This paragraph therefore was intended to check my letters in their effect, by causing the public to believe, that my "*stories*" were "*not authentic.*" How, then, must this writer have been surprised, when he found, that it was not "*stories*" that I had to relate, but that I had *evidence* to produce as good, aye, and a great deal *better evidence*, than ever was or ever can be, produced in a Court of Justice. The lives of men are taken away at the gallows upon evidence not nearly so good as that which I have produced to Lord Sheffield of the wonderful increase of American Manufactures. It is a subject which admits of no controversy; for I have left no room for it. The man, who attempts to controvert, must begin by swearing that truth shall be, in future, considered as falsehood.

But, this paragraph of the Courier has another object; namely, that of preparing the nation for another war; as if it had said to you, the Manufacturers, "be not afraid of another war with America; for, you see, she cannot make goods for herself." This was what Lord Sheffield said in 1811. See his report, page 288 of this Volume of the Register. But, I have *proved* that she can make goods for herself; and, therefore, it behoves you to consider, betimes, how you will be affected by another war, to which these men are exciting the nation, as I shall presently shew you.

The TIMES newspaper, of the 23d of August, 1815, after expressing its *regret*, that the most distinguished of the republicans of France had not been *put to death*, concludes thus:—"Why are these *scoundrels* tolerated in *civilized* countries? If they must be sent out of France, instead of being hanged there, as the law would have them to be, why not consign them to the paternal care of Mr. PRESIDENT MADISON? *Birds of a feather should flock together.* By the bye, an *infamous libel* on this country has lately been published in America, and Mr. MADISON's friends gave him the honour of its composition. It was probably committed to the press as soon as he *heard of Bonaparte's having reached the Thuilleries*; but it will serve to shew the sentiments of its author, and to mark him out for our *avoidance*.

The word "*avoidance*" was used merely because *hostility* would have let the writer's motive peep out a little too soon. But, here is the President of the United States, with whom we are at peace, called a "*scoundrel*" in an English public print, issued in the metropolis of the kingdom, while the minister of that country is resident here, and is negotiating, as it is said, a treaty of commerce with America. He is directly put upon a level with men, who, as this writer asserts, are "*scoundrels* that deserve to be hanged." And yet these same writers have the impudence, and that, too, in the very same paragraph, to complain of "*an infamous libel*," published in America, against *whom*? Why, against "*this country*."

This "*libel*," as they call it, is a publication, which appeared, in America, in March last, bearing date the 10th of February. It is entitled "*An exposition of the causes and character of the late war with Great Britain.*" It traces the war to its causes; it describes the conduct of the two parties during the war; and, from first to last, it appeals to official documents for the truth of its assertions. So far from being an "*infamous libel*," it contains not one single rude expression. The style of it is dignified, the language all mildness and moderation. To be sure, it does contain great numbers of most shocking facts; but, so far from its being an attack "*on this country*," it invariably avoids every thing disrespectful to the people of every part of the kingdom. As to its being "*committed to the press as soon as Mr. MADISON heard of Bonaparte's having reached the Thuilleries*," this must be a wilful falsehood; for this writer knows, that it was published in America in MARCH, and he also knows, that the news of Napoleon's having landed at Cannes did not reach London till the middle of that same month of March; and that the news of his having arrived at the Thuilleries did not reach America till the beginning of May.

THIS EXPOSITION is a publication of great importance. It is not only the most interesting publication that I ever read, but it contains the most useful matter. It has not left the work of *history* to the time when it can be of *no use*. It has done the thing at once, and, without any account of *battles*, which some one else may give, it has put the causes

and conduct of the war upon safe record, and has placed this record in the hands of every man, woman, and child in America, who now, at this moment, know for a certainty what a glum, gloating despotism would have kept from their knowledge, leaving their posterity to guess at it amidst the contradictory assertions of party or venal scribes.

Such a publication, if it bear hard upon our country, or its government, should be *answered*; not *abused*. This hero of the TIMES newspaper, who is a perfect fire-eater of the quill, should assail it from his magazine of *facts and arguments*. To call Mr. President Madison a *scoundrel* that deserves *be hanged*, is no answer to such a publication. The "EXPOSITION" is now republished in England. I have a copy of the pamphlet before me. "And why do 'not you answer it?' Some one may say, I wish, with all my heart, my ability were equal to the task. But, I have before, and I now again, offer to any one, who will answer it, the columns of the Register, through which to convey such answer, as I once offered them to the Botley Parson, as a vehicle for an answer, if he chose to write one, to Paine's Age of Reason. Strange to tell, the Botley Parson *abused me* for this offer, though he agreed with the Attorney General, that the work was calculated to produce the eternal damnation of the souls of those who read it, and though it was notorious that a large edition or two of the work had been sold, and, of course, read. I hope, that I shall not meet with like treatment on the present occasion. There are, as I said before, all the Ministers, all the Privy Councillors, about a thousand Noblemen and 'Gentlemen' of the two Houses of Parliament, about fifteen thousand Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and other Clergymen of the Established Church, about twelve thousand officers of the Army, about ten thousand officers of the Navy, besides a civil list that costs better than a million sterling a year, and all the innumerable secretaries, commissioners, clerks, sinecure-placemen and pensioners. It is hard indeed if not one is to be found amongst all these, to say nothing of the writers by *trade*, to give an answer to this five-shilling pamphlet, which does not contain so many *letters* as there are persons of the above descriptions at this hour in England. And the bar, too! I

had forgotten the bar and all its "learned friends" and silk gowns and many-tailed wigs. And the Universities, those hotbeds of eloquence and argument. Can they not suspend, for two minutes, the making of nonsense-verses? Will none of them *answer* this pamphlet? And, old "*War in Disguise*!" Where is he now? Well, all that I can say is, that, if this pamphlet be not answered, and that quickly too, John Bull will have good reason to complain.

I presume, that it will not now be pretended, that America is too *insignificant* to be worthy of such notice. There was a time, when it was in fashion to speak of her as being of no consequence at all in the world, and as not being in a state to be spoken of as a *nation*. I never shall forget the cool insolence of the MORNING CHRONICLE, just after the return from America of Mr. JEFFERY, the conductor of the Edinburgh Review, who went to that country, for a short time, previous to the late war. The paragraph of the CHRONICLE, to which I allude, stated, that Mr. JEFFERY, during the time that he was in America, "being dining in company with the President, was asked by the latter, what were the sentiments of the people in Great Britain as to the dispute and the probable war with America; our celebrated critic, putting his fingers to his forehead, as if endeavouring to recollect, answered, at the end of a minute or two, 'I think I do remember hearing some person at Liverpool mention the name of America.' I will not be answerable for the very words; but, as to the *substance*. I pledge myself; and, let the paragraph, which the editor must have, though I have it not, be republished, if I have misrepresented its meaning. It struck me at the time as an instance of the most consummate folly as well as the most consummate insolence. I do not believe that the conversation ever took place; and, I would fain hope, that the publication of the paragraph was unauthorised by Mr. JEFFERY. But, why did he not justify himself against what implied in him such a want of sense and of knowledge, and, indeed, such a barefaced disregard of truth? At any rate, "our celebrated critic" will not need to put his fingers to his forehead; he will not need his considering-cap, to enable him *now* to recollect, whether he has heard any one speak-



ing about the dispute or war with America. The affairs of Chipawa, Fort Erie, Plattsburg, Point Mobile, and New Orleans; the defeat and total capture of two British squadrons; the defeat of so many single British frigates and smaller vessels of war, will teach him, as well as others, in future, to speak of America in a different tone; and, surely, *he*, at any rate, will *review*, if he do not answer, the *Exposition*. But, upon this occasion, he must not suppose that the public will be contented with his merely taking the title of the performance, and then running off into a rambling essay, coming to no point, and leaving the reader where he found him. The public will here expect a fair analysis; and, where opinions are expressed, they will require something to justify those opinions.

To call this publication a *libel* is not to give it an answer; it is not to show any zeal in the cause of truth; it is what every knave does, when exposed by the press. According to such people, every one who exposes them is a *libeller*. Either the facts alledged in this publication are false, or they are true. They have been promulgated in another country. If false, it was proper that they should be made known in England, that we might have an opportunity of refuting them: if true, it was equally proper, that we might know what had been the real cause, and the manner of conducting, the war. Yet, necessary as it was that this paper should be republished in England, and though it had long been in the hands of many newspaper proprietors here, my belief is, that it *never* would have been republished in England, had it not been for me, who called the public attention to it in such urgent terms, that, at last, a bookseller was induced to hunt it out and put it to the press. What a shame is this for the press of England! What a disgrace! Had a similar paper been published here, it would have been read by every man in the United States within seven weeks of the day of the original publication. Thus are the people of England kept in a state of ignorance as to those matters, with which, more than any other, they ought to be made acquainted.

Before I quit this part of my subject, I think it may be useful for me to point out the way in which any one, who wishes it, may regularly obtain a knowledge of po-

litical occurrences in the United States. At Baltimore there is a weekly publication, entitled "*NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER*," the price of which, in America, is five dollars a year. The form of this work is *large octavo*. It is printed to be bound up in *volumes*, and it appears to me, that it would be worth any London bookseller's while to import a number of copies of this work, either in *numbers*, or in *volumes*. At any rate, I venture to recommend it as an extremely well-conducted and useful publication, and better calculated than any that I know of to afford any person in England a competent knowledge of American politics. Loose daily papers, however well conducted, are not calculated for *durable* utility.

To return, now, to the efforts of these writers to kindle the flames of a new war with America, I shall take an article from the *MORNING POST* of the 24th August, which print, next to the *Times* and the *Courier*, may be looked upon as the mouth-piece of those who would utterly ruin us for the sake of injuring America. The article, which I am about to quote discovers all the feelings and views of this vindictive description of persons, who would see all the manufacturers in England starved rather than give up the hope of making the people of America slaves.—
 "The anxious attention which the events
 "passing in Europe have for some weeks
 "commanded, may be said to have made
 "the people of England act as if it were
 "impossible for any thing of interest or
 "of importance to us, to occur in another
 "quarter of the world. But for the vast
 "magnitude of those changes which have
 "occurred in the immediate vicinity of
 "this country, our most serious consi-
 "deration would have been attracted by
 "what has occurred on the other side of
 "the Atlantic. Under other circumstances,
 "we should have seen with uneasiness and
 "sorrow (*ALARM is out of the ques-*
 "tion), the unfriendly, or rather the de-
 "cidedly hostile feeling towards this
 "country, which is still cherished by a
 "large party in the United States of Ame-
 "rica. The same indefatigable spirit of
 "mischief which provoked and sustained
 "the late war, has been, *within these few*
 "months, as much on the alert as ever
 "to propagate the vilest calumnies against
 "the conduct and intentions of Great Bri-
 "tain. Our readers must remember that

“this country was placed *by the intrigues of a party* in the United PROVINCES, in a state of war with them, at a time when it was supposed the resources of England were so far exhausted by fighting the battles of Europe, that it was impossible for her successfully to sustain a new war. On the first conquest of France, and the conclusion of a general peace in Europe, the American Government found it impossible to continue the contest with a hope of gaining any advantages, much less such as were absolutely necessary to console the people for the sacrifices to which they were compelled to submit. Under these circumstances it was thought expedient to *abandon all the ridiculous pretensions which they had formerly advanced*, and every object for which the war had been commenced was at once given up. It was hoped, and with some reason, that the experience of both nations would have created a mutual indisposition to a state of hostility, and this effect has certainly been produced on every honest heart and rational head on either side of the water. But, unhappily, those who stirred up the late contest, *chagrined at the termination to which they had been compelled, as they thought, to bring it*, seized the first opportunity that offered to attempt reviving the differences which had been adjusted at Ghent. No sooner had the news of the 20th of March reached the American Continent, than it was supposed, the same triumph which attended the progress of Bonaparte to Paris, would still be his, in his operations against the rest of Europe. Invested with the supreme power in France, they thought he might claim the empire of Charlemagne as his own, and England, engaged in a new struggle for the balance of power in Europe, would afford her foe, in another quarter of the globe, an opportunity of gratifying that hate which they failed to satisfy before. Believing Napoleon re-seated on the throne, to be restored to all his former power, they prepared again to enlist among the effectives in the pay of “the Child and Champion of Jacobinism;” and every calumny that malice could invent, and brainless credulity report to the prejudice of England, was welcomed with rapture. Already the Government were

“admonished not to let the list of their grievances increase, but (to use the elegant phraseology of the original) “to settle the score without delay.” In other words, to recur to hostilities, now that Great Britain had again got her hands full, as it was likely she would not soon again be at leisure to direct all her energies against an American enemy. They thought a moment not less favourable than that of which they had availed themselves before, presented itself for indulging their animosity *against the land of their progenitors*, and no time was lost in setting forth its importance. The battle of Waterloo with Bonaparte has defeated these speculations, for as yet we have no reason to think the American Government has committed itself to them. In truth, we should hope Mr. Madison and his friends will, for the present, find enough to employ them in *superintending the rebuilding of Washington*; but we know they unfortunately count among their adherents all the war faction, whose language *we have reason to fear continues to be that of the Government. The discomfiture of the hostile plans of the party we have referred to*, is, perhaps, not one of the least beneficial consequences of the triumph of the Allies. We trust, however, *what has already occurred will not escape the notice of the British Minister, and contemplating the probability of a new American war*, whenever this country shall be again involved in difficulties similar to those from which she had been rescued by the heroism of her sons, *we hope adequate arrangements will be made in time to avert the danger*; and that, profiting from the hints thrown out by the American journalists; our Government will not only “settle the score” without delay, if any fresh insult has been offered to our good faith, but also effectually guard against a new debt being contracted.”

Now, what must an American think of the British nation, when he sees that barefaced falsehoods like these are published in London news-papers?—The first thing to notice here is, that what is passing in America is worthy “our most serious consideration.” Yes, even the “feelings” of the Americans, their “political conversation;” the chit-chat of their news-papers, are worthy of “our

"most serious consideration;" and "*arrangements ought to be made in time in contemplation of the probability of a new war with America, and to avert the danger.*" How changed are things since the contemptuous days of 1812! What! is this the same nation, of whose *bits of striped bunting* Mr. Canning talked? Is this the nation whose name Mr. JEFFERY is said to have with difficulty recollected that he had heard some person pronounce? What an empty man must Mr. Jeffery, or Mr. Perry of the Chronicle, have been! A couple of Scotch writers, or, at least, one or the other of them, affecting, and in print too, to consider as *insignificant* a country, containing sixteen States, out of which sixteen there are four, EACH of which four surpasses SCOTLAND in quantity and value of products, in commerce and navigation, and in all the arts useful to man! This is emptiness and impudence unparalleled. However, the Morning Post says, that even the *talk* of the people of America is now become *worthy of the most serious consideration* of even the Great Statesmen of Great Britain. What a change! The battles of the Lakes and of New Orleans were not fought in vain. There is nothing like a good sound drubbing to teach men modesty. Even Mr. Perry of the Chronicle, now calls America "*the Great Republic*;" he who held such contemptuous language towards her at the time when he called the burnings at Washington, under his countryman, Ross, the most "*brilliant dash of the whole war.*" He will find some more "*brilliant dashes,*" if he look into the "*EXPOSITION.*" Even Mr. Perry has been reduced to modesty upon this subject. The Jacksons and the Decatur possess great powers of conversion. For my part I have not the least doubt, that, when the news of the burning of the capitol at Washington arrived, there were whole shoals of hungry Scotsmen, too proud either to work or beg, who were on the tip-toe of expectation to be sent out to strut over the reconquered colonists. Of the general industry, talent, integrity, and fidelity of Scotsmen I have often spoken, I have more than once said, in print, that, having had ample opportunities of comparing them with the English and Irish, I have, upon the whole, found them, as to moral conduct, the best of the three; but, with all

this in favour of Scotland, it is certain, that that country does send forth a monstrous number of greedy place-hunters, insolent jacks in office, and prostituted public writers. However, we are all now agreed, that America is a country worthy of "*the most serious consideration.*"—The Morning Post says, indeed, that "*alarm* is out of the question." To be sure it is. Why need we be *alarmed*? Cannot we be still *great* though America should have 30 ships of the line? What should we be *alarmed* at? Why talk about alarm?

The next thing to notice, in this article, is, the assertion, that the Americans *gave up* at the peace *all that they had contended for in war.* The falsehood of this is notorious. It is notorious, that they *gave up nothing.* It is notorious, that they went to war to prevent us from impressing people out of their ships on the high seas. *We do not now do that:* when we do, they will go to war again. It is notorious, *that we gave up all that we contended for.* It is notorious that we gave up the whole, *sine qua non* and all; and that there was a very successful American privateer, called the *Sine Qua Non.* It is notorious, that the writer of the Times news-paper asserted, that we had retired from the contest *covered with disgrace; that we came off with the marks of the stripes upon our back.* It is notorious, that the peace was, in England, proclaimed as privately as possible; that it was like the burial of a man who had committed suicide; while, in America, it was received with every demonstration of triumph. And yet the editor of the Morning Post would have his readers believe, that the present anger of the Americans arises from *their failure* in the war; from *their mortification* at their late *discomfiture!* Yes, they must be greatly mortified, when they see two whole squadrons of *British ships* added to their navy, besides so many single frigates and smaller ships of war. Their mortification must be very great when they reflect on the battle of Chipawa, the sally from Fort Erie, the hasty decamping of Sir George Prevost and his army of invincibles from Plattsburg, the repulse of our squadron at Point Mobile, and, above all, they must be ready to suffocate with mortification, when they call to mind the battle of *New Orleans.* If I had room to insert Mr.

INGERSOL's beautiful speech (made in the Congress) upon that battle, you would see what mortification was felt in America upon that occasion, that last battle of the war, a battle in which from 10 to 12 thousand British troops, aided by the seamen and marines of a mighty fleet, were nearly one half killed and wounded, and the rest driven back to their ships, by the inhabitants of the place, joined by the militia of Kentucky and Tennessee, who came to their assistance. Great, indeed, must be the mortification of the Americans when they reflect on occurrences like this.

Nor is there better ground for the assertion, that the Americans have been encouraged to hold their present language by the return of Napoleon to France, and their expectations of his regaining the "empire of Charlemagne." It is notorious, that *all* parties in America have uniformly condemned the spirit of conquest in Napoleon. It is notorious, that they have all disapproved of his being an Emperor. It is notorious, that Mr. JEFFERSON has expressed this sentiment in writing and in print. It is notorious, that it is contrary to the *interest* of America that France should subjugate her neighbours, and especially towards the North of Europe. And, it being notorious, that Napoleon was actually *at Elba*, while America *by her arms* induced England to make a peace, abandoning a *sine qua non*, and coming off, as the TIMES newspaper said, with the marks of the stripes upon her back, is it not preposterous to suppose, that the Americans wanted the return of Napoleon to give them courage to speak their minds?

Indeed, the Americans appear, from the language of their public prints, to have entertained great doubt as to the ability of Napoleon, to resist the innumerable armies, which we were paying to march against France; as a proof of which I insert the following extract from the *National Intelligencer*, which is looked upon as a sort of demi-official government paper in America, and which, on the 13th of July, makes these remarks.—
"We are no longer in doubt as to the situation of Naples, Denmark, and Sweden, and the hostile intentions of the Confederates, have developed themselves in preparations that wear the most formidable aspect. The hopes placed by Bonaparte in the effects of negotiation,

"have been baffled by a peremptory refusal to treat with him; for, we scarcely credit the report of a diplomatic intercourse with Austria. Bonaparte has been thrown exclusively on the spirit, courage, and resources of France. Will these suffice? Yes, in one event; that is, if civil liberty, and its energies, be restored to the people. *Republican France* triumphed over all Europe; *Imperial France* alone was successfully invaded."

Thus, you see, so far from *making sure* of Napoleon's success, the Americans entertained very serious doubts of it; and, indeed, it appears, that they only *wished* it, on the condition of his restoring to France her civil liberties under a republican form of government.

All the assertions, therefore, of these writers, who are endeavouring to prepare the people of England for another war with America, are shown to be false. That the Americans are *angry*, and use angry language, is very certain; but, the real cause of that anger these venal scribes carefully keep from your view. The Americans make *complaints*. Read the "*Exposition*," and then join me in calling for an answer to it. The Americans complain of the killing of their faithful countrymen, *in Dartmoor prison*, after the *ratification of the peace*. Read the "*Exposition*," containing the history of the *imprisonment* of those brave and faithful men; then read the authentic and official account of that killing, which account is contained in this present number of the Register: and, when you have read these two, and have had the justice to make the case our own for a moment, then decide whether the Americans have, or have not, cause for anger.

To you, the manufacturers of Great Britain, I have addressed myself more particularly upon this occasion; because, as I have *proved* in my Letters to LORD SHEFFIELD, another war, of any considerable duration, would deprive you, *for ever*, of the American market, which, if peace continue, may yet assist to enable you to meet the inevitable burden of taxation; and because, being an active part of the community, you may contribute largely, by *timely* exertions, to prevent the conflict into which these malignant writers are endeavouring to plunge the nation.

WM. CORBETT.

TO

All those Protestant Priests, who have, for years, been preaching and praying against the French Assemblies and Napoleon; and particularly to the Protestant Priests of New England.

Batley, 1 Sept. 1815.

GENTLEMEN,—It is perfectly notorious, that, before the French revolution, amongst the standing objects of your attack, were the Pope, the Monks, the Catholic religion in general, the Jesuits, the Inquisition. Next to the Devil, the Pope appeared to be the most hateful to you. Next to his imps, the Dominicans and the Jesuits. Next to the torments of Hell, you described, and justly, the torments inflicted on Protestants by Catholics, at the instigation of their priests, whose religion you called idolatrous, and tending to the eternal perdition of millions upon millions of precious souls.

Adopting your sentiments, taught by your sermons, great numbers of people rejoiced at a revolution, which, in its progress, tumbled the Pope from his chair, drove out the Dominicans and the remains of the Jesuits, put down the infernal Inquisition, and let millions of men loose to worship according to their consciences. What was the astonishment of these people, then, when, instead of hearing you put up thanksgiving for this change, they heard you load the French Assemblies and Napoleon with execrations, and stigmatize as Jacobins and *enemies of religion* all those of your flocks, who distinguished themselves by expressing their delight at it! And, how shall I express the feelings that filled their breasts, when they heard you putting up thanksgivings for the fall of him, who had confirmed, over great part of Europe, liberty of religion, and on whose ruin arose, as they necessarily would, the Pope, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and all the persecutions, which formerly you so pathetically called on your hearers to lament!

"Aye! But—but, things are different in these days. The Romish priests, in France are a good kind of men. And, besides, *any* religion is better than no religion at all."

These were amongst your excuses, when you hailed, and in Boston, I believe, actually made *processions* to celebrate, the restoration to the throne of France

of the "*paternal*" descendants of Francis the First, Charles the Ninth, and Louis the Fourteenth, in each of whose reigns more Protestants were murdered in one month than there were French people put to death during a revolution of twenty-five years.

Well! the Bourbons are restored. According to your notion, they and their Allies have carried back religion to France. Read the following account of what has taken place at the fine city of NISMES, and then hear me again.

"On the 5th of July, several domains belonging to PROTESTANTS were burned, and on the 6th a still greater number. — The Steward (*Gerisseur*) of the estate of Guiraudin WAS STRETCHED OVER A FIRE. After his death, they took him down and *exhibited the body to passengers*. The 7th, 8th, and 9th, were more calm days; there were *only pillages*. On the 5th, they MASSACRED almost all the prisoners who were PROTESTANTS. A pretended national guard, formed of all the malefactors, and of all the worthless wretches of the environs and the town, are accused of these crimes. One of the Captains is a person of the name of Toislaçon, a sweeper of the streets, *who alone has killed fourteen PROTESTANTS*. They broke open the grave of a young PROTESTANT girl to throw her into a common receptacle of filth. Those PROTESTANTS whom they do not kill they exile, and throw into prison, and yet there were a great number of ROYALISTS among them.

"From the 10th to the 14th of July no Courier from Paris arrived. On the 16th the King was proclaimed, by the Urban Guard (composed of men between 40 and 60 years of age) followed by all the most respectable persons in the town, and the white flag was hoisted.

"On the 17th armed bands of brigands, and the national guards of Beaucaire came to disarm the military, who sustained an assault in the barracks, and they were almost all massacred. Their number amounted to 200.

"On the 18th many peaceable citizens were massacred—many houses pillaged. On the afternoon of that cruel morning, the mad wretches run about the town

"cilling out that they wished A SECOND SAINT BARTHOLOMEW.

"On the 19th the Prefect published a Proclamation, recalling the peaceable persons who had quitted the town; they obeyed this order, and a great number were assassinated.

"From the 20th to the 29th, the pillages and assassinations did not discontinue. Those who sought their safety in flight were assassinated on the roads. Some were conducted into prisons where they are still groaning.

"On the 29th the Prefect of the King arrived. The other Prefect had been named by — the Royal Commissioner.

"On the 30th, a TE DEUM was chaunted. On the 31st the new Prefect published a very prudent proclamation, but he quitted Nismes.

"On the 1st of August, M. de Calviere, the person whom the Royal Commissioner had named, resumed the functions of Prefect, and 16 PROTESTANTS were massacred. They went about seizing them in their houses, and they cut their throats before their own doors. Many were massacred in the fields. The night between the 1st and 2d was the most cruel. M. de Calviere caused an order to be posted up, which seems to have somewhat calmed these PRETENDED ROYALISTS. (Mark this!) On the 4th several country seats were set on fire.

"The peaceable citizens, the Members of the Urban Guard, have been again forced to flee to save themselves from destruction. The Prefect sent an order to them to return, under the penalty of having the laws respecting emigration put in force against them. Those who returned into the town experienced either death or captivity. It is uncertain whether M. de Moncalm or M. de Calviere is most guilty of allowing or causing the commission of all these horrors; but suspicion falls principally on the former, who is a ROYAL COMMISSIONER, (Mark this!) and whom it is said, the King had a considerable time ago ordered to cease his functions.

"Nothing promises any security to the friends of order; for all the authorities, with the exception of two persons, are composed of the most timidated feeble men.

"The Attornics (Notaires) and the Avocats have formed resolutions not to retain or to receive into their bodies any but Roman Catholics. (Mark this!)

"Nismes has already lost its rank amongst the commercial towns. It is on the brink of complete annihilation.

"The Prefect named by the King was a Mr. d'Arbot; he has done no good. The foreign troops have been implored to force the brigands to repose, and to assist the TRUE ROYALISTS, for the brigands ABUSE THIS NAME (Mark this!) which they will render universally odious.

"The number of deaths is prodigious; we have not an exact enumeration.

"Horrors of the same kind are continued in the neighbouring towns."

Come, come! Don't turn your heads on one side. Be not ashamed! Look at it. Any religion is better than no religion at all," is it? But that is not the question here; for these are PROTESTANTS, mind, who are stabbed, shot, burnt by ROYALISTS. That is the fact. Here are Protestants butchered by the friends of those for whose restoration you have put up thanksgiving.

The COURIER, from whom I take this horrible account, wonders why the PROTESTANTS became objects of such atrocities; "for," says he, "they were not more friendly to Bonaparte than the Catholics." Oh! yes, but they were, and this was evidently their offence. They knew, they felt, which government was best for them. They loved the revolution. They were for the new dynasty in preference to the old. They were against the restoration of the paternal Bourbons. And, will you say, that they deserved to be burnt alive, or to have their throats cut for this? Come! you may as well go the whole length, and say it at once; for you will have full credit for the sentiment. It is clear, that this was, and is (for it is still going on) an attack by "the Royal and Christian army," as the impious and bloody writer of the TIMES calls such perfidious and cowardly wretches. The country-houses of the Protestants were, I dare say, monkish property, which the Protestants had purchased, and of which the priests have taken this method of despoiling them.—The chaunting of the *Te Deum* was quite in style. There need now only a process

sion by the Pope, as was the case in honour of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and another procession at Boston, in commemoration of this new triumph of "the *Royal and Christian army*" of France, this bastion of "the bulwark of religion." What blessings France is likely to owe to the paternal Bourbons! The priests are at work, and blood will flow in torrents, Mr. WALTER, of the *TIMES* news-paper, will begin now to enjoy himself.

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

REPORT

Relative to the Killing and Wounding of the American Citizens imprisoned at Dartmoor.

(FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, July 14.)

Plymouth, April 26, 1815.

We, the undersigned Commissioners, appointed on behalf of our respective Governments, to inquire into and report upon, the unfortunate occurrence of the 6th of April instant, at Dartmoor prison, having carefully perused the proceedings of the several Courts of Inquiry, instituted immediately after that event, by the orders of Admiral Sir John T. Duckworth and Major-General Brown, respectively, as well as the depositions taken at the coroner's inquest, upon the bodies of the prisoners who lost their lives upon that melancholy occasion; upon which inquest the jury found a verdict of justifiable homicide: proceeded immediately to the examination upon oath, in the presence of one or more of the Magistrates of the vicinity, of all the witnesses, both American and English, who offered themselves for that purpose, or who could be discovered as likely to afford any material information on the subject, as well those who had been previously examined before the coroner as otherwise, to the number in the whole of about 80. We further proceeded to a minute examination of the prisons, for the purpose of clearing up some points which, upon the evidence alone, were scarcely intelligible; obtaining from the prisoners, and from the officers of the depot, all the necessary assistance and explanation; premising, that we have been from necessity compelled to draw many of our conclusions from statements and evidence highly contradictory, we do now make upon the whole proceedings the following report:—

During the period which has elapsed since the arrival in this country of the account of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, an increased degree of restlessness and impatience of confinement appears to have prevailed amongst the American prisoners at Dartmoor, which, though not exhibited in the shape of any violent excesses, has been principally indicated by threats of breaking out if not soon released. On the 4th of this month in particular, only two days previous to the events, the subject of this inquiry, a large body of the prisoners rushed into the market square, from whence, by the regulations of the prison, they are excluded, demanding bread, instead of biscuit, which had on that day been issued by the officers of the depot; their demands, however, having been then almost immediately complied with, they returned to their own yards, and the employment of force on that occasion became unnecessary. On the evening of the 6th, about six o'clock, it was clearly proved to us, that a breach or hole had been made in one of the prison walls sufficient for a full sized man to pass, and that others had been commenced in the course of the day near the same spot, though never completed. That a number of the prisoners went over the railing erected to prevent them from communicating with the centinels on the walls, which was of course forbidden by the regulations of the prison, and that in the space between the railing and those walls they were tearing up pieces of turf, and wantonly pelting each other in a noisy and disorderly manner. That a much more considerable number of the prisoners was collected together at that time in one of their yards near the place where the breach was effected, and that although such collection of prisoners was not unusual at other times (the gambling tables being usually kept in that part of the yard), yet, when connected with the circumstances of the breach, and the time of the day, which was after the hour the signal for the prisoners to retire to their respective prisons had ceased to sound, it became a natural and just ground of alarm to those who had charge of the depot. It was also in evidence that in the building, formerly the petty officers' prison, but now the guard barrack, with stands in the yard to which the hole in the wall would serve as a communication, a part of the arms of the guard who were off duty were usually kept in the racks, and though there was no evidence that this was in any respect the motive which induced the

prisoners to make the opening in the wall, or even that they were ever acquainted with the fact, it naturally became at least a further cause of suspicion and alarm, and an additional reason for precaution. Upon these grounds Captain Shortland appears to us to have been justified in giving the order, which about this time he seems to have given, to sound the alarm bell, the usual signal for collecting the officers of the depot and putting the military upon the alert.

However reasonable and justifiable this was as a measure of precaution, the effects produced thereby in the prisons, but which could not have been intended, were most unfortunate, and deeply to be regretted. A considerable number of the prisoners in the yards where no disturbances existed before, and who were either already within their respective prisons, or quietly retiring as usual towards them, immediately upon the sound of the bell rushed back from curiosity (as it appears) towards the gates, where, by that time, the crowd had assembled, and many who were at the time absent from their yards were also, from the plan of the prison, compelled, in order to reach their own homes, to pass by the same spot, and thus that which was merely a measure of precaution, in its operation increased the evil it was intended to prevent. Almost at the same instant that the alarm bell rang (but whether before or subsequent is upon the evidence doubtful, though Capt. Shortland states it positively as one of his further reasons for causing it to ring) some one or more of the prisoners broke the iron chain, which was the only fastening of No. 1 gate, leading into the market square, by means of an iron bar; and a very considerable number of the prisoners rushed towards that gate, and many of them began to press forward as fast as the opening would permit into the square. There was no direct proof before us of previous concert or preparation on the part of the prisoners, and no evidence of their intention or disposition to effect their escape on this occasion, excepting that which arose by inference from the whole of the above detailed circumstances connected together. The natural and almost irresistible inference to be drawn, however, from the conduct of the prisoners by Capt. Shortland and the military was, that an intention on the part of the prisoners to escape was on the point of being carried into execution; and it was at least certain that they were by force passing beyond the limits prescribed to them, at a time when

they ought to have been quietly going in for the night. It was also in evidence that the outer gates of the market-square were usually opened about this time, to let the bread waggon pass and repass to the store, although, at the period in question, they were, in fact, closed. Under these circumstances, and with these impressions necessarily operating upon his mind, and a knowledge that if the prisoners once penetrated through the square, the power of escape was almost to a certainty afforded to them, should they be so disposed, Capt. Shortland, in the first instance, proceeded down the square towards the prisoners, having ordered a part of the different guards, to the number of about 50 only at first, though they were increased afterwards, to follow him. For some time both he and Dr. Magrath endeavoured, by quiet means and persuasion, to induce the prisoners to retire to their own yards, explaining to them the fatal consequences which must ensue if they refused, as the military would in that case be necessarily compelled to employ force. The guard was by this time formed in the rear of Captain Shortland, about two-thirds of the way down the square; the latter is about one hundred feet broad, and the guard extended nearly all across. Captain Shortland finding that persuasion was all in vain, and that, although some were induced by it to make an effort to retire, others pressed on in considerable numbers, at last ordered about fifteen file of the guard, nearly in front of the gate, which had been forced, to charge the prisoners back to their own yards. The prisoners were in some places so near the military, that one of the soldiers states, that he could not come fairly down to the charge; and the military were unwilling to act as against an enemy. Some of the prisoners also were unwilling and reluctant to retire, and some pushing and struggling ensued between the parties, arising partly from intention, but mainly from the pressure of those behind preventing those in front from getting back. After some little time, however, this charge appears to have been so far effective, and that with little or no injury to the prisoners, as to have driven them for the most part quite down out of the square, with the exception of a small number who continued their resistance about No. 1 gate. A great crowd still remained collected after this in the passage between the square and the prisoners' yards, in the vicinity of the gates. This assemblage still refused to withdraw, and,

according to most of the English witnesses, and some of the American, was making a noise, hallooing, insulting, and provoking, and daring the military to fire; and, according to the evidence of several of the soldiers and some others, was pelting the military with large stones, by which some of them were actually struck. This circumstance is, however, denied by many of the American witnesses; and some of the English, upon having the question put to them, stated, they saw no stones thrown previously to the firing, although their situation at the time was such as to enable them to see most of the other proceedings in the square.

Under these circumstances the firing commenced. With regard to any order having been given to fire, the evidence is very contradictory. Several of the Americans swear positively, that Captain Shortland gave that order; but the manner in which, from the confusion of the moment, they describe this part of the transaction, is so different in its details, that it is very difficult to reconcile their testimony. Many of the soldiers and other English witnesses heard the word given by some one; but no one of them can swear it was by Captain Shortland, or by any one in particular, and some, amongst whom is the officer commanding the guard, think, if Captain Shortland had given such an order, that they must have heard it, which they did not. In addition to this, Captain Shortland denies the fact; and from the situation in which he appears to have been placed at the time, even according to the American witnesses, in front of the soldiers, it may appear somewhat improbable that he should then have given such an order. But, however, it may remain a matter of doubt whether the firing first began in the square by order, or was a spontaneous act of the soldiers themselves, it seemed clear that it was continued and renewed, both there and elsewhere, without orders; and that on the platforms, and in several places about the prison, it was certainly commenced without any authority. The fact of an order having been given at first, provided the firing was, under existing circumstances, justifiable, does not appear very material in any other point of view than as shewing a want of self-possession and discipline in the troops, if they should have fired without order.

With regard to the above important consideration, of whether the firing was justifiable or not, we are of opinion, under all the circumstances of the case, from the appre-

hension which the soldiers might fairly entertain, owing to the numbers and conduct of the prisoners, that this firing to a certain extent, was justifiable, in a military point of view, in order to intimidate the prisoners, and compel them thereby to desist from all acts of violence, and to retire as they were ordered, from a situation in which the responsibility of the agents, and the military, could not permit them with safety to remain. From the fact of the crowd being so close, and the firing at first being attended with very little injury, it appears probable that a large proportion of the muskets were, as stated by one or two of the witnesses, levelled over the heads of the prisoners; a circumstance in some respects to be lamented, as it induced them to renew their insults to the soldiery, which produced a repetition of the firing in a manner much more destructive. The firing in the square having continued for some time, by which several of the prisoners sustained injuries, the greater part of them appear to have been running back, with the utmost precipitation and confusion, to their respective prisons, and the cause for further firing seems at this period to have ceased. It appears, accordingly, that Captain Shortland was in the market-square, exerting himself and giving orders to that effect, and that Lieutenant Fortye had succeeded in stopping the fire of his part of the guard.

Under these circumstances, it is very difficult to find any justification for the continuance and renewal of the firing, which certainly took place both in the prison yards and elsewhere: though we have some evidence of subsequent provocation given to the military, and resistance to the turnkeys in shutting the prisons, and of stones being thrown out from within the prison doors. The subsequent firing rather appears to have arisen from individual irritation and exasperation on the part of the soldiers who followed the prisoners into their yards, and from the absence of nearly all the officers who might have restrained it; as well as from the great difficulty of putting an end to a firing when once commenced under such circumstances. Captain Shortland was from this time busily occupied with the turnkeys in the square, receiving and taking care of the wounded. Ensign White remained with his guard at the breach, and Lieutenants Avelyn and Fortye, the only other subalterns known to have been present, continued in the square with the main bodies of their respective guards. The time

of the day, which was the officers dinner hour, will in some measure explain this, as it caused the absence of every officer from the prison whose presence was not indispensable there—and this circumstance, which has been urged as an argument to prove the intention of the prisoners to take this opportunity to escape, tended to increase the confusion, and to prevent those great exertions being made which might perhaps have obviated a portion, at least, of the mischief which ensued. At the same time that the firing was going on in the square, a cross fire was also kept up from several of the platforms on the walls round the prison where the sentries stand, by straggling parties of soldiers, who run up there for that purpose. As far as this fire was directed to disperse the men assembled round the breach, for which purpose it was most effectual, it seems to stand upon the same ground as that in the first instance in the square. But that part which it is positively sworn was directed against straggling parties of prisoners running about the yards, and endeavouring to enter in the few doors which the turnkeys, according to their usual practice, had left open, does seem, as stated, to have been wholly without object or excuse, and to have been a wanton attack upon the lives of defenceless, and at that time, unoffending individuals. In the same, or even more severe terms, we must remark upon what was proved as to the firing into the door ways of the prisons, more particularly into that of No. 3 prison, at a time when the men were in crowds at the entrance. From the position of the prison and of the door, and from the marks of the balls which were pointed out to us, as well as from the evidence, it was clear this firing must have proceeded from soldiers a very few feet from the door way, and although it was certainly sworn that the prisoners were at the time of part of the firing at least continuing to insult and occasionally to throw stones at the soldiers, and that they were standing in the way of, and impeding the turnkey, who was there for the purpose of closing the door, yet still there was nothing stated which could in our view at all justify such excessively harsh and severe treatment of helpless and unarmed prisoners when all idea of escape was at an end. Under these impressions, we used every endeavour to ascertain if there was the least prospect of identifying any of the soldiers who had been guilty of the particular outrages here alluded to, or of tracing any particular death at that

time to the firing of any particular individual, but without success; and all hopes of bringing the offenders to punishment should seem to be at an end.

In conclusion, we, the undersigned, have only to add, that whilst we lament, as we do most deeply, the unfortunate transaction which has been the subject of this inquiry, we find ourselves totally unable to suggest any steps to be taken as to those parts of it which seem most to call for redress and punishment.

(Signed) CHARLES KING.
FRANCIS SEYMOUR LARPENT.

Plymouth, April 26, 1815.

SIR—In pursuance of instructions received from Messrs. Clay and Gallatin, I have now the honour to transmit to you the report prepared by Mr. Larpent and myself on behalf of our respective Governments, in relation to the unfortunate transactions at Dartmoor prison of war, on the 6th of the present month. Considering it of much importance that the report, whatever it might be, should go forth under our joint signatures, I have forborne to press some of the points which it involves, as far as otherwise I might have done, and it therefore may not be improper in this letter to enter into some little explanation of such parts of the report. Although it does appear that a part of the prisoners were on that evening in such a state, and under such circumstances, as to have justified, in the view which the commander of the depot could not but take of it, the intervention of the military force, and even, in a strict sense, the first use of fire arms, yet I cannot but express it as my settled opinion, that by conduct a little more temporising, this dreadful alternative of firing upon unarmed prisoners might have been avoided. Yet as this opinion has been the result of subsequent examination, and after having acquired a knowledge of the comparatively harmless state of the prisoners, it may be but fair to consider, whether in such a moment of confusion and alarm, as that appears to have been, the officer commanding could have fairly estimated his danger, or have measured out with precision the extent and nature of the force necessary to guard against it. But when the firing became general, as it afterwards appears to have done, and caught with electric rapidity from the square to the platforms, there is no plea nor shadow of excuse for it, except in the per-

sonal exasperation of the soldiery, nor for the more deliberate, and therefore more unjustifiable, firing, which took place into three of the prisons, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, but more particularly into No. 3, after the prisoners had retired into them, and there was no longer any pretence of apprehensions as to their escape. Upon this ground, as you, Sir, will perceive by the report, Mr. Larpent and myself had no difference of opinion; and I am fully persuaded that my own regret was not greater than his, at perceiving how hopeless would be the attempt to trace to any individuals of the military these outrageous proceedings. As to whether the order to fire came from Captain Shortland, I yet confess myself unable to form any satisfactory opinion, though, perhaps, the bias of my mind is, that he did give such an order. But his anxiety and exertions to stop it after it had continued for some little time are fully proved, and his general conduct previous to this occurrence, as far as we could with propriety enter into such details, appears to have been characterised with tenderness, and even kindness, in the light in which he stood towards the prisoners. On the subject of any complaints against their own Government existing among the prisoners, it was invariably answered to several distinct questions put by me on that head, that none whatsoever existed or had been expressed by them, although they confessed themselves to entertain some animosity against Mr. Beasley, to whom they attributed their detention in this country—with what justice, you, Sir, will be better able to judge. They made no complaint whatsoever as to their provisions and general mode of living and treatment in the prison. I have transmitted to Mr. Beasley a list of the killed and wounded on this melancholy occasion, with a request that he would forward it to the United States for the information of their friends at home, and I am pleased to have it in my power to say, that the wounded are for the most part doing well. I have also enclosed to Mr. Beasley the notes taken by me of the evidence adduced before us, with a request that he would have them fairly copied; as also a copy of the depositions taken before the Coroner, and desired him to submit them to you when in order. I cannot conclude, Sir, without expressing my high sense of the impartiality and manly fairness with which this enquiry has been conducted on the part of Mr. Larpent, nor without mentioning that every facility was afforded to us

in its prosecution, as well by the military officers commanding here and at the prison, as by the Magistrates in the vicinity. I have the honour to be, with much respect, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CHARLES KING.

His Excellency J. Q. Adams, &c.

London, April 18, 1815.

SIR.—At the request of Lord Castlereagh, we have had interviews with him and Mr. Goulburn, on the subject of the transportation of the American prisoners now in this country, to the United States, and of the late unfortunate event at the depot of Dartmoor. On the first subject, we agreed to advise your acceptance of the proposition of Lord Castlereagh, to transport the prisoners at the joint expence of the two countries, reserving the construction of the articles of the treaty, which provides for the mutual restoration of prisoners, for future adjustment. It was stated by us, and was so understood, that the joint expence, thus to be incurred, is to comprehend as well the requisite tonnage, as the subsistence of the prisoners; and moreover, that measures of precaution should be adopted relative to the health and conduct of the prisoners, similar to those which had taken place in America. The detail of this arrangement, if you concur with us as to the expediency of making it, are left to you to settle with the proper British authority. On the other subject, as a statement of the transaction has been received from the American prisoners, differing very materially in fact from that which had resulted from an inquiry instituted by the Port Admiral, it has been thought advisable that some means should be devised of procuring information as to the real state of the case, in order, on the one hand, to shew that there had not been any wanton or improper sacrifice of the lives of American citizens; or, on the other, to enable the British Government to punish their civil or military officers, if it should appear that they have resorted to measures of extreme severity without necessity, or with too much precipitation. Lord Castlereagh proposed that the enquiry should be a joint one, conducted by a Commissioner selected by each Government. And we have thought such an enquiry most likely to produce an impartial and satisfactory result. We presume that you will have too much occupation on the first subject and the other incidental duties of

your office, to attend to this enquiry in person. On that supposition we have stated to the British government that we should recommend to you the selection of Charles King, Esq. as a fit person to conduct it in behalf of the American government. If Mr. King will undertake the business, he will forthwith proceed to Dartmoor, and in conjunction with the British Commissioner, who may be appointed on the occasion, will examine the persons concerned, and such other evidence as may be thought necessary, and make a joint report upon the facts of the case to John Q. Adams, Esq. Minister

Plenipotentiary of the United States at this Court, and to the British Government. The mode of executing this service must be left to the discretion of Mr. King and his colleague. If they can agree upon a narrative of the facts, after having heard the evidence, it will be better than reporting the whole mass of testimony in detail, which they may perhaps find it necessary to do, if they cannot come to such an agreement.—We are, Sir, your obedient humble servants,

(Signed) H. CLAY.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

R. G. Beasley, Esq.

PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; and Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain, during the last week.

BREAD.—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drms, 11½d.

WHEAT.—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 8s. 3d.

MEAT.—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 6½d; Mutton, 6½d; Veal, 8½; Pork, 6d; Lamb, 8½d.

WOOL.—Vigonia, 16s.; Portugal, 3s.; Spanish Lamb, 9s. 3d.; Lenoza, 7s. 3d.; Segovia, 5s. 9d.; Seville, 4s. 6d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Germany, 38,800lbs.—From Russia, 144,000lbs.

BULLION.—Gold in bars, £4 9s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 7d. each.—Silver in bars, none.—N. B. These are the prices in Bank of England paper.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 3l. 17s. 10½d.—Standard Silver in bars, in the coin of the English Mint, is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

ENGLISH FUNDS.—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; 56½.

FRENCH FUNDS.—The price of the FIVE Per Cents, in gold and silver money; 62.

BANKRUPTCIES.—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 27.

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LETTER X.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

On the Massacre of the French Protestants by the "Royal and Christian Army."

Botley, 5. Sept. 1815.

There you are, then, in the marrow of the counter-revolution now! Not, that I can suppose, that your Lordship will take delight in seeing the French Protestants stabbed, shot, ripped open, and burnt over slow fires. To delight in torture, to feel satisfaction at hearing the cries of dying, belongs only to men, who resemble what we are told of devils. But, though you must commiserate the poor Protestants, I am going to shew your Lordship that there are others, and those others Englishmen too, who do not, and who, indeed, justify such acts, when committed by Royalists.

The TIMES newspaper, which is the organ of a large portion of the people of London, especially the *rich*, speaks of these massacres in the words which I shall presently quote. From the day that the allies entered France, this man has been calling out for blood. He and his fellow labourers, before the battle of Waterloo, represented the main body of the French people as being zealous on the side of the King. After that battle their tone changed. Napoleon, when he was *disposed of*, was said to have been *nothing*, though it is notorious, that he was, before said to be, *every thing*. In short, these base hypocrites are now calling for the *annihilation of France*. They now plainly say, *that it is the resources of France which they wish to see destroyed*. They, from time to time, express their longing desire to see *America* annihilated too. The battle of New Orleans, however, added to the naval victories of that republic, induce them, for the present, at least, to refrain from calling out distinctly for the murder of the American people. But, when they have finished France, or rather, if their wishes with regard to that country should be accomplished, they will then

call on you and the rest of the Ministers, to cause America to be deluged in blood, for the security of England. They even now, already, bewail the dismantling of our fleet, while the American States, as they say, have formed the "*malignant design*" of building each a 74 gun ship, without any tax imposed by the General Government.

But, it is towards France that their efforts are now directed. That fine country they want to see ravaged, torn to pieces, the people all murdered, and the whole region left a wild wilderness. They are incessantly calling out for what they term *justice on criminals*, though it is notorious, that, if Louis XVIII. had not *abdicated* the throne of France, James II. never *abdicated* the throne of England.

Still, however, one would have supposed, that even these men, certainly the most bloody that ever put pen to paper for the press, would have stopped short of *justifying* the massacre of the Protestants. Herbert Marsh, John Bowles, and Rowland Hill, will hardly go this length; though we do not see their pens in motion in behalf of these unfortunate victims of Royalist fury. The TIMES newspaper, however, that advocate for the Bourbon government, goes the full length in the following words:—"We hope the Allies will not withdraw from France until they see all the parts of the *social machine* in regular and accordant operation. In the name of humanity, let us not have the prospect of a new revolution the moment this unhappy nation is left to itself. Let us see the laws put in full and *vigorous* operation, the most *dangerous criminals punished*, and the others removed from all possibility of *again disturbing the order of the world*. Nor is it less necessary that *adequate compensation* be made to those who in the course of the last rebellion have suffered for their fidelity to their King and country. We see in the instance of NISMES, that a *refusal of justice* by those whose duty it is to restrain crime by punishment, drives the *injured individuals* to take into their own hands the

"exercise of an indiscriminate vengeance. The *Jacobins* have made loud outcries about the cruelties, *as they call them*, which have originated from this re-action; and they affect to attribute them solely to religious bigotry: but the truth is that the difference of religion, though it might aggravate, would never have excited the fury of the insurgents. Most of the inveterate Bonapartists and Jacobins in that part of France happen to be, (or rather to call themselves) *Protestants*; and these men, during the rebellion, had committed the most unwarrantable violences on their more loyal fellow citizens. At the restoration of the King's Government, it was naturally expected that these criminals would be punished, and the delay, or rather total denial of justice, produced an effervescence in the public mind, which unhappily led to the violences complained of. Whatever WEAK MINDS may think of the magnanimity of indulgence to crime, a due execution of the laws, a justice tempered, but not annihilated, by mercy, will always be found to afford the best security for public peace, and to constitute the most truly PATERNAL GOVERNMENT.

Thus, then, we see it openly declared, that PROTESTANTS, having been the most zealous friends of Napoleon, and the most active in the revolution, ought to have been put to death by the king; that it was naturally expected by the loyal that he would put them to death; and that, he having denied the loyal justice, they, at NISMES, took the infliction of vengeance into their own hands.

Your Lordship will certainly agree with me that the man who promulgates sentiments like these, must be amongst the most base and most bloody of mankind; but, what will you say of his readers? What will you say of those, by whom he is encouraged and abetted? We here see, in an English daily print, published in London, the murder of Protestants, the stabbing of them, the shooting, the cutting of their throats, the ripping of them up, the holding them over a slow fire, ascribed to an effervescence in the mind of the loyal part of the community; and we also see, that it is asserted, that weak minds only are shocked at such acts.

This massacre of the Protestants is a very unfortunate event for the friends of

"social order." Rowland Hill declared that he believed Napoleon to have acted under the immediate influence of the Devil; and, of course, that we had been, and were still (in March 1813) giving our money to carry on a war against the Devil. But, the Devil, to do him justice, had instigated Napoleon to nearly annihilate the power of the Pope; to put down the Inquisition in Spain; and to protect effectually the Protestant Religion in France; and, as soon as we had overcome this Devil-directed Champion, it did unfortunately happen, that the old Papa of Rome regained all his former powers; that he had the impudence even to restore the Jesuits; that the Inquisition was re-established in Spain! that all the friends of religious liberty in that country were persecuted under the name of *Liberals*; that to hold liberal, or tolerant opinions, in a country where we had accomplished our purposes, was punished as a crime. And, it has now happened, that, in France, where the Bourbons have been restored by the force of our taxes, and where there are more than half a million of English troops and of German troops, subsidized by England, the Royalists, the friends of the Bourbons, the enemies of Napoleon, the "Royal and Christian army," as the Times calls them, are cutting the throats of the Protestants. So that, you see, my Lord, if Rowland Hill was correct in his notion, about the immediate interference of the Devil with Napoleon, the Devil was a very good friend to liberty of conscience and the Protestant Religion.

The Times says, and truly, that it is not just to ascribe these horrid acts solely to religious bigotry. To be sure it is not. The same bigotry existed in the time of the Directory, the Consulate, and the Emperors; but, the Royalists and Priests, those dear and inseparable associates, were absent. All religions were tolerated under the revolutionary governments. All religions were upon a level. All lived in harmony together. Men were not thought the worse for having no apparent religion at all. But, when the foreign armies carried back the Bourbons and their Royalists; when the Priests were re-introduced; when the way-sides began to be again garnished with crucifixes, then the work of cutting the throats of Protestants began.

The pensioned Burke, the Rev. Herbert

Marsh (also a pensioner), John Bowles, the Dutch Commission Loyalist, and the famous Old George Rose, all assured this nation, that it ought not to grudge its money to carry on a war, which, as they said, was absolutely necessary to the preservation of "*our Holy Religion*." What they might mean by "*our Holy Religion*" is more than I can say; but, if they meant the Protestant Religion, the present scenes in Europe are a delightful commentary on their text. The war has certainly restored the Inquisition to Spain and Portugal with all its ancient splendour; it has made the Pope more powerful than he has been for ages; it has revived the Jesuits; and finally it has let loose the knives of cut-throats against the Protestants of France. I think, that Governor Strong of the State of Massachusetts, who called this war of ours "*the Bulwark of Religion*," must, by this time, begin to look a little as if he were ashamed of himself. The Cossack Priests of that country, who are never ashamed of any thing, will, I dare say, brazen out their conduct to the last. But, Governor Strong, who can hardly have arrived at such a pitch of hardened impudence, will, I should imagine, now be sorry for having been so far led astray by the spirit of faction and of envy.

But, out *Church*, where is its Protestant zeal! Far be it from me to find fault with the Prince Regent's mandatory letter to the Clergy to preach and make collections of money in behalf of the Waterloo Fund. On the contrary, I wish that all the money for carrying on the war, for subsidizing German armies, and even for the support of the sinecure placemen, and the greater part of the pensioners, were raised in the same way. But, as there have been subscriptions for Spanish Patriots, for German sufferers, for French Royalists, why not a subscription for the suffering Protestants of France? We pay annually pretty large sums for the support, even to this day, of French Protestant churches. And, shall we not draw out a few pounds for these newly persecuted Protestants? The Church has hardly had time yet to put itself in motion. In the course of a month we shall see what the Bible-Societies and the Clergy will be able, or willing, to effect, in behalf of our suffering fellow-protestants in France.

It is very strange, my Lord, but it is not less strange than true, that the people

in England are not *satisfied* yet. They stare at one another; ask *what news?* No one can tell them. They are, in general, afraid that all will yet not end well. They are ruminating sometimes on the amazing glory that has been acquired; but, then, some how or another, their joy receives a rebuke from their fears. Big John Bull sitting in his easy chair, swelling with pride in contemplating the lofty monument of Waterloo, awaked, all at once, from his sweet reverie by a tap on one shoulder by a Collector of poor-rates, and on the other by a Collector of King's taxes, would make a picture truly enough representing the state of the nation. People know not what to think. Their vague hopes from success in war are disappointed. They feel no benefit, no relief from their burdens. And, they have little hope for the future. Farmers complain; tradesmen complain; labourers and journeymen complain. The narrowing of discounts in Threadneedle-street was absolutely necessary to keep down the Exchange; but, it strikes a blow on all those who *pay taxes without receiving anything out of the taxes*. To make the taxes bearable, Paper must make prices high. If prices are made high, the paper is cheap, gold is dear, and the Old Lady, the real supporter of the war, and the gainer of victories over France, is smothered in her own rags. What a death for so venerable a Dame!

The cutting of the throats of the French Protestants is little known in England. The thing is smothered, in the usual way. There will be more persons well acquainted with it in the little State of Delaware than there will be in this whole kingdom. It is one of the things which do not *suit*. But, if it were universally known here, I do not think it would create any great sensation, especially if it were to appear, that the Protestants were friends of Napoleon, or *Manufacturers*. However, from this state we must be roused in the course of a very few years. The fashion of the time is an admiration of Germans and German Whiskers. This fashion will not last. The tax-gatherer will put all to rights.

And now, my Lord, what is to be done with the French? Beloved, paternal Louis XVIII. and his paternal race, must be in a strange situation. If they remain under the protection of foreign bayonets all their

lives, what an honour it will be to them! And, really, if they do not, they seem likely to have little chance of reigning. It must be an incredulity passing all conscience to reject now the belief that they are most wonderfully beloved by the French people! Louis called them his *loving subjects* before he got amongst them. He told them, that he was about to bring them back happiness by the aid of his allies. Verily, they will, by this time, have been able to judge pretty well of the happiness which the Bourbons bestow.

As to the *cause of freedom*, it will, in the end, profit by all that is doing. This is no time for its friends to despair. Every agitation is favourable to the cause of truth, because every agitation causes discussion. The complete removal of Napoleon puts an end to the fears of the timid, who will no longer see any reason for their giving up their bread and cheese in order to purchase protection. The bugbear is no more. An artful knave can no longer calumniate his neighbour by representing him as an adherent of Napoleon. It will be the same in America, where there can be but *one mind* as to foreign politics; all there must now agree as to the line of politics and measures of defence to be pursued; and he must be a very feeble-minded politician indeed, who does not see, on that side of the ocean, the most glorious prospects opening to the cause of Liberty all over the world.

Well may the TIMES, the COURIER and the POST look with scowling eyes towards the Republic! Well may they call upon our government to "look sharp to her." Sharp as you please, my Lord; but what is the use of your sharpness? What would these men have you do? Would they have you pick a new quarrel? Yes, and they say so. They would have you *keep up the fleet in time of peace*, because America is building ships. What a state is this to bring Big John Bull to at last! They would have him go on making loans in time of peace, because America is turning some of her iron, timber, hemp and pitch into ships of war. I know well, that there will be a *great fleet* in America. I am sure that, peace or war, she must have and will have, a navy. I think it very probable, that, within the space of ten years, she will dispute the command of the seas

with the "Mother Country." She is now bounding forward towards it with inconceivable rapidity. But, *wishes out of the question*, who is to prevent this? And by what means? If peace will not prevent it, we have tried war.

In short, the world will soon see *two British Navies*. This will take place in this wonderful age. The chances are that our King will live to see the American navy equal in bulk (not in merit, of course,) to his own; for, it is "*His Majesty's navy*," though we sometimes carelessly, and rather indecorously, call it, "*our navy*." The Spring before I was sent to prison for writing about the flogging of English local militia-men, at the town of Ely, in England, after having been reduced to due obedience by the aid of Hanoverian troops, I planted some very small trees, amongst which was a black Italian poplar, so strongly recommended by Mr. PONTREY. This little twig, not bigger than the pen I am writing with, and which is now become a tree more than forty feet high, and, at the butt, nearly as big round as my body, which is not a very small one, always, when I see it, puts me in mind of the American navy, which, when this tree was planted, was as small, compared with that of Great Britain, as my poplar twig was, compared with the lofty elms of my neighbour. My poplar, which would even now yield boards more than sufficient to make me a coffin, will over-top and over-size the elms in less than ten years more. The American navy will not go on increasing so many ships in a year as my Register does its volumes; but, like the branches of my poplar, the increase of which is this year about five times as great as it was last year, and so on. That your Lordship will enjoy with me the contemplation of such an object, that you will participate amply in the pleasure of seeing power so great in the hands of our brethren across the Atlantic, and committed to the care of a wise, just, and free government, an enemy to all sorts of corruption and all sorts of persecution, it would be scandalous to doubt; and, therefore, with these agreeable reflections, I, for the present, take my leave of you.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS;

OR,

NOTICES FOR HISTORY.

FRANCE.—The unsettled state of this country, which may be regarded as the pivot of all political relations, renders it hazardous to indulge in many speculations. It is said, that a new treaty of peace has been concluded at Paris, by which the Allies are to evacuate France; and the concentration of their armies, for the purpose of being reviewed, at a distance from Paris, seems to give some colour to the general expectation entertained there, that the foreigners are about to evacuate their soil altogether.—Our corrupt press, however, in accordance, no doubt, with the wishes of its conductors, will have it, that it is only the Russians who are to leave France; which, they say, is still to be occupied, for a certain number of years, by the Prussians, the Austrians, and the British. This, they tell us, is necessary, notwithstanding the overthrow of Napoleon, to root out the remains of his ~~followers~~, who, ~~as is admitted~~, are still very numerous; and to give stability to the throne of the Bourbons, which, it is said, is still endangered by the same jacobinical faction that brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold, and established the Republic.—This, certainly, is no very pleasing picture to hold up to the view of the French king, who has been so often hailed, the *desire* of his people, and the only *legitimate* monarch which they are willing to acknowledge. He cannot be supposed to enjoy very pleasant dreams, when he is told, in his waking moments, that the Bonapartists meditate the return of their chief, and that the jacobins are plotting the extinction of royalty. It is very natural for him, in such circumstances, to consult his personal safety, and how he can do this better than by retaining near him that army, or a large portion of it, to which he owes his restoration, I do not well understand. But will his loving subjects submit to this intrusion?—Aye, this is the question, a question which, I

am inclined to think, should be answered in the negative. The hatred which the French have shewn to foreign troops being stationed in their country, particularly when considered as a guard to the sovereign, was too conspicuous in the case of the Swiss regiment, massacred at the beginning of the revolution, to leave any ground for expectation, that they are now more disposed to submit. Hitherto, it is true, they have quietly borne the yoke; but this was the consequence of the frequent assurances which they received from their own government, that the stay of the allied armies was only temporary until the conditions of peace were adjusted. Now that the treaty of peace is said to be concluded, they will naturally expect the return of these troops to their own country. But if they should be disappointed, it is contrary to the known restless and active disposition of the French, to look for any thing else but a burst of popular indignation, which may prove fatal to the throne and to its armed defenders. On the other hand, if the French territory is completely delivered from the allies, it seems to me, whatever party should gain the ascendancy; whether the Royalists, the Bonapartists, or the Republicans, that the cause of truth must prevail in a country, where the events of the last 25 years were so highly calculated to set men a thinking. It is the want of reflection that renders people slaves. When men begin to think, they naturally turn their attention to what is best calculated to promote their interest. On the subject of politics they must, with very little trouble, come to this conclusion, that the laws enacted in which they have had a vote, must be the laws best suited for them. Hence the preference which must be given by the great mass of the population in France to a representative government, and hence the abhorrence which they must always feel against those who may attempt to restore the former despotism. Either we must consider the French people entirely ignorant of the science of politics, or we must admit, that the convulsion.

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which that country has undergone, must terminate favourably to the cause of truth and justice.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

The melancholy instructions, given to Admiral Cockburn, before he sailed from the shores of England, respecting the treatment of his illustrious prisoner, are inserted below. It was, we were lately told in the *Gazette*, "in conjunction with the allied sovereigns," that his Royal Highness, our gracious Prince Regent, determined on sending Napoleon to St. Helena for life, and adopting such precautions as effectually to prevent the possibility of his escape. Against this unprecedented measure, Napoleon entered his solemn protest, but he protested in vain. That country, which could once boast of giving liberty even to the *slave* the moment he came within the jurisdiction of its laws, had no protection to give to the man who had, by a single word, liberated millions of slaves; who had, in one hour, and without the least murmur against the measure, extended the boon of emancipation to the whole of the French slaves in the West India islands, which Louis the desired had declared was impracticable to accomplish in a less period than five years. To such a man, animated by philanthropy so pure, exemplifying so forcibly, that Christian benevolence, of which there are so many *professors*, the sovereigns of Europe, "in conjunction," be it remembered, with our august and beloved Regent, deemed it proper to assign, as his future residence an inaccessible rock, "situated (as an actual observer describes it,) "in the 16th degree of South latitude, and "separated from the two great continents "of Africa and America, by unfathomable "seas; that on the Eastern side being "twelve hundred miles in extent, and on "the Western, nearly two thousand!"—What a striking contrast does this treatment of Napoleon offer to that of Joachim Murat, late King of Naples, to whom the Emperor of Austria has given an asylum within his own dominions. Murat had only very recently attacked the dominions of Francis by a formidable army, for the purpose of conquest, and, not unlikely, with the intention to subvert the Imperial throne. He was defeated in his projects, abandoned by his army, and had almost become an outcast of society, when he resolved to put himself in the power of his

enemy, and solicit his protection. He was not deceived. An asylum was given him within the very country, of which he had lately meditated the conquest, where he is at full liberty to reside, without any other restraint or condition than his parole of honour, that he will not quit the Austrian dominions, that he will live privately, and submit to the laws. Napoleon, on the other hand, had offered peace to all the sovereigns of Europe, and to accomplish this he had made the greatest sacrifices, and given the strongest proofs of his sincerity. He fell, it is true, but he was not reduced in his fall to that low state which obliged him to supplicate the protection of any one. There was still an army in existence, by whose assistance he might have bettered his fortunes. But he had, voluntarily, "terminated his political life." He had thus given a pledge sufficient to entitle him to future respect and confidence, and, relying upon the purity of his intentions, he adopted the resolution of claiming, in his adversity, the protection of the British. He came, not as a *prisoner*, but as a "*guest of England*;" he flattered himself that she was the *most faithful and generous* of his enemy's. Vain calculation! How soon had he reason to regret his reliance upon the fidelity and generosity of his enemy. No sooner was he within her grasp, than she treated him as if he had been the worst of felons; his effects were minutely examined; his baggage, wine and provisions underwent the strictest scrutiny; his money, his diamonds, and all his valuables taken from him; and, by way of consolation, he was told, that it was not intended to *confiscate* his property; that he would be *permitted* to live on the *interest* of his money, &c. provided that interest was not thought too much by his *faithful and generous* enemy; that he would be at liberty to dispose of the whole of his property, by will, at his death, to any person he pleased; and that he might be assured the contents of his testament would be faithfully executed—Gracious condescension! Inimitable magnanimity! of the most faithful and generous of enemies!—But this is not all: "As an attempt might be made to make a part of "his property pass for the property of the "persons of his suite, it must be signified "that the property of his *attendants* is subject to the same regulations."—What! afraid of Napoleon, or of his attendants, even after you have them completely in your power; afraid even of your own servants



betraying you, that you use so much precaution to deprive Napoleon of all means of purchasing his escape, even in spite of the insurmountable barriers which you have placed in his way. I do not mean to say, that there is any island in the world, which could hold out against courage and enterprise, when properly directed against it. But it does seem, that the island chosen for Napoleon's imprisonment, and the means employed to prevent his escape, are such as ought to have precluded all symptoms of fear on the part of his "most faithful and generous of enemy's." Let me ask, however, why Napoleon has been doomed to so terrible a fate? What could occasion so severe and so awful a punishment? Whatever may be the laws and usages of other nations, can this proceeding, which appears at utter variance with all our laws, be viewed with indifference in this country? If it is tacitly submitted to, in what is it that the difference between freedom and slavery consists? The British nation cannot surely be bound by any act unauthorized by the constitutional charter of the land. The Bill of Rights, containing the immutable provisions of that charter, forbids, as it regards the protection of life and liberty, any proceedings that are not founded on the *written or customary laws* of the land. No man, nor any set of men, of whatever rank or designation, can invade the constitutional rights of the country, without committing high treason against the *national sovereignty*, for the security of which these rights have been solemnly and irreversibly enacted and promulgated. What constitutes the difference between this nation and that of Russia and Algiers, but the *national sovereignty* delegated to certain individuals, for equitable administration. Russia has no such delegation, nor has Algiers, nor will it be to any useful purpose for us to have it in the *letter* only, if it be not correctly acted on, both in principle and practice. The case of the great, the immortal, the resplendent Napoleon may, at any moment, become that of any subject of this nation. In Napoleon it is the more striking and impressive from the unparalleled renown of his military and patriotic achievements. But it is not really greater than the injustice which would be committed in the instance of the lowest individual, subject to the laws of this nation; though it does evince, and that formidably so, that the construction and exercise of power, which would presume to inflict such unconstitu-

tional violence on the person of Napoleon, would feel quite at ease in employing it as promiscuously on British subjects. Napoleon has a mind worthy of the transcendent greatness of his reputation. His just claims on public gratitude will be embalmed in the hearts of countless millions of the present, and of future generations. The violation of national law in his person, cannot injure his unsullied and invulnerable soul; the envenomed hostility, therefore, aimed against his personal feelings, recoils against its vindictive authors, and has no other effect than that of exalting still higher his unexampled worth, and of rendering his personal fame, and the love of civil liberty, in all its manifold bearings, tenfold more dear and heart-felt throughout the whole civilized world. But secure and triumphant as the magnificent greatness of Napoleon is, and ever must be, the constitutional rights of this country have been outraged by the violence offered to his person whilst he remained here. The moment the waters of the ocean bore him within the constitutional jurisdiction of the country, he became as much subject to its laws as if he had been born, bred, and had always resided there. He might have been held as a prisoner of war, or he might have been excluded the British dominions by the alien act, and either of these modes of treating him would have been legally considering him as subject to the acknowledged and established laws of the land. He might have been also brought to a public trial, not for any thing committed beyond the jurisdiction of our courts of justice, but for any offence imputable to him since his arrival within the pale of their authority. But none is alledged against him, not indeed imagined, unless it should be conceived that his *celebrity*, having induced his numerous visitors to cheer him with generous expressions of sympathy, and admiration, could be made criminal against him. In this respect, indeed, his crime has been of the deepest dye, and the respectful conduct of those who flocked to see him, may perhaps, enable us to account for his almost entire seclusion from the world. But it can hardly be presumed, that, a *grand jury* could be met with, who would, on that account, find a true bill against him. Why, then, has Napoleon been doomed to imprisonment and exile without the intervention of either judge or jury, and, of course, in direct violation of the law of the land? Ought this to be? Can a bill of indemnity cure the mischief that has been

done? The wrong that has been committed on Napoleon, is in *principle* committed against *every individual* in this country, and may, sooner or later, be practically visited accordingly. The cause of civil liberty owes more to Napoleon's political exertions than to any other man living; but this nation will have its debt to him vastly enhanced, if, while he has been the innocent victim, he also becomes the legal corrector of an outrage, involving at once his own personal liberty, and the constitutional integrity and protection of every one living within the legal jurisdiction of the British dominions.

INTERESTING DOCUMENTS RESPECTING
THE TREATMENT OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Letter from Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, to the Lords of the Admiralty.

Downing street, July 30.

MY LORDS,—I wish your Lordships to have the goodness to communicate to Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn a copy of the following Memorial, which is to serve him by way of instruction to direct his conduct while General Buonaparte remains under his care. The Prince Regent, in confiding to English Officers a mission of such importance, feels that it is unnecessary to express to them his earnest desire, that no greater personal restraint may be employed than what shall be found necessary faithfully to perform the duties, of which the Admiral as well as the Governor of St. Helena must never lose sight, namely, the perfectly secure detention of the person of General Bonaparte. Every thing which, without opposing the grand object, can be granted as an indulgence, will, his Royal Highness is convinced, be allowed the General. The Prince Regent depends further on the well known zeal and resolute character of Sir George Cockburn, that he will not suffer himself to be misled, imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty.

BATHURST.

MEMORIAL.

When General Bonaparte leaves the *Bel-lerophon* to go on board the *Northumberland*, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Bonaparte may have brought with him. The Admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions which the General may have brought with him, to be taken on board the *Northumberland*. Among

the baggage, his table service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money, than for real use. His money, his diamonds, and his valuable effects, (consequently Bills of Exchange also) of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The Admiral will declare to the General, that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his flight. The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by Bonaparte; the inventory of the effects to be retained, shall be signed by this person, as well as by the Rear Admiral, by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory. The interest on the principal (according as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangements be left to him. For this reason he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the Admiral, till the arrival of the new Governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is to be made to his proposal, the Admiral or the Governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his Majesty's treasury. In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed. As an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations. The disposal of the troops intended to guard him must be left to the Governor. The latter, however, has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the Admiral. The General must be constantly attended by an officer appointed by the Admiral or, if the case occurs, by the Governor. If the General is allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, one orderly man, at least, must accompany the officer.—When ships arrive, and as long as they remain in sight, the General remains confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed. During this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject during this time to the same rules, and must remain with him. At other times it is left to

the judgment of the Admiral or Governor to make the necessary regulations concerning them. It must be signified to the General that if he makes any attempt to fly, he will then be put under close confinement; and it must be notified to his attendants, that if it should be found that they are plotting to prepare the General's flight, they shall be separated from him and put under close confinement. All letters addressed to the General, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the Admiral or Governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the General or his suite, are subject to the same rule. No letter that does not come to St. Helena through the Secretary of State, must be communicated to the General, or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. All their letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under the cover of the Secretary of State. It will be clearly expressed to the General, that the Governor and Admiral have precise orders to inform his Majesty's government of all the wishes and representations which this General may desire to address to it; in this respect they need not use any precaution. But the paper, on which such request or representation is written, must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it, and when they send it, accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary. Till the arrival of the new Governor, the Admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of General Bonaparte, and his Majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present Governor to concur with the Admiral for this purpose. The Admiral has full power to retain the General on board his ship, or to convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, the secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected. When the Admiral arrives at St. Helena, the Governor will, upon his representation, adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East Indies, such officers or persons in the military corps of St. Helena, as the Admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or their dispositions, shall think it advisable to dismiss from the military service in St. Helena. If there are strangers in the island whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental in the flight of Ge-

neral Bonaparte, he must take measures to remove them. The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the Admiral. He fixes the places which the boats may visit, and the Governor will send a sufficient guard to the points where the Admiral shall consider this precaution as necessary. The Admiral will adopt the most vigorous measures to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall allow. Orders will be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign or mercantile vessel from going in future to St. Helena. If the General should be seized with a serious illness, the Admiral and the Governor will each name a physician who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the General in common with his own physician; they will give them strict orders to give in every day a report on the state of his health. In case of his death, the Admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.

Given at the War Office, July 30, 1815.

PROTEST OF NAPOLEON.

I solemnly protest, before God and man, against the violation of my sacred rights, in disposing by force of my person and my liberty: I came voluntarily on board the *Bellerophon*; I am not a prisoner, I am a guest of England. As soon as I was seated on board the *Bellerophon*, I was upon the *hearth* of the British people. If the Government, in giving orders to the Captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite on board, meant no more than to hold out an ambush, it has forfeited its honour and tarnished its flag. If this act be consummated, in vain will the people of England boast to Europe of their honour, of their laws, and their liberty. British faith will be buried in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*. I appeal to history, it will say that an enemy who, for 20 years, made war upon England, came freely in his adversity and claimed the protection of its laws. Could he give a more flattering proof of his esteem and of his confidence? But, how did the English reply to so much magnanimity? They pretend to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy; and when he gave himself up to their faith, they sacrificed him.

NAPOLEON.

*Dated on board the Bellerophon,
at sea, Aug. 4.*

STATE PAPER.

The Emperor of Austria grants an assylum to King Joachim within the limits of his dominions, under the following

CONDITIONS:—

Art. 1. The King is to assume the title of a private individual, the Queen having adopted that of the Countess of Lipona, it is suggested that his Majesty should adopt the corresponding title.

Art. 2. The King is at liberty to chuse any town in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria, as the place of his residence. If his Majesty should think proper to live in the country instead of in towns of the said province, no objection will be made on the part of the Emperor.

Art. 3. The King is to engage on his honour (parole) in the presence of his Imperial Majesty, that he will not quit the Austrian dominions, without the express consent of his said Majesty, and that his mode of life will be suitable only to that of a private person of rank, and that he will submit to the laws in force within the Austrian States.

In the faith of which arrangement, and according to the established usage, the undersigned has, by the command of the Emperor, subscribed the present Declaration.

Given at Paris, 1st Sept. 1815.

L. S. (Signed)

"Le Prince de METTERNICH."

DARTMOOR PRISON,

And the Killed and Wounded Americans.

This being a subject of great importance, as it is now the principal cause of ill-blood in America towards England, I shall lay before my readers two documents relating to it. The first is a return, from authority. Indeed, a copy of the return, made to the American Government by our Government, through the American Agent for Prisoners here, of the persons killed and wounded upon this occasion. And, from this return, it will be seen, that some of these brave and

faithful Americans had been made *prisoners of war* after having served on board of *English ships of war*. This is the description of men, spoken of with such emphasis in the "EXPOSITION," lately published by Mr. CLEMENT, in the Strand, London.—The second is a paper, published in the NEW-YORK NATIONAL ADVOCATE of the 25th of July last, by some of the American Prisoners, who were at Dartmoor when the killing and wounding took place. This paper is a commentary on the REPORT of Messrs. KING and LARRENT, which appeared in the Political Register of the week before last. That report did, indeed, surprize me; but I should not have been able to comment on it in the manner here performed. It is very right, that the public should know what the Americans ground their complaints on. They think it shows no goodwill towards them, that Captain SHORTLAND should not have been called to account. They are a queer, prying sort of people, who draw conclusions from very slight premises. They observed that *Admiral Berkely was highly honoured*. They will see, that ADMIRAL COCKBURN has been *highly honoured*; and, though GENERAL ROSS was deprived of his earthly rewards by a malicious Yankee rifle-man, yet they will read, in the LONDON COURIER of the 13th inst. the following paragraph:—"In consideration of the services of the LATE MAJOR-GENERAL ROSS, who was unfortunately killed in the action near Baltimore, the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to grant honourable armorial distinctions to be placed on his monument, and to be borne by his widow and descendants." They will hear in due time what is to be done in honour of "BOOTY and BEAUTY."—Without more ceremony I insert the two documents, and leave the business of remark for another occasion.

DARTMOOR PRISON.

A Return of American Prisoners of War who were Killed and Wounded in an Attempt to force the Military Guard on the Evening of the 6th of April, 1815.

CURRENT NUMBER.	Number on General Entry Book.	NAMES.	QUALITY.	SHIP.	WHETHER MAN OF WAR, MERCHANT VESSEL, OR PRIVATEER.	REMARKS.
KILLED.						
1	4884	Wm. Leveridge	Seaman	{ Enterprize, prize to Saratoga.	Privateer Letter of Marque	
	970	James Mann	—	Siro		
	3134	John Haywood	—	{ Gave himself up from his H. M. Ship Scipion	Privateer Merchant Vessel	
	1347	Jos. T. Johnson	—	Paul Jones		
5	3936	John Washington	—	Rolla		
WOUNDED.						
1	6520	Thos. Jackson	Boy	{ Gave himself up from H. M. Ship Oronox.	{ Dangerously—died 7th April, 1815.
	2647	James Campbell	Seaman	Volontaire.....	{ Dangerously—died 7th April, 1815.
	5769	John Gier	—	Rambler	Merchant Vessel	{ Impressed at London.
	1722	Wm. Penn	—	Dispatch	Merchant Vessel	
5	5003	Cornelius Ganison	—	Invincible	Letter of Marque	
	3614	H. Montcalon	—	{ Homely prize to Gov. Tomkins	Privateer	
	1965	Robt. Willet	—	{ H. M. Ship Andromache		
	5326	John Peach	—	Enterprize.....	Privateer	
	2148	Edw. Whittlebank	—	{ H. M. Ship Royal William		
10	1881	James Thornbull	Boy	Elbridge Jenny....	Privateer	
	5632	James Wells	Seaman	Thorn.....	Do.	
	1236	Phillip Ford	—	H. M. Ship Sultan	Merchant Vessel	
	685	James Bell	—	Joel Barlow		
	94	John Grey	—	St. Martin's Planter	Do.	
15	436	Wm. Leverage	—	Magdalene.....	Do.	
	1024	Edw. Gardener	—	Joseph	Letter of Marque.	
	1546	Stephen Phipps	—	Zebra.....		
	486	John Roberts	—	{ Tine Brothers, impressed at Cork	Do.	
	1640	Thos. Smith	—	Paul Jones	Privateer	
20	1819	Caleb Godding	—	H. M. S. Swiftsure		
	5015	Jacob Davis	—	{ Charlotte, prize to Mammoth	Privateer	
	2015	James Esdaile	—	Governor Tomkins		Do.
	380	Peter Wilson	—	Virginia Planter	Merchant Vessel	
	2884	Wm. Blake	—	H. M. S. Repulse	{ Discharged, cured 12th April, 1815.
25	338	John Hogabets	2nd Mate	Good Friends	Merchant Vessel	
	4153	Ephm. Lincoln	Seaman	Argus.....	Do.	
27	4493	Thos. Findlay	—	Enterprize	Privateer	
28	4109	John Haward	Seaman	Mash	Do.	
	1228	Joseph Masick	—	H. M. S. Furienx	Privateer	
30	6123	Robt. Fittey	—	Grand Turk		{ Discharged, cured, 12th April, 1815.
	1812	John Willett	—	H. M. S. Rosario	Privateer	
	5080	John Perry	—	H. M. S. Tiger		
33	2662	John Wilson	—	H. M. S. Fortenée		

(Signed) THOS. GEO. SHORTLAND, Agent.
GEO. MAGNATH, Surgeon.

*On the Dartmoor Massacre, in Reply to
Messrs. King and Larpent's Report.*

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Having perused, with attention, the report of Mr. Chas. King, and Fras. Seymour Larpent, on their examination of the *unfortunate* occurrence at Dartmoor, on the 6th of April last—

We, the undersigned, being there at the time this *unfortunate* occurrence took place, deem it a duty we owe to the surviving sufferers of that bloody transaction, to our fellow citizens, and onrselfs, to make some remarks upon such a singular report. Although we presume the door is for ever closed against any further investigation of that ever to be remembered transaction, we cannot help, however contrary it may be to our wishes, to irritate the public feeling, already so much excited, of entering into a detailed investigation of that report.

In the Committee's address to the public on the 27th of last June, preceding the publication of the affidavits of some of the prisoners, taken on that melancholy affair, they have justly anticipated what would be the report of the Commissioners, after their investigation: they drew their conclusions from the singular manner in which the investigation was conducted. The report commences by stating, that, after having carefully perused the proceedings of the several courts of inquiry, instituted immediately after that event, they proceeded immediately to the examination, upon oath, of *all* the witnesses, both American and English, who offered themselves for that purpose. How far this part of the report is correct, we shall leave the public to judge.

On the arrival of the Commissioners at the depot, the committee of the prison was sent for; after waiting some time at the door of the room, where the inquiry was held, they were called in, separately, and questioned as to their knowledge of the transactions of the 6th. The depositions of those who were eye witnesses of that disgraceful scene were taken; some were questioned as to the general conduct of Shortland, previous to that affair; it was represented by them as it would have been by all, as being universally *cruel, overbearing, and oppressive*. After having finished the examination of the committee, they requested them to bring forward all the evi-

dence that was likely to cast any light on the subject of the inquiry. They, accordingly, returned into the prison, and drew up a list of the names of some of those who were eye witnesses of that day's occurrence. Although they could have brought hundreds to the examination, and the sum of whose evidence would have amounted to the same thing, yet the committee, not wishing to impede the progress of the investigation, by a rotundity of evidence, they were careful to select such men as were most likely to give a clear and distinct account of all the circumstances, as they occurred, under their knowledge, taking care, at the same time, to procure those whose different situations afforded them an opportunity of witnessing that transaction, from the commencement to the close. Such was the evidence the committee had selected, to the number of about fifty, very few of whom were ever examined, although they were kept in waiting at the turnkey's lodge, (where they were ordered to stay until called for) during the hours of investigation. In the course of the inquiry, it seems, the Commissioners found it necessary to survey the particular situation of the prisons, and the points from which the different attacks were made; they accordingly came into the yard for that purpose, and after having been shown all the places from whence the firing was continued, where the crowd of prisoners had assembled on the first alarm, and where the hole, so much made a handle of, had been made—after a slight survey of these different places, they retired into their session room, leaving orders, once more with the committee to hold their evidence in readiness, as they would soon be called upon for examination. The committee replied that they had been in readiness since the commencement of the inquiry, and were then only waiting their orders to appear before them, feeling happy in the idea of having it in their power to show to the court, and to the world, by the evidence they had to produce, that the attack of Shortland on the defenceless prisoners, was premeditated and unjustifiable, in *any* point of view.

After attending in the turnkey's lodge during the sitting of the commissioners, until the middle of the third day, without having but very few of the evidences sent for, and being fearful that they might be waiting for them, the committee sent them

word that the witnesses were still in attendance. No answer being returned to this message for some time, the committee became uneasy on account of the long examination of the officers, soldiers, clerks, and turnkeys, attached to the depot, without admitting the prisoners to an equal privilege; and, understanding the commissioners were about closing their inquiry, they again sent word they would be glad to have an interview for a few moments, for the purpose of explaining the nature of their evidence, and the necessity of a full hearing on both sides of the question. No answer being returned to this request, and still waiting with the anxious hope that they would soon send for some of us, when we were told, by one of the turnkeys, that the commissioners were preparing to depart, having finished the examination. Astonished to think that they meant to leave the depot without clearly investigating the circumstances that were the cause of their meeting, and feeling indignant that a cause of so much importance should be passed over so partially, the committee addressed a note to Mr. King, begging him not to shut the door of communication against the prisoners by closing the inquiry without giving them the privilege of a hearing, as the greatest part of our witnesses were yet unexamined, and their evidence they conceived to be of the utmost importance to the investigation. No reply was made to this note; but, in a few moments, we were told, that the commissioners had left the depot. How far they are justifiable in saying they examined *all* the evidences that offered themselves, we think is sufficiently shown.

The commissioners next go on to mention the insurrection of the prisoners about the bread on the 4th, two days previous to the events, the subject of that inquiry. Although the report correctly states the prisoners quietly returned to their own yards after their demands having been complied with, yet Mr. King, forgot to mention, that it was clearly represented to him, had the prisoners been so disposed on that night, they could have easily made their escape. Although that transaction had nothing to do, as relates to the prisoners, with the events of the 6th, we merely represent this circumstance to show, that there was no intention whatever on their part to break out

of the prison, as Shortland and his adherents have attempted to prove.

The report now goes on to mention, that on the evening of the 6th of April, about six o'clock in the evening, a hole was made in one of the walls of the prison sufficient for a full-sized man to pass, and others had been commenced but never completed, and that a number of prisoners were over the railing erected to prevent them from communicating with the sentinels on the walls, and that they were tearing up pieces of turf, and wantonly pelting each other in a noisy manner.

As to the hole made in the wall we believe the causes and reasons have been already sufficiently explained by the affidavits laid before the public. With respect to the prisoners being between the iron pailing and the wall, could have been, if it was not, easily explained to Mr. King, had he given an opportunity. It seems, that on the afternoon of the 6th, some of the prisoners having obtained leave of the sentinels on the walls to go over and lay upon the grass; others seeing them lying so much at their ease, went over to enjoy the same privilege; and as the sentinels made no objection to this proceeding, the number was soon increased to such a degree, that it became no longer an enjoyment to those who first obtained the privilege; some scuffling then ensued among themselves, and they began to pelt each other with turf and old shoes, principally in play, and among so many, no doubt, there must have been considerable noise; but how they can possibly connect this circumstance with the hole made in the wall, is intirely out of our power to conceive, as the iron railing separated them from the pretended breach in the wall, and distant from it more than half the length of the yard; of course, had the hole been intended as a breach, the iron pailing would have become a barrier instead of facilitating the means of an escape.

As to that part of the report which mentions the guard barracks being the repository for the arms of the guard off duty, and of its standing in the yard to which the hole in the wall would serve as a communication, and of its being a further cause of suspicion and alarm to Capt. Shortland; to one acquainted with the situation of the prison, such an idea would be ridiculous, but to those who are not acquainted with it, it will be only neces-

sary for us to mention, that if the prisoners had the intention of breaking out through this passage, and had actually got into the barrack yard, the difficulties they would then have to encounter would be much greater than to break a passage through the market square, or the back part of the yard. As to the idea of their possessing themselves of the muskets standing in the racks in the guard barracks (even if they knew of any being there) is childish; for how easy would it have been for the commanding officer, on the shortest intimation of such an attempt with one blast of his bugle, to have called all his guards to the spot before a hundredth part of the prisoners could have got into the yard, and by that means instantly put a stop to any further proceedings on their part.

We cannot conceive how Mr. King can possibly come forward, and say, on these grounds, it appeared to him that Captain Shortland was justified in giving the order for sounding the alarm-bell, when, if he found the prisoners were conducting themselves improperly, had he sent for the committee (as always had been his custom heretofore, when he had any charge against the prisoners for improper conduct) and told them that the prisoners were breaking the wall (which circumstance as has been published before, was not known to one tenth of the prisoners) and requested them to have represented to those engaged in it the consequences that must ensue if they persisted in such conduct, we have not a moment's hesitation in saying, they would have put a stop to any further proceedings of that kind.

That part which relates to the breaking of the iron chain which fastened No. 1 gate, and follows next in the report, says, there was no evidence to show whether it was done before or after the alarm-bell rang. As this was a material point on which they grounded Shortland's justification, we have to regret that the evidence we had to lay before the commissioners, and which would, in our opinion, have sufficiently cleared up that point, was not examined.

On the ringing of the alarm-bell, the rush towards the gates leading into the market-square was so great (attracted as has been before stated by curiosity) that those in front were irresistibly pushed forward by those in the rear, and if the chain had not broke, the lock must have given

way to the pressure, and by this opening, it is but natural to suppose, that a number must have been shoved into the square, in front of the soldiers, who were drawn up in a line across the square, with Shortland at their head.

If, as the report now goes on to state, there was no direct proof before them of a previous concert or preparation on the part of the prisoners, and no evidence of their intention or disposition to effect their escape on this occasion, excepting that which arose by *inference* from the whole of the detailed circumstances connected together, had Mr. King examined the evidence on the part of the prisoners, as minutely as it seems he examined those on the part of Shortland, he could not even have drawn the shadow of an *inference* of that being their intention.

Where the commissioners got their evidence for asserting that Capt. Shortland, by quiet means and persuasion, endeavoured to persuade the prisoners to retire into their respective yards, is unaccountable to us, as those who knew Capt. Shortland, know he is not a man of persuasion. It is correct that Dr. M'Grath used every exertion to persuade the prisoners to retire out of the square, which, if Shortland had allowed sufficient time, would have been quietly done—but the crowd, by this time, had got so great, and the pressure in the rear so strong, that those in front could not retreat until time should be allowed for the rear to fall back; but, the hasty, haughty, and overbearing temper of Shortland could not allow him to use such conciliatory means. He orders (the report says) fifteen file of the guard fronting the open gate, to the charge; and, after some little time, the charge was so far effectual, with but very little or no injury to the prisoners, as to drive them, for the most part, quite out of the square, with the exception of a small number, who continued their resistance about No. 1 gate. Under these circumstances, continues the report, the firing commenced.

Here we beg leave to request an attentive perusal of the affidavits of some of the prisoners, taken by the committee, and which relates particularly to this part of the transaction. It is there positively stated, that on the soldiers' coming to a charge the prisoners *all* retreated into the yard and pushed the gate to after them,

If the commissioners had examined that evidence, this part of their report ought to have been differently expressed.

We cannot conceive how Mr. King finds it difficult to reconcile the testimony respecting Captain Shortland's giving the order to fire, when he reports, that *several* of the Americans *swear positively* that Captain Shortland gave that order—and many of the soldiers and the English witnesses heard the word given by some one, but would not *swear* it was by Captain Shortland; and some (among whom is the officer commanding the guard) *think*, if Captain Shortland had given such an order, they must have heard it, which they did not. Thus, then, stands the foundation for this part of the report. An *English* officer *thinks* it is not so, and several Americans *swear* it is so; and he finds it is very difficult to reconcile their testimony. The lightness with which they seem to have passed over this most important point of that day's transaction, cannot but be deeply regretted by those who feel for the unhappy sufferers, when they go on to state, "It may remain a matter of doubt whether the firing first began in the square by order, or was a spontaneous act of the soldiers themselves; it seemed clear it was continued and renewed, both there and elsewhere, without orders—and that on the platforms and in several places about the prison it was *certainly* commenced *without any authority*." We must once more request the attention of the public to the affidavits already published: it is there sworn by one of the witnesses, that *previous* to the alarm bell being rung, and while walking in the yard, a soldier called to him from the walls, and told him to go in, as they would soon be fired upon. How, then, can it be possible, that a soldier on the walls should know that they would be fired upon, if the order had not been previously given to that effect? and had the bugleman been examined, he could have stated, that previous to the ringing of the alarm-bell, he received orders to *sound to fire*; so that when the soldiers took their stations on the walls, they were charged and prepared for that purpose.—With such information, we conceive the committee to stand fully justified in stating in their report, the belief of its being a pre-concerted plan, on the part of Shortland; and if the commissioners had possessed themselves with a knowledge of these cir-

cumstances, which they could and ought to have done, would they, then, reported Shortland as justifiable, even in a *military* point of view?

The next thing we have to notice in the report is, that very singular paragraph, which says, "from the facts of the crowd's being so close, and the firing, at *first*, being attended with *very little injury*, it appears probable, that a large proportion of the muskets were, as stated by one or two of the witnesses, levelled over the heads of the prisoners, a circumstance, in some respects, to be *lamented*." Is it, then, to be *lamented*, that the soldiers did not level their pieces on the *first* fire, directly into the crowd, which they have stated to be so great and so close, that a soldier declared, he could not come fairly down to a charge? or is it to be *lamented*, that one or two hundred were not killed at the first discharge, and a thousand or two wounded? if so, we think it much to be *lamented*, that the reporters were not there; and placed foremost in the crowd.

The circumstance of so few being hurt at the first discharge is not strange to those who are acquainted with the situation; and this occurrence alone corroborates the American evidence, and ought to have been sufficient proof to the commissioners that the prisoners on being charged upon, retreated through the gates, and shut them after them before the firing commenced; and which circumstance, alone, should have shut the door of justification against Shortland for commencing a fire upon them, as they were in their own yards. As this was the actual situation of the prisoners on the first discharge, and the soldiers having to fire through the iron paling, and the prisoners retreating on a descending ground, of course brought the muskets, when down to a level, over the heads of the prisoners—it was owing to this *fortunate* circumstance that so few were injured on the first discharge of the musketry: and it seems the inhuman Shortland was aware of this circumstance, when he was distinctly heard to order the soldiers to fire low. This does not appear to correspond with the first part of their report, which says, "Captain Shortland was in the market square exerting himself in giving orders to stop the firing."

That there was any provocation given to the soldiers to justify their subsequent brutal conduct, the commissioners them-

elves seem to find it very difficult to trace any evidence, although they say, it appears, that there was some resistance made to the turnkeys in shutting the prison, and that stones were thrown at the military. Had they examined the *prisoners* sufficiently, they would have been convinced that no resistance was made to the turnkeys in shutting the doors. As to throwing stones at the military while they were chasing them from corner to corner, and firing at them in every place where they had taken shelter from the balls, could it be expected but they would seize on something for self-defence, when they saw the soldiers running at them with their bayonets, and having no possible means of escape, as it has been before stated, all the doors in the prisons had been previously closed except one, and that one, perhaps, the length of the prison from him. Is there a man in such a situation but would seize on the first weapon that offered itself, and sell his life as dear as possible. How can they, then, make that the slightest justification for such outrageous conduct on the part of Shortland or the military?

As to most of the officers being absent when the soldiers came into the yard, is erroneous; it could have been proved that there was an officer in every yard, and in one instance where he was heard to give the order to fire on a party of prisoners close by the door, and running and making every exertion to enter the prison.

As to Capt. Shortland being busy in the square with the turnkeys, receiving and taking care of the wounded, certainly shows the Commissioner's want of correct information; for it is already before the public, in affidavit, the cruel manner in which the wounded were treated by him, and of his abuse to the prisoners who were bearing the wounded to the hospital gate. That part of the report which relates, that the time and commencement of this transaction was the officers' dinner hour, is too ridiculous for a comment. We do not believe that there was a prisoner in the depot that knew when or where the officers dined, and, therefore, can be no ground for an argument, that the prisoners were taking this opportunity to escape.

The report then goes on to state, "the cross fire which was kept up from several of the platforms on the walls round the prison, and directed against straggling parties of prisoners running about the

yard, endeavouring to enter the prison by the door which the turnkeys had left open, according to their usual practice, *does seem* to have been without object or excuse, and to have been a wanton attack upon the lives of defenceless, and, at the same time, unoffending individuals." In answer to this paragraph, we shall only reply—had the commissioners examined *all* the American evidence, and attached the same credit to it which, it appears, they have done to *all* the English evidence, similar expressions would have been made use of against Shortland's conduct throughout the whole of their report.

It appears to us, after an attentive examination of his report, that the commissioners mean to justify Shortland in commencing his murderous attack upon the prisoners, and to condemn the soldiers for continuing it. Singular as this idea appears, it is no less strange to us how it can be possible they could reconcile it to their feelings to make up a report containing such a direct contradiction to reason; for, surely, if Shortland could be justified in using coercive measures in the first instance, the military certainly should be acquitted for the subsequent massacre, as the whole was conducted under his immediate command; and if he had a *right* to kill one on the same ground, he might have extended it to a thousand. And, on the other hand, if any part of the transaction is to be condemned, Shortland should be to answer for the whole; for what necessity could there be made to attempt identifying any of the soldiers? Surely, the commissioners could not think of bringing them to punishment when they acted by the direct orders of Shortland and his officers? And if any one could or ought to be made to answer for the outrage, Shortland ought to be the first.

In addition to the contradictions contained in the commissioners' joint report, Mr. King, in his letter to his Excellency J. Q. Adams, almost denies the ground on which they have, in part, founded Shortland's justification, when he says (alluding to having heard several Americans *swear, positively*, that Shortland did give the order to fire, and an officer of the guard *thinks* if he had he should have heard him) "perhaps the *bias* of my mind was, that Shortland did give that order; and, wishing the report to go forth under our joint sig-

natures, I forbore to press some of the points which it involves so far as otherwise I might have done."

If, then, any part has been neglected, or passed over, for accommodation, or any other purpose (and one there certainly has, in not paying the same attention to the American as was done to the English evidence) it is to be regretted that Mr. King should so far forget or neglect the sacred duties attached to the appointment of a commissioner, to inquire into the cause of the murder of his countrymen, as to pass over any points which might have brought to light the means of punishment for the murderers, or obtained in some measure an indemnity for the surviving unhappy and maimed sufferers. Will not the shades of the departed victims haunt him in his midnight slumbers, and pointing to their lacerated bodies, say, these still remain unrevenged? Will not the unhappy survivors show the stumps of their amputated limbs, and say, these wounds fester, and still remain unatoned? Will not the widow and helpless orphan raise their innocent hands to heaven and cry, why was justice denied us? why was the heart so callous to our sufferings? and why was the bosom shut to sympathy? Let Mr. King point out some means to appease these bitter complaints, and we shall be satisfied.

We shall now close these unpleasant remarks by noticing another unaccountable error in Mr. King's letter to Mr. Adams, where he mentions, speaking of Shortland, "and his general conduct, previous to this occurrence, as far as I could with propriety enter into such details, appears to have been characterised with great fairness and even kindness in the relation in which he stood towards the prisoners." We shall not pretend to ask Mr. King where he obtained the evidence on which he grounds this assertion; we are sure it was not from the prisoners, who ought to be the best judges of that circumstance; but, instead of all that, all the Americans who were permitted to express an opinion on that subject at the examination, declared, without reserve, as would all the prisoners in the depot had they been asked the question, that Shortland's conduct, from the commencement of his appointment to that station, had been *cruel, oppressive, and overbearing*; and, instead of taking measures to alleviate the dis-

tresses of the wretched objects under him; as a feeling man would have done, he seemed to take pleasure in harrassing them whenever he could find the slightest pretext for doing so.

W. COLTON,	HENRY DOLLIVER,
JOSEPH SWAIN,	B. WEEKS,
ARCH'D TAYLOR,	PHILIP BLACK,
ARM. M'INTYRE,	HOMER HULL,
WM. COCHRAN,	J. M. BUSHFIELD,
DAVID INGALLS,	JOHN JONES,
REUBEN SHERMAN,	WM. DEMERELL,
RICH'D J. MACKAY,	THOS. WARD.
WM. K. WHITE.	

POLITICAL INTEGRITY.

MR. CORBETT.—I have been always a great admirer of your straight forward and decisive scheme of policy. No crookedness, no compromising, no circumventing of principle, can find admission or connivance in your manly and virtuous creed. What can be gained by half measures, by assenting and dissenting, by nibbling at the detail of principles that are not openly and pertinaciously reprobated; in short, by blowing hot and cold at the same time?—A temporising and a conciliating system of policy, giving quarter to corrupt principles, and attacking their inevitable effects, is ruinous to the best interests of national liberty. This *namby pamby* line of conduct is worse than nothing at all; it has the aspect of patriotism, whilst it is in reality a miserable personal drivelling, that never reached any object of national advantage. When principles are undeniably defective and pernicious in their application to practice, what can it avail to be reviling at the practice, if the principles are left protected by the sanctity of long usage, by an admitted or an accredited baseness, that has been so long recognised and acted on, that it would be rude, nay, ungentlemanly, and repugnant even to the whiggism of the day, to censure and resist? Thus it is, that when the question of parliamentary reform, the profligate waste of public money on projects of interminable war for unconstitutional objects, and the insufferable burthen of *unnecessary* taxation are brought under parliamentary discussion, either the order of the day, expressions of *ennui*, or an avowed disinclination to interfere with the course of established precedent and custom, however unprincipled or indefen-

sible, is the usual manner of disposing of all subjects of that nature. When it has been offered to prove the existence of jobbing for seats in parliament, in a manner expressly forbidden by the constitutional law of the land, the investigation has not been supported; an unpatriotic aversion has been shewn against entertaining the proposition, and the prevailing usages have been held to be best, because, forsooth, to disturb them would be dangerous! Certain members of parliament, whom it would be invidious to name, distinguished more or less for patriotism and independence, will hear all this in silence, and content themselves with carping at the practical evils issuing from alleged corrupt principles, without at all impugning those principles, as if it were possible to remedy an effect, whilst its direct cause remains in full activity. It cannot be denied, that senatorial characters of this blinking description occasion serious injury to the cause of political justice and civil liberty. They countenance, by the semblance of opposition, practices, which, if unopposed, must, sooner or later, draw on themselves a weight of responsibility, which they would not be able to sustain, and under which, therefore, they must at length succumb. An inefficient opposition affords the delusive aspect of a just triumph, and, instead of either defeating or repressing mal-practices, gives them the ascendancy of victory, and acquires for their partisans the reputation of being able, or, at least, successful statesmen. No one has assumed more commendable latitude than yourself, Mr. Cobbett, in resisting, *absolutely* resisting, the treachery, frauds, and bad faith, against the vital interests of civil liberty. You have already vastly advanced the good cause; and your superior claim to the gratitude of mankind will be duly remembered and acknowledged, as long as human reason and an innate disposition to national freedom shall endure. Go on in the great and mighty work—Your cause is good—It is as just as truth itself, and must finally prevail. Your pen, wielded by your honest and invincible love of liberty, is more powerful, in that sacred cause, than the combined swords of all the despotic emperors and kings in the world can be against it. The broad truths which you promulgate are too evident, too legitimate, and too conclusive, to admit of being mis-

interpreted, in a way that might draw on you the vengeance of *libel law*. You are, indeed, too well schooled in the assumed privileges of that baneful provision against an unrestrained liberty, to communicate whatever may be true. You have already lamentably suffered under the penal severities of that legal institution; but, thanks to your undismayed fortitude, to your discriminating understanding, to your unremitted diligence, and to your ardent devotion to the political freedom and social happiness of mankind, you are still rendering, and, it may be presumed, will continue to do so, through the medium of your *Weekly Political Register*, more essential service to the cause of civil liberty than is afforded from all other sources collectively estimated.

The true friends of mankind must rejoice in the contemplation, that you have, sons educated by a parent, like yourself, in the way they ought to go. If the heretage be *possible*, secure to them your political integrity, your argumentative acuteness, your persuasive style, your luminous explanation, and your conclusive clearness. With such possessions, fostered and matured by such a preceptor, the world has a right confidently to look forward to a long continuance of the scheme of popular instruction on the political rights of man, which you many years since originated, and have uninterruptedly pursued, as well when in prison as when at large, with unrivalled credit to yourself, and with incalculable benefit to the whole human race.

ONE OF YOUR INNUMERABLE
ADMIRERS,

POLITICAL DELUSION.

SIR.—It is a melancholy case when the fate of an individual, *once feared, and therefore never forgiven*, lies at the mercy of Statesmen; beings *ex officio* dead to generous feelings; whose whole duty is comprized in a single term—political interest. This sole principle of state morality has defiled with tears and blood the annals of every country in every age. The unutterable abominations of religious persecution, falsely attributed to religion itself, have been committed in support of political interest, by such men as, in the present day, are stiling themselves the Guardians of Social Order: a sort of civil

popery, which authorises them, by virtue of decrees, framed specifically and *ex post facto*, to inflict every severity on their opponents that is not forbidden by their own fears. As it was the gross ignorance and superstition of the people which suffered the Gardiners and Bonners of other times to dance and jest round the fires they had kindled; so it is through political ignorance, that the great body of this nation are filled with exultation at the disgraceful scenes now acting in France; and especially, at the cruel sentence inflicted, by our own government, on one distinguished individual. On the system of political delusion, cherished for the last 23 years, with such assiduity and success, the actors in this tragedy rely for indemnity: But let them remember that it is a forced and artificial state, inconsistent with the improved condition of the human intellect on other subjects; and that it requires but a short period of home-felt adversity to remove the veil. Then will the devoted champions of monarchy discover the marvellous absurdity of their own policy: to beat down and then trample upon the head of their party; the only potentate who had the inclination and the power to restore royalty to the respect of mankind! The man who always fought on their side; who did more in one day against the Republic of France than combined Europe had been able to achieve in a ten years war! Do they not even now perceive that the fall of Bonaparte must eventually work the triumph of French Republicanism? The battle of Waterloo, had its issue been the reverse of that for which they are so loud in their rejoicings, would have established in France a *monarchy*, more surely than an army of Cossacks quartered in every department. And what are the present consequences of that Victory? In France, the *extinction* of the royalist party, and a horror of its principles. In England, such an addition to the before intolerable load of taxes, as the boldest cannot look upon without dismay. To confine, upon a desolate rock, cut off from all communication with the rest of the world, the chosen leader of the French nation, whom the chance of war has placed at our disposal, *seems* an appropriate conclusion to this extraordinary drama; but "*the end is not yet*;" poetical justice requires a different termination. X.

THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF DESPOTISM.

MR. COBBETT,—The inequality of both physical and moral power in the infant state of nations, almost inevitably leads to the early assumption and ultimate establishment of despotism. The temporary authority, either conceded or usurped in favour of a few controlling individuals, soon contrived, through the influence of the worst passions, to magnify and extend itself to absolute power. Power thus surreptitiously obtained would have but a short-lived existence, were it not fenced round and protected by the various devices which craft could exercise on the ignorant and unsuspecting multitude. Hence the original distinction between the governing and the governed, not arising in any thing like a recognition of popular right in the social compact, but beginning and proceeding in arbitrary assumption and indiscriminating submission. It is the policy as well as the practice of moral turpitude of every kind, to endeavour to conceal its deformity under the semblance of plausible professions: in other words, it declares not its own baseness, and wishes to palm itself on others for being something estimable. The distances of power and privilege between the *soi-disant* governing authority and the governed, becomes progressively greater and greater, until at length every thing like claiming attention to wrongs on the part of the people vanishes and is no more seen. In this unnatural and criminal distribution of political power and civic rights, one generation follows another until prejudices of education, and the influence of habit, rivet the chains of slavery with unyielding fixation. Authority thus created, and slavery thus produced, exhibit a true picture of the unjust and degraded state of national society now existing, with but few exceptions, over the face of the habitable world! With such despotism and slavery, therefore, is it possible for the human race to attain to any thing like rational happiness? Mankind are naturally endowed with powers of intellect commensurate with those virtuous enjoyments that must have been destined for them, and which, sooner or later, will be realised by the irrecoverable downfall of despotism. Were the human species naturally ferocious, and required to be restrained and curbed by institutions authorising the vilest bondage, some apology might be afforded for many of

the systems of government extant, and which *impiously* regard themselves as sanctioned by divine permission, as having received *supernatural* appointment, as being the Lord's anointed, the very Vicegerents of the *Almighty* here below. Hence the origin of *Priesthood* and *Priestcraft*, the sacred hierarchy, without which the delusion of despotism could not be permanently supported. Who are the persons interested in this anti-social degrading system of government? A few individuals, grouped into a junto of power, hereditary or otherwise, according to the enslaved usages of the vast multitude. The people, the inhabitants at large, are the enduring slaves, that immensurable and ruinous power may be concentrated in an insulated few. It is not surprising that those who have arrogated the privilege of hereditary political right and authority should be tenacious of them, should even fight and die for them if necessary; but it is inconceivable that the great body of the people can also be brought to immolate themselves for their preservation! Nothing but ignorance or perversion, all but hopeless, can countenance the existence of personal despotism at the expence of popular liberty. What is the grand efficiency of man but the civic circumstances in which he is placed favouring its utmost development. If it be cramped, it is all but annihilated; it loses its elasticity, its spring

of energy, by which alone it can unfold its vast and genuine powers. Those who favour despotism must admire a chaotic confusion of the human mind, rather than a generous display of its chaste combinations, by which it at once perceives and provides for all that is indispensable to the real dignity and character of man. The world may endure for countless ages, but with the existing system of despotic legislation in many countries, the condition of the human race would not be ameliorated; on the contrary, it must retrograde, until the slavery of adopted prejudices and ignorance shall terminate in utter anarchy and devastation. The vast multitudes of the human race, wherever situated, or however governed, should make the governing authority responsible for the effects of the prevailing government, and should, from time to time, *unâ voce*, insist upon such changes, corrections, and amendments, as the arbitrary nature of original institutions, erroneous practices, corrupt abuses, and altered circumstances, of whatever kind, may appear to require. To this multitudinous tribunal must the wretched grievances of the human race be addressed, and from that legitimate source, in which alone the authoritative weight of both physical and moral power exists, complete and permanent redress can be obtained.

AN OPPONENT OF DESPOTISM.

PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; and Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain, during the last week.

BREAD.—The Quarter Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drams, 11d.

WHEAT.—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 7s.

MEAT.—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 6½d; Mutton, 7½d; Veal, 8d; Pork, 7½d; Lamb, 8½d.

WOOL.—Vigonia, 16s.; Portugal, 8s.; Spanish Lamb, 9s. 5d.; Leonosa, 7s. 3d.; Segovia, 5s. 9d.; Seville, 4s. 6d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Germany, 53.7.2lb. —From Spain, 103.680lb.

BULLION.—Gold in bars, £4 9s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 7d. each.—Silver in bars, 5s. 9d.—N. B. These are the prices in *Bank of England paper*.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 3l. 17s. 10½d.—Standard Silver in bars, in the coin of the English Mint, is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

ENGLISH FUNDS.—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; 56½.

FRENCH FUNDS.—The price of the FIVE Per Cents, in gold and silver money; 61.

BANKRUPTCIES.—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 18.

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PAPER AGAINST GOLD,

AND

GLORY AGAINST PROSPERITY.

TO THE PEOPLE IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

LETTER XXX.

The Bullion Committee's two years twice expired.—The Peace of 1814 saw the Bank Protection Bill renewed.—All the pretexts were vanished.—Ominous opinions.—New issue joined between the Author on the one part and the Paper partizans on the other.

GENTLEMEN,—In renewing my correspondence with you, after a lapse of more than four years, and after the wonderful events of the years 1814 and 1815, it may be necessary for me to remind you of the state in which we left the question of Paper against Gold, in the summer of 1811, when I remained at issue with the Bullion Committee, and also with the partizans of Paper-Money, appealing to TIME, the trier of all things, to decide between us. Four years is a considerable space of time; and, we shall see now, on which side TIME, thus far, has decided.

The Bullion Committee proposed to the House of Commons to compel the Bank to pay in gold and silver at the end of two years from 1810. The Ministry opposed this proposition; and asserted, that, when peace returned, specie would return, and the payment of it at the Bank would take place, as a matter of course, because the law, which protected the Bank against demands of payment in cash, would, of itself, expire at the end of six months, after peace should be made. This act was passed in December 1803. See Vol. I. page 338.

Now, in opposition to these two assertions, I was satisfied, that I proved it to be impossible for the Bank to pay in real money, in war or in peace, as long as the dividends on the debt continued to be paid. Well, Gentlemen, what has since been done? Has the Bank yet paid in Gold and Silver, though four years in-

stead of two have passed over our heads? You know well that it has not.

But, observe, peace was made in May, 1814. And what did the Ministry then do? Did they suffer the act to expire, "as a matter of course?" Did they make good their assertion, that Gold and Silver should come back with peace? They assured us, that it was the power of Napoleon which had robbed us of our gold and silver; and that, in order to get them back again, we must go on fighting and paying, till that power should be diminished. It was not only diminished in 1814, but it was destroyed. Napoleon was dethroned and banished, and the long-sighed-for event, the restoration of the Capets, took place. A Congress met at Vienna; all was so arranged, that peace in Europe promised to last for our lives, and peace with America had taken place too. Now, then, was the time to suffer the Bank Act to die that natural death, of which the Minister had so boldly talked in 1810. But, instead of this, what did the Ministry do? Why, they renewed the act for another year! And, you will please to observe, that, though this renewal did not actually become a law till after the return of Napoleon from Elba, it was distinctly stated by the Ministry, before that time, that the renewal would be proposed to the parliament; and Ministers in England seldom propose, as you know very well, any measure which the Houses refuse to adopt. Therefore there is no shadow of excuse for the renewal of the act, except, that the Bank cannot, in peace any more than in war, pay in Gold and Silver. This is a very good reason for renewing the act; but this is completely fulfilling my prediction; completely proving, and that by act of parliament to, the soundness of my former reasoning.

The parliament and, indeed, the country, were, as to this question, divided into two parties: one said, that the Bank would be able to pay in specie in two years: the other said, that the Bank was always able to pay, but that it would not

be prudent to suffer the Bank to pay, till peace came. I gave it as my opinion, that peace would not enable the Bank to pay; or, at any rate, that her Ladyship would not pay in Gold and Silver when peace should come. Thus far, then, time has proved me to have been right.

We must now wait for TIME again; but, happily, we shall not have to wait long. Peace is now again come; and come in a way, too, that seems to defy even chance to interrupt its duration. Not only is Napoleon down, but he is in our hands; he is banished to a rock, of which we have the sole command and possession; he is as completely in the power of our government as if they had him in the Tower of London. Therefore, this great obstacle to Gold and Silver payments is swept away. The Capets, or the *Bourbons*, as they call themselves, are restored. Spain has regained that beloved Ferdinand, in whose cause we were so zealous, and he has restored the Inquisition and the Jesuits. The Pope, to the great joy of loyal Protestants, is again in the chair of St. Peter; has again resumed his Keys and his Shepherd's crook. In short, our government, so far from dreading any enemy, is in *strict alliance* with every sovereign in Europe.

Now, then, are come the halcyon days. Now John Bull is to sit down in peace under his own vine and his own fig-tree with no one to make him afraid. Now there will be; there *can* be, no need of armies or navies. Now, then, my good neighbours, we shall, surely, see Gold and Silver return. Which of you will bet any thing on the affirmative of this proposition? My opinion is, that we shall not see it return; that we shall not see the Bank pay in Gold and Silver; that we shall not hear the Minister say, that the Old Lady is ready with her cash. In short, my opinion is, that another and another act of parliament, will convince even the most stupid and credulous, that, as long as the dividends on the National Debt are paid, so long will they be paid in Bank Notes, so long will the law to protect the Bank against demands in real money remain in full force; for, the man that needs more than two more acts of parliament to produce this conviction in his mind must be an idiot.

Let us wait, then, with patience for two years more; but, let us keep our eyes

steadily fixed on the movements of the Ministry and the Bank. Let us listen quietly to all they say, without seeming to take any notice of what they are about. If they *do* pay in cash at the end of two years, and still continue to pay the dividends, or the interest of the Debt, I will frankly acknowledge, that I ought to pass for an ignorant pretender all the remainder of my life. If they *do not* pay in cash at the end of two years more, then, what they ought to pass for I shall leave my readers to decide.

As to giving them a longer tether, that is wholly out of the question. Twelve years is the average length, it is said, of the life of man. I have already given them *four*. I will allow them two more; but, as the grey hairs begin to thicken very fast upon my head; as my sons and daughters begin to walk faster than their father and mother, I certainly shall not lengthen the tether; but, at the end of two years from this first day of the month of September, 1815, I shall, if I still hold a pen, and the old Lady does not pay the dividends in cash, assume it as a notoriously admitted fact, that *she never will and never can*.

Before I conclude this letter, however, I will just notice the strange doctrines which are beginning to be held. We hear people saying, and in print too, that *Paper Money* is a *better thing* than gold and silver coin. That it is more *commodious*; that it cannot be *sent out of the country* (which last is very true); that it is so much *clear gain to the nation*; that the nation would be *ruined*, if it were to use gold and silver coin instead of paper-money. These are ugly notions. They seem to be thrown out to *feel the pulse* of John Bull. They do not come forth *officially*; but they come from sources that render them rather more than suspicious. The *friends of government*; that is to say, those who, in some way or other, *gain by the taxes*, promulgate them; and hence we may pretty safely conclude, that they are not very disagreeable to the government itself. There is one person connected with the Old Lady, who has put forth such doctrines. Very natural, you will say. Yes, but it is not so very natural that we should adopt them into our political creed. These doctrines do not argue much in favour of our expectations of gold and silver payments. They put one in mind of Goldsmith's friend's high

eulogium on liver and bacon just when he was about to announce to his guest the absence of a promised venison pasty.

With these hints ; with these motives to watchfulness, let us now lay aside the subject of *Paper against Gold*, and proceed to inquire what *good* this nation has derived from the late wars, in which we are said to have acquired glory that calls for thanksgivings and monuments. This inquiry shall be the subject of future letters. I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,
WM. CORBETT.

Bolton, 1st Sept. 1815.

LETTER XXXI.

What is the condition of Great Britain, compared to what it would have been, if the wars against the French had not taken place?

GENTLEMEN,—The war, which began in 1793, is now over. The troops are not all come home, the ships are not all paid off, the account is not wound up ; but, the war is over. Social Order is restored ; the French are again under the power of the Bourbons ; the Revolution is at an end ; no change has been effected in England ; our Boroughs, and our Church and Nobility and all have been preserved ; our government tell us, that we have covered ourselves with glory. And now let us see what we have *gained* by this long war, what *we*, the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who pay taxes for the support of the people in office, the army, the navy, the sinecure placemen, the pensioners, and the Royal Family, have gained by this war.

But, here I shall be met at the threshold by Old George Rose, who will say : “ that is not a fair way of putting the question.” George, who is a person of such well-known merit, that he has sinecure places worth about £4,000 a year ; the greater part of which descends in reversion to his eldest son. George, who is very long-sighted, and can perceive conclusions which are greatly at a distance from the premises, will meet me at the very out-set, and cry “ hold ! “ hold ! it is not of what the poor fellows “ have gained that you ought to talk to “ them. You ought to ask them *how* “ much more they would have lost than

“ they have lost, had it not been for the “ war, now happily terminated amidst “ such a blaze of glory.”

George sees what I am going at. He knows, if you do not, what a picture I am going to draw, and how clearly I shall trace our Debts, Taxes, Paupers, and manifold miseries, now only beginning to be seriously felt, to the war ; and, therefore, he would make you believe (as he has endeavoured to do in print long ago), that it would have been still *worse* for you, if the war had not taken place.

Gentlemen, I will leave even George Rose nothing to complain of. I will take the question in his own way ; and I shall, for argument's sake, voluntarily make admissions in his favour, for which he (though that is saying a great deal) would not have the conscience to ask.

It is impossible to say, or even to form any thing like a correct estimate of, what would have been the consequences, in England, of remaining at peace in 1793, instead of going to war against the French people. But, it is easy to name some things which would *not* have taken place, even if peace had been preserved. For instance, the earth of England would still have retained its former qualities ; the sun, the moon, the stars, the rains, the frosts, the snows, would not have been obstructed by peace. The animals, of all sorts, would have continued breeding. Young people would have continued to grow up and to see their parents buried. We should, in short, have had the same air to breathe, and the same kinds of food and drink, and the same kinds of clothes to wear.

There are some of the most resolute Anti-jacobins, who will assert the contrary of the greater part of all this. They will insist, that all nature would have suffered ; and that England would have become a wild waste, inhabited by savage men and savage beasts. This, however, we will not believe. We must confine our admissions, great as they are to be, far within this compass.

I will admit, then, that, if the People of France had been suffered to remain at peace, that, as far as the circumstances of the two nations were, previous to the French revolution, alike, *so far* the People of England would have followed their example. The Jacobins, as the friends of Reform were called, were

very active. The success of the People of France, in overturning a most horrid despotism, had produced great pleasure in England amongst the mass of the people; and, I have no doubt, that, had our government continued at peace with France; that, had it not adopted any of its hostile measures in 1792; that if it had continued the former relationships of peace, commerce, and intercourse with France, some *very great changes* would have taken place in England.

What, then, according to the above supposition, would those changes have been? We are told of the burning of country houses, of the demolition of gentlemen's property, of the pillaging of Aristocrats, of the massacres and guillotining of the French. But, first let it be observed, that, all these, which took place after July 1792, are fairly to be ascribed to *the war*: that war which the Bourbons and Aristocrats, and the Prussians and Austrians made upon the French, in order to compel them to return to a submission to that despotism, which they had overturned. Previous to this time, though there were many acts of unjustifiable violence on the part of some of the people, there were none of those bloody scenes which took place *after* the invasion of France by the Aristocrats and the Prussians, with the Duke of Brunswick at their head, in 1792, when the King was alive, and was enjoying as much power, as many very wise men think a King ought to enjoy. It was, therefore, not till *war* was begun against the French People, that those bloody scenes ensued, which are, by the Aristocrats, ascribed to the *revolution*, when they ought to be, and are by all just men, ascribed to *the war* waged against the French People.

In seeking, therefore, to ascertain what changes would have taken place in England, we must always bear in mind how far the French had gone, *previous to their being attacked by the Emigrants and the Allies*; and, previous to our hostile measures against them, indicating intentions of war. Because, all the changes, which the French made *after that*, we have a right to suppose they would not have made *had it not been for the war*; that very war, of which we were the main supporters, and which has only now come to a close after twenty-two years duration.

What, then, *were the changes*, which

the French (whose *example*, observe, it was said we should follow) made previous to the war? But before I come to state these, I must notice, that the situation of England at the commencement of the French revolution was very different from that of France. The sufferings of the latter had been so much greater, that it is not reasonable to suppose that the people here would have gone such lengths, in the way of resentment, as the people of France went. This leads us to call to our recollection what the sufferings of the people of France really were.

It is notorious, that, for ages, previous to the French revolution, we, in this country, constantly described the French as slaves; our histories, our moral essays, our political writings, our poems, our plays, all describe them as slaves, and as cowards for submitting to such a government as then existed. *Now*, indeed, our conductors of newspapers, with a degree of impudence absolutely without parallel, abuse the French people for having destroyed the *PATERNAL sway of the Bourbons*!—Let us now see, then, what was the nature of that "*paternal sway*;" and, when we have taken a full view of it, and of its effects, we shall be able to judge whether it be probable that the people of France will listen to those who are endeavouring to bring them back to the blessings of that "*paternal sway*."—But, how are we to get at a *true account* of the nature and effects of the Bourbon government? We must resort to some *authority*, to somebody's word, whose word is to be relied on.—The authority to which I am about to refer, is that of Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG, who is, and who has been, for many years past, *Secretary to the Board of Agriculture*, with a salary, paid by the public, of 500*l.* a year.—Mr. Young is, in the first place, a man of great talents; and, perhaps, it is impossible to find out a person so fit to be referred to as Mr. Young. His studies had been of that kind, which peculiarly fitted him for an inquiry of this description; and he was in France at precisely the time for making it. He made, during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789, an agricultural and politico-economical survey of the kingdom of France. He was there when the revolution began; he was there during its progress until the new constitution was formed. He was not only

living in great intimacy with many of the most respectable leaders in that work; but, he himself, crossing the kingdom in all directions, made himself minutely acquainted, by the means of personal inquiry and the evidence of his senses, of every particular relating to the nature and effects of those "*ancient Ordinances and Customs*," of which the partizans of the war now boast.—During his travels, he gives an account of these, by citing numerous instances of the abominable tyranny under which the people groaned; and, at the close of his work, he publishes *Reflections on the Revolution*, beginning with a summary description of the state of the people under the Bourbon government, and, to the evidences of his own observation, adding, as he proceeds, the complaints contained in the *Cahiers*, that is to say, the lists of complaints made to the National Assembly by the most respectable people of the different provinces, to which *Cahiers* he refers in the notes.—This part of Mr. Young's work I am now about to insert. I beg you to go through it with attention. You will see how every part of it applies to the subject on which we are, and also to the present crisis.

ON THE REVOLUTION OF FRANCE.

"The gross infamy which attended *lettres de cachet* and the Bastille, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them esteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the most prominent features of the despotism of France. They were certainly carried to an excess hardly credible; to the length of being sold, with blanks, to be filled up with names at the pleasure of the purchaser; who was thus able, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the bosom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where he would exist forgotten, and die unknown!* But such excesses could not

* An anecdote which I have from an authority to be depended on, will explain the profligacy of Government, in respect to these arbitrary imprisonments. Lord Albemarle, when ambassador in France, about the year 1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American colonies, which, three years after, produced the war, calling one day on the minister for foreign affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while he finished a short conversation in the apartment in which he usually received those who conferred

with him. As his lordship walked backwards and forwards, in a very small room (a French cabinet is never a large one), he could not help seeing a paper lying on the table, written in a large legible hand, and containing a list of the prisoners in the Bastille, in which the first name was Gordon. When the minister entered, Lord Albemarle apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper; the other replied, that it was not of the least consequence, for they made no secret of the names. Lord A. then said, that he had seen the name of Gordon first in the list, and he begged to know, as in all probability the person of this name was a British subject, on what account he had been put into the Bastille. The minister told him that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make the proper inquiries. The next time he saw Lord Albemarle, he informed him, that, on inquiring into the case of Gordon, he could find no person who could give him the least information; on which he had had Gordon himself interrogated, who solemnly affirmed, that he had not the smallest knowledge or even suspicion, of the cause of his imprisonment, but that he had been confined thirty years; however, added the minister, I ordered him to be immediately released, and he is now at large. Such a case wants no comment.

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pendants of the intendant, and of all his *sub-delegués*, and the friends of these friends, to a long chain of dependance, might be favoured in taxation at the expense of their miserable neighbours; and that noblemen, in favour at court, to whose protection the intendant himself would naturally look up, could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight of their taxes on others, without a similar support. Instances, and even gross ones, have been reported to me in many parts of the kingdom, that made me shudder at the oppression to which numbers must have been condemned, by the undue favours granted to such crooked influence. But, without recurring to such cases, what must have been the state of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted? A cruel aggravation of their misery, to see those who could best afford to pay, exempted, because able!—The inrolments for the militia, which the *Cahiers* call an *injustice without example*,* were another dreadful scourge on the peasantry; and, as married men were exempted from it, occasioned in some degree that mischievous population, which brought beings into the world, in order for little else than to be starved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually the ruin of many hundreds of farmers; more than 300 were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Lorraine: all these oppressions fell on the *tiers état* only; the nobility and clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, militia, and *corvées*. The penal code of finance makes one shudder at the horrors of punishment inadequate to the crime.† A few features will sufficiently characterize the old government.

* *Nob. Briey*, p. 6, &c. &c.

† It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Consid. par M. le Baron de Cormeré*, tom. ii. p. 187.) very well informed on every subject of finance, that, upon an average, there were annually taken up and sent to prison or the galleys, Men, 2,310, Women, 896, Children, 201. Total, 3,407. 300 of these to the galleys (tom i. p. 112). The salt confiscated from these miserables amounted to 12,633 quintals, which at the mean price of 8 liv. are

2,772 lb. of salted flesh, at 10s.	1,386
1,086 horses, at 50 liv.	54,300
52 carts, at 150 liv.	7,800
Fines,	53,207
Seized in houses,	105,580
	323,987

1. Smugglers of salt, armed and assembled to the number of five, in Provence, a fine of 500 liv. and nine years galleys;—in all the rest of the kingdom, death.

2. Smugglers armed, assembled, but in number under five, a fine of 300 liv. and three years galleys. Second offence, death.

3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horses, carts, or boats; a fine of 300 liv. if not paid, three years galleys. Second offence, 400 liv. and nine years galleys.—In Dauphiné, second offence, galleys for life.—In Provence, five years galleys.

4. Smugglers, who carry the salt on their back, and without arms, a fine of 200 liv. and, if not paid, are flogged and branded. Second offence, a fine of 300 liv. and six years galleys.

5. Women, married and single smugglers, first offence a fine of 100 liv. Second, 300 liv. Third, flogged, and banished the kingdom for life. Husbands responsible both in fine and body.

6. Children smugglers, the same as women.—Fathers and mothers responsible; and, for defect of payment, flogged.

7. Nobles, if smugglers, deprived of their nobility; and their houses razed to the ground.

8. Any persons in employments (I suppose employed in the salt-works or the revenue), if smuggler, death. And such as assist in the theft of salt in the transport, hanged.

9. Soldiers smuggling, with arms, are hanged; without arms, galleys for life.

10. Buying smuggled salt to resell it, the same punishment as for smuggling.

11. Persons in the salt employments, empowered, if two, or one with two witnesses, to enter and examine houses, even of the privileged orders.

12. All families, and persons liable to the *taille*, in the provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their consumption of salt for the *pot and salière* (that is, the daily consumption; exclusive of salting meat, &c. &c.) estimated at 7 lb. a head per annum, which quantity they are forced to buy, whether they want it or not, under the pain of various fines, according to the case.

The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term, is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the king, to princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very singular, on manors



granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie*, was an annihilation of all manerial rights to game within it. This was a trifling business, in comparison of other circumstances; for, in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries*, it must be observed, that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer, not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering, at pleasure, over the whole country, to the destruction of the crops; and to the peopling of the galleys by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children. The game in the *capitainerie* of Montceau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 liv. per annum.* No wonder then that we should find the people asking '*Nous demandons à grand cris la destruction des capitaineries & celle de toute sorte de gibier.*'† And what are we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permission—'*De Nettoyer ses grains, de faucher les prés artificiels, et d'enlever ses chaumes sans égard pour la perdrix ou tout autre gibier.*'‡ Now, an English reader will scarcely understand it without being told, that there were numerous edicts for preserving the game, which prohibited weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; steeping seed, lest it should injure the game; manuring with night-soil, lest the flavour of the partridges should be injured by feeding on the corn so produced; mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, so late as to spoil many crops; and taking away the stubble, which would deprive the birds of shelter. The tyranny exercised in these *capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of country, was so great, that many *cahiers* demanded the utter suppression of them.§ Such were the

exertions of arbitrary power which the lower orders felt directly from the royal authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a question whether the others, suffered circuitously through the nobility and the clergy, were not yet more oppressive? Nothing can exceed the complaints made in the *cahiers* under this head. They speak of the dispensation of justice in the manerial courts, as comprising every species of despotism: the districts indeterminate—appeals endless—irreconcilable to liberty and prosperity—and irrevocably proscribed in the opinion of the public—augmenting litigations—favouring every species of chicane—ruining the parties—not only by enormous expenses on the most petty objects, but by a dreadful loss of time. The judges commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in *cabarets*, and are absolutely dependant on the seigneurs.† Nothing can exceed the force of expression used in painting the oppressions of the seigneurs, in consequence of their feudal powers. They are "*vexations qui sont le plus grand fléau des peuples.*"‡—*Esclavage affligeant.*§—*Ce régime désastreuse.*|| That the *feodalité* be for ever abolished. The countryman is tyrannically enslaved by it. Fixed and heavy rents; vexatious processes to secure them; appreciated unjustly to augment them: rents, *solidaires*, and *reventables*; rents, *chêantes*, and *levantes*; *sumages*. Fines at every change of the property, in the direct as well as collateral line; feudal redemption (*retraite*); fines on sale, to the eighth and even the sixth penny; redemptions (*rachats*) injurious in their origin, and still more so in their extension: *banalité* of the mill, ¶ of the oven, and of the wine and cyder-press; *corvées* by custom;

* Rennes, art. 12.

† Neversois, art. 42.

‡ Tiers Etat de Venues, p. 24.—That is "Vexations which are the greatest scourge of the people."

§ T. Etat Clermont Ferrand, p. 52.—That is: "Cruel Slavery."

|| Tiers Etat, Auxerre, art. 6.—That is: "This ruins system of governing."

¶ By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the mill of the seigneur only; to press their grapes at his press only; and to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often spoiled, and more especially wine, since in Champagne those grapes which, pressed immediately, would make white wine, by waiting for the press, which often happens, make red wine only.

* Cahier du tiers état de Meaux, p. 49.

† De Mantec et Meulan, p. 40.—Also, Nob. & Tier Etat de Peronne, p. 42. De Trois ordres de Montfort, p. 28.—That is: "We most earnestly pray for the suppression of the Capitaineries, and that of all the game laws."

‡ De Mantec et Meulan, p. 38.—That is to say, "the favour to weed their corn, to mow their upland grass, and to take off their stubble, without consulting the convenience of the partridges, or any other sort of game."

§ Clergé de Provins & Montceau, p. 35.—Clergé de Paris, p. 25.—Clergé de Mantec & Meulan, p. 45, 46.—Clergé de Laon, p. 11.—Nob. de Nemours, p. 17.—Nob. de Paris, p. 22.—Nob. d'Arras, p. 29.

corvées by usage of the fief: *corvées* established by unjust decrees; *corvées* arbitrary, and even phantastical; *servitudes*; *prestations*, extravagant and burthensome; collections by assessment incollectable; *aveux, minus, impunissement*; litigations ruinous and without end: the rod of seigneurial finance for ever shaken over our heads: vexation, ruin, outrage, violence, and destructive servitude, under which the peasants, almost on a level with Polish slaves, can never but be miserable, vile, and oppressed.* They demand also, that the use of hand-mills be free; and hope that posterity, if possible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bretagne, armed with the judicial power, has not blushed even in these times at breaking hand mills, and at selling annually to the miserable, the faculty of bruising between two stones a measure of buck-wheat or barley.† The very terms of these complaints are unknown in England, and untranslatable; they have probably arisen long since the feudal system ceased in this kingdom. What are these tortures of the peasantry in Bretagne, which they call *chevanchés, quintaines, soule, saut de poison, baiser de mariées, chansons; transporté d'œuf sur un charrette; silence des grenouilles; § corvée a misericorde; milods; leide; couponage; cartelage; barage; fouage; marechaussée; ban vin; ban d'aout; trousses; gelineage; eiverage; taillabilité; vingtain; sterlage; bordelage; minage; ban de vendanges; droit d'accapte?* In passing through many of the French provinces, I was struck with the various and heavy complaints of the farmers and little proprietors, of the feudal grievances, with the weight of which their industry was burthened; but I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the shackles which kept them poor and depressed. I understood it better afterward, from the conversation and complaints of some grand seigneurs, as the revolution advanced; and I then learned, that the principal rental of many estates consisted in services and feudal tenures; by the baneful influence of which, the industry of the people was

almost exterminated. In regard to the oppressions of the clergy, as to tithes, I must do that body a justice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England. Though the ecclesiastical tenth was levied in France more severely than usual in Italy, yet was it never exacted with such horrid greediness as is at present the disgrace of England. When taken in kind, no such thing was known in any part of France, where I made inquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture pay any thing: thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chicorée, potatoes, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts, meadows were exempt. Silk worms nothing. Olives in some places paid—in more they did not. Cows nothing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21st. Wool nothing.—Such mildness, in the levy of this odious tax, is absolutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the burden to people groaning under so many other oppressions, united to render their situation so bad that no change could be for the worse. But these were not all the evils with which the people struggled. The administration of justice was partial, venal, infamous. I have, in conversation with many very sensible men, in different parts of the kingdom, met with something of content with their government, in all other respects than this: but upon the question of expecting justice to be really and fairly administered, every one confessed there was no such thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almost every cause that came before them, interest was openly made with the judges: and woe betided the man who, with a cause to support, had no means of conciliating favour, either by the beauty of a handsome wife, or by other methods. It has been said, by many writers, that property was as secure under the old government of France as it is in England; and the assertion might possibly be true, as far as any violence from the King, his ministers, or the great was concerned: but for all that mass of property, which comes in every country to be litigated in courts of justice, there was not even the shadow of security, unless the parties were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally honest; in every other case, he who had the best interest with the judges, was sure to be the winner. To reflecting minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attend,

* *Tiers Etat Rennes*, p. 139.

† *Rennes*, p. 57.

‡ This is a curious article: when the lady of the seigneur lies in, the people are obliged to beat the waters in marshy districts, to keep the frogs silent, that she may not be disturbed; this duty, a very oppressive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

§ *Résumé des cahiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

ing such courts are sufficiently apparent. There was also a circumstance in the constitution of these parliaments, but little known in England, and which, under such a government as that of France, must be considered as very singular. They had the power, and were in the constant practice of issuing decrees, without the consent of the crown, and which had the force of laws through the whole of their jurisdiction; and of all other laws, these were sure to be the best obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought before sovereign courts, composed of the same persons who had enacted these laws (a horrible system of tyranny!) they were certain of being punished with the last severity. It must appear strange, in a government so despotic in some respects as that of France, to see the parliaments in every part of the kingdom making laws without the King's consent, and even in defiance of his authority. The English, whom I met in France in 1789, were surprised to see some of these bodies issuing arrets against the export of corn out of the provinces subject to their jurisdiction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the same time that the King, through the organ of so popular a minister as Mons. Necker, was decreeing an absolutely free transport of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the requisition of the National Assembly itself. But this was nothing new; it was their common practice. The parliament of Rouen passed an arret against killing of calves: it was a preposterous one, and opposed by administration; but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend against it, he would have found, by the rigour of his punishment, who was his master. Inoculation was favoured by the court in Louis XV.'s time; but the parliament of Paris passed an arret against it, much more effective in prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging that practice. Instances are innumerable, and I may remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, false principles, and tyranny of these bodies were generally conspicuous; and that the court (taxation excepted), never had a dispute with a parliament, but the parliament was sure to be wrong. Their constitution, in respect to the administration of justice, was so truly rotten, that the members sat as judges, even in causes of private property, in which they were themselves the parties, and have, in this capacity, been guilty of oppressions and cruelties, which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

It is impossible to justify the excesses of the people on their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruelties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved too clearly to admit of a doubt. But is it really the people to whom we are to impute the whole? Or to their oppressors, who had kept them so long in a state of bondage! He who chooses to be served by slaves, and by ill-treated slaves, must know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure far different from those who prefer the service of well treated freemen; and he who dines to the music of groaning sufferers, must not, in the moment of insurrection, complain that his daughters are ravished, and then destroyed; and that his sons' throats are cut. When such evils happen, they surely are more imputable to the tyranny of the master, than to the cruelty of the servant. The analogy holds with the French peasants—the murder of a seigneur, or a chateau in flames, is recorded in every news paper; the rank of the person who suffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the register of that seigneur's oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions of feudal services, from those whose children were dying around them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that assigned these starving wretches to some vile petty-fogger to be fleeced by impositions, and a mockery of justice, in the seigneurial courts? Who gives us the awards of the intendant and his *sub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of fashion, and laid them with accumulated weight, on the poor, who were so unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has dwelt sufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of despotism, legal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical, pervading the whole mass of the people; reaching like a circulating fluid, the most distant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedness? In these cases, the sufferers are too ignoble to be known; and the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied. But should a philosopher feel and reason thus? should he mistake the cause for effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compassion for the many, because they suffer in his eyes not individually, but by millions? The excesses of the people cannot, I repeat, be justified; it would undoubtedly have done them credit, both as men and christians, if they had possessed their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be remembered, that the populace in no country ever use power with moderation; excess is inherent in their

aggregate constitution; and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in such hands, it is doubly bound in common sense, and for common safety, so to conduct itself, that the people may not find an interest in public confusions. They will always suffer much and long, before they are effectually roused; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but such oppressions of some classes or order in the society, as giveable men the opportunity of seconding the general mass; discontent will soon diffuse itself around; and if the government take not warning in time, it is alone answerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and devastation, and blood that follow. The true judgment to be formed of the French revolution, must surely be gained, from an attentive consideration of the evils of the old government: when these are well understood—and when the extent and universality of the oppression under which the people groaned—oppression which bore upon them from every quarter, it will scarcely be attempted to be urged, that a revolution was not absolutely necessary to the welfare of the kingdom. Not one opposing voice* can, with reason, be raised against this assertion: abuses ought certainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could not be done without the establishment of a new form of government; whether the form of govern-

ment; whether the form that has been adopted were the best, is another question absolutely distinct. But that the above-mentioned detail of enormities practised on the people required some great change is sufficiently apparent."

Thus we have the *causes* of those violences, which the people of France committed at the beginning of the revolution. Mr. Young has fairly stated them. They were produced by those Nobles, Priests, and that Bourbon family, to seat whom in their power again we have saddled ourselves with an everlasting debt.

Now, unless we are ready to admit, that we are *worse* than the French naturally; that we are a more foolish, or a more wicked, or more sanguinary race, it can never be supposed, that we should have gone *so far* as the French went previous to the war of 1792; because we certainly had not, at that time, such oppressions to complain of and avenge. Indeed, all that the people of England complained of was, that they were not represented in parliament; and this had been complained of by PITT in terms more strong than by any other man that ever lived. He had gone so far as to say, that, without a reform in the parliament, it was *impossible*, that any Minister, in England, should be a Minister and an honest man. This grievance had long been complained of by the whole nation, those who were interested in the abuse excepted, and even these seemed to object more to the time and the manner of the proposed reform than to the thing itself.

At the breaking out of the French Revolution the people of England were, at first, astonished; but they soon began to perceive, that this event would compel the conceding of that reform in the parliament, which they had so long petitioned for in vain. Those in power saw it too. All communication was, by war, cut off between the two countries; reform did not take place; our system of government was new steelled instead of being softened; and by divers laws, still in existence, the liberties of the people were abridged, instead of being enlarged.

But, do I suppose, that the people would have stopped at the end of a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament? Frankly to speak, I do not believe they would. I think it would have been wise for them to stop there, but, I

* Many opposing voices have been raised; but so little to their credit, that I leave the passage as it was written long ago. The abuses that are rooted in all the old governments of Europe, give such numbers of men a direct interest in supporting, cherishing, and defending abuses, that no wonder advocates for tyranny, of every species, are found in every country, and almost in every company. What a mass of people, in every part of England, are some way or other interested in the present representation of the people, tithes, charters, corporations, monopolies, and taxation! and not merely to the things themselves, but to all the abuses attending them; and how many are there who derive their profit or their consideration in life, not merely from such institutions, but from the evils they engender! The great mass of the people, however, is free from such influence, and will be enlightened by degrees; assuredly they will find out, in every country of Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, aimed equally against regal, aristocratical, and mobbish tyranny, they will be able to resist successfully, that variety of combination, which, on principles of plunder, and despotism, is every where at work to enslave them.

do not think they would. The *Established Church* would have been abolished. There was, and there is, nobody who approves of *tythes*. We even *now* hear the land-occupiers, and even the land-holders, including many of the nobility, representing *tythes* as one of the causes of our inability to sell corn so cheap as the French; and, thus, after all, and even while we are paying armies to put down the French revolutionists, inculcating the wisdom of following their example in this very material point. So that, if to this dislike of *tythes* amongst the Church people themselves, amongst those whose relations, sons, fathers, brothers, own the *tythes*, what might not have been expected from the dissenters? From all those numerous sects, who look upon the Established Church, not only as a heavy burden to them, but as a great injury to religion itself? What mercy could she, as to her property, reasonably expect from these millions, whom she had so long kept in a state of depression, and whose teachers she had so long filled with envy?

The *Nobility* would have stood but little better chance. The nation was too full of knowledge; there were too many men of wealth and talent, not belonging to the Noblesse; there were too many opulent merchants and manufacturers and others, to have suffered the Nobility to remain. The orders of Nobility would, therefore, have been, in all likelihood, abolished. There is no doubt, that, either by a reformed parliament, or in consequence of popular menaces, the whole of the sinecure placemen, and nearly the whole of the Pensioners and Grantees would have been dismissed without a penny of compensation; and there is as little doubt but that the game-laws would have been wholly swept away.

I will allow, too, that the powers and expenses of the king and his family would have been greatly abridged; that they would have been reduced to be merely the Chief Magistrates of the country; that they would no longer have enjoyed *Droits of Admiralty*; and that all magnificence and show must have been laid aside. Whether this would have been wise or not is another question. Such was the temper of the time, that, I think, had it not been for the war, it would inevitably have taken place.

But, when I have made these admis-

sions, I am sure, that even George Rose cannot ask me to allow, that the people of England would have gone further; that they would have proceeded, as the French did, to the burning of Noblemen's houses; to the pillaging of their farms, the murder of themselves and their families, to the personal ill-treatment and robbery of the houses of the Clergy. To allow this would be to allow, that the people would have done that without provocation, which the people of France did with provocation; and this would be to allow, that the people of England are, by nature, a great deal less just and humane than the people of France.

I say *without provocation*, because, though the people of England had to complain of the want of being duly represented in parliament, and though they did complain of the law of *tythes* and some other grievances, all their complaints, in 1792, put together, did not amount to almost any one of the hundreds of oppressions under which the French people had groaned for centuries. The Clergy, in England, if they had great possessions, owed their preferment, in most cases, to patronage solely; if many of them were fox-hunters, or men of fashion, they were yet, generally speaking, very little inclined to oppression of any sort, and were as mild in their manners, and as kind and as liberal, in all respects, as any other gentlemen in the country. They were at the head of no intolerant Church. They had never murdered people for the love of Christ. If people went to hear them, it was well; if not, it was also well. Never was there in the whole world so inoffensive a Church.

The Nobility, with few exceptions, had long been in the habit of mixing indiscriminately amongst the opulent of all descriptions. In the chace, on the turf, at the gaming table, at the Bible Societies, at agricultural meetings, in Societies, and Clubs and Parties of all sorts, they had had the good sense to mix with the nation at large. They were, in general, the best and kindest landlords and masters, as they are still. And, which was more than all the rest in their favour, they joined to their affability and liberality their fair share of learning and talent.

In short, there was nothing in these two orders of men to call forth the hatred or vengeance of the people. Yet, such

was their alarm at the abolishing of the Church and of Tythes in France, that they instantly acted as if they had been of the same description as the persecuting Priests and petty lay Tyrants of that country, who were also called Clergy and Nobility, but who no more resembled our's than the poison-tree resembles the vine.

What have been the consequences of this their decision as to the freedom and happiness of France, the Continent of Europe, and of England, and what will, in all human probability, be the final consequences of it, to our Church and Nobility themselves, who, by this time, must begin to be frightened at their own success, is a subject into which I will not now enter. We all know, that there is an English army in France; that Hanoverian and other German armies, subsidised by us are there also; that the Bourbons are again upon the throne of that country; and that the Roman Catholics, stimulated by their Priests, are again, as during the reigns of former Bourbons, cutting the throats, mangling, and burning the bodies of Protestants. And, it is for us now to inquire, "how much more *WE* should have lost, than we have lost, if the war had not taken place."

Our losses are these: 1st, all that part of our incomes, or fruit of our labour, which have been taken away during the war for the purpose of carrying it on. 2d, All that part of our property, which has been taken and actually sold, or is now for sale, by the government, under what is called the redemption of the Land Tax. 3d, All that part of our property, or fruit of our labour, which is required to pay the interest of about 800 millions of Debt, occasioned solely by the war, and which will be required for ever. 4th, All that part of our property and the fruit of our labour which is required to maintain that increased standing army, and those innumerable pensioners and half-pay officers, naval and military, who have been created by the war. 5th, The permanent supply of Manufactures to the United States of America, which are now able to manufacture for themselves, and this solely in consequence of the war, because the Orders in Council, Impressments from American ships, Non-importations, Embargoes, and finally war with America were all produced by our war

against the French. 6th, That state of comparatively light taxation and ease, and plenty and cheapness, which left our rich people no reason to wish to migrate to foreign countries, which enabled our farmers to sell their produce as cheap as the French, and which enabled our manufacturers to undersell all the world. These, as no one can deny, *are our losses* by the war. By peace I allow, that our Nobility might have lost their titles, our Clergy their tythes, our Sinecure Placemen and Pensioners their incomes from those sources, our King and Royal Family much of their power and splendour; and that we should have lost the *Borough System* I am quite certain. Whether what we might thus have lost by peace would have been greater than what we have lost by war, I must now leave for you to decide.

"Aye," some one may say, "but you have forgotten our *gains* by the war. You have forgotten the immense mass of *glory*." I really do not see, that of military or naval glory we have gained a single particle by this war. Nay, I think we have lost.

The war in Spain and Portugal exhibited a mere *branch* of the army in France fighting nearly the whole of our military means, aided by immense fleets, and aided by the chief part of the people of those two countries. That war continued many years. There were Spanish armies and Portuguese armies to assist us. The two governments were on our side. We had fleets in every harbour. The French were in an enemy's country. And they were not driven out, at last, till all the rest of Europe were pouring their armies into France on the east and on the north.

We were victorious at the battle of Waterloo; but we had with us an immense army of Hanoverians, Belgians, and Prussians, and, what is more, we were fighting, as all the people of France thought, for the King of France. We have now an army in France, but, it is there by the aid of allies and troops subsidised by us, amounting to *one million and eleven thousand men*. In short, our army is in France with the armies of all the rest of Europe at their back, and with France divided in itself besides. Is this the *harvest of glory*, of which we have heard so much talk? And is it this

glory which is to compensate us for all our sufferings and all our losses? When English Kings sailed from Southampton with bands of English followers, landed in France, fought battles there, defeated the Kings of France, and finally caused the King of England to be crowned at Paris and to reign as King of France by his Vice-Roys for several years, that was, indeed, *military glory*; but, in this war, the very title of *King of France*, which seemed to perpetuate the recollection of that glory, has been given up, and that, too, observe, as a preparative peace with Napoleon, who, it was clearly foreseen, would not have acknowledged the title, though the Bourbons had always acknowledged it. And, is it, then, for us Englishmen, whose ancestors really conquered France, as the French had before really and more effectually conquered England, to brag about the glory of getting to Paris along with a million of German troops? And, that, too, after we have so recently seen the French, unaided by any other nation, sally forth and really conquer every state on the Continent of Europe, Russia only excepted, and that excepted only because France was then co-operating with the German allies.

But, have the English army given no proofs of their determined bravery, during these long wars? Oh! yes, a great many. They have acted like very gallant men. Their officers, of all ranks, have discovered great talents, and wonderful zeal. But, is this any thing *new*? When were the people of these islands not brave? When were they not true to their colours? Did it need the battles in Egypt, in Naples, or in Spain, to acquire a character for valour for those whose ancestors had conquered Canada, and who, before that, had fought under Marlborough? Whence comes the notion, and what can be its *motive*, that *valour* is something *new* in the English, Scots, and Irish character? Besides, to say nothing about our many reverses in Europe, and especially that of the *Helder*, are we to be made forget what has passed in America? And if there has been a balance of accounts on the side of Canada, can we quite overlook the famous battle of *New Orleans*? In that battle there were engaged from ten to twelve thousand British troops, sent from France, under GENERAL PACKENHAM, who had been so much extolled for his exploits in the

Peninsula of Europe. This army was furnished with all the means of destruction. A great fleet, with its seamen and marines aided it in all its operations. The American General Jackson, a lawyer by profession (who had never before, I believe, seen a single regular regiment in the character of an enemy), with the inhabitants of New Orleans, aided by the militia of Tennessee and Kentucky, had assigned to him the task of defending the city against this army of regulars, and, as they were called, of invincibles. With his untutored bands, even whose officers were not in uniform, he, with inferior numbers, attacked the British army twice, in the night-time, before they were ready for the main attack on him. On the 8th of January, 1815, they advanced to that attack, with rockets, bombs, an immense train of artillery, and with all the apparatus for storming, the soldiers and sailors having been previously stimulated, and steeled against relaxation, by assurances the most gratifying to their tastes and wishes. They finally arrived at the point of onset: the faggots, which they carried to make them a road over the works, were just tossing into the ditch: in idea the city with all its spoils were in their possession. At that moment the brave and prudent enemy, with as much coolness as if he had been aiming at harmless birds, opened his fire upon them, and swept them down like grass before the scythe of the mower. He sallied in pursuit, marching over blood and brains and mangled carcases, and finally, to use the words of his countrymen, “drove the survivors to their ships, and bad them carry to England the proof of the fact, that the soil of freedom was not to be invaded with impunity.” There were more than half as many British soldiers and sailors killed and wounded in this battle as in the battle of Waterloo. And, is this battle to pass for nothing? Is this to form no item in the account of *glory*? Is there no deduction to be made here from the *gain of glory* by the war?

As to our *Navy*, when was it not victorious over all its enemies? When did it not, since the days of the Stuarts, drive the navies of the French, Dutch and Spaniards from the ocean? When was it not thought disgraceful for an English ship to yield to a force considerably superior to her own? When was it thought glorious for an Eu-

English squadron to take a single frigate? When was it known that English ships yielded, one after another, in every part of the ocean, to ships of the same class and force? When was it ever dreamt of that whole squadrons of English ships of war would be beaten and captured by squadrons of inferior force? *Never, till the late war against America*; which war, we must always bear in mind, grew out of, and formed a part of, the war against the French.

Thus, then, stands the account of *glory*. How that of *National Prosperity* stands we shall see in another Letter.

I am your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON'S TWO CONDITIONAL ABDICATIONS.

MR. COBBETT. — It is clear that the imperial sceptre wielded by Napoleon Bonaparte in France, was much too constitutional and splendid ever to have been voluntarily and *unconditionally* abdicated. The greatness of his talents, coupled with the devotion of the French nation to his imperial sway, would have rendered such a proceeding an unwarrantable violation of public faith, and of political justice. He, therefore, in both instances of abdication, was induced to the measure by feelings of culpable vacillation and philanthropy, rather than by those energetic sentiments which, until then, had uniformly characterised his military intrepidity and prowess. On both occasions, his own personal renown, and the high military character of the French nation, required that he should have carried the conflict to the utmost length of his resources, nor for one moment to have thought of compromising the spirit and independence of the country, by submitting to *dishonourable conditions* of peace. Treason and every variety of perfidy might, and actually did, in some measure, betray his misplaced confidence; but yet the large majority of the population of France always was, and ever would have remained, sufficiently true to the national independence, and to the military glory contended for, to have enabled him finally to have triumphed over all the base calculations of bad faith, cowardice, and slavery. A disposition to rescue France from becoming a scene of military devastation, fatally misled the Emperor Napoleon to the paralyzing measure of accepting *conditions* to withdraw

his powerful influence from the destinies of France, and that, too, at the very period when its redoubled exertion was demanded by the unhappy exigency of circumstances. The guilty authors of the *first abdication* should have been crushed under his indignant rejection of the reasonable proposal. The same fate should also have awaited the dastardly projection of the *second*. Had that been done, in either instance, in a manner suited to the talents and resources of Bonaparte, France would have ultimately triumphed over all her enemies, and her Emperor the most legitimate, the most virtuous, and the most popular upon the face of the earth, would be now securely seated on a throne of patriotism, the most honourable and the most amiable in the world. Instead of this deserved elevation, the great, the matchless hero of the age, is sunk to the almost ebb of degradation, and all this has resulted from *conditional* abdication! Now, what were the conditions? Those of the first abdication were the sovereignty of Elba; the society of his wife and child; the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Giustella; an annual pecuniary stipend, &c.—Was either of these conditions faithfully observed? Was it not even in contemplation to remove the Emperor from the acknowledged seat of his sovereignty? Were his wife and child restored to him? Were the stipulated duchies appropriated to them? Was the stipend paid?—If not, did not his claim to the imperial sovereignty of France, &c. &c. revert to him in full right? They were surrendered *conditionally* and *conditionally* they were resumed. Who, then, can have either the arrant impudence or the hopeless folly to say, that his resumption of the imperial throne was an usurpation? He was clearly entitled to it by virtue of the original appointment, and confirmed in it by the renewed suffrages of the French nation, by an unexampled, but by a truly exemplary, display of genuine patriotism. In the *second* instance, the Emperor Napoleon abdicated on the *avowed condition* of the prompt and unequivocal succession of his son. That alternative being refused, he *ipso facto* remained Emperor: his throne was not vacated; and he is at this moment, in every rightful view of his title, as much Emperor of the French as he ever was at any former period of his reign; and, as long as his life shall en-

duce, will he continue to be so, if he should not *unconditionally* abdicate in favour of his son. In favour of any other person he cannot abdicate consistently with the constitutional code of the French nation, declared, accepted, confirmed, and solemnized at the late *Champ de Mai*!—a scene that will reflect immortal honour on its patriotic authors. The spirit of the French *Champ de Mai* will, sooner or later, manifest itself in the very hearts of all the different nations that have been ignorantly and delusively led to war against the sacred and indestructible principles of civil liberty. Then the abettors of tyranny, of all degrees and hues, will learn to respect the sovereignty of the people, and duly to venerate laws, founded on the unalienable rights of man. In the meantime it deserves to be recorded, that the merits of the contest for the throne of France stand thus:—Bonaparte has been twice called to that situation, by elective suffrage, amounting almost to national unanimity, and has never descended from that high station but on certain *conditions*, which *conditions* have never been fulfilled. He has, therefore, not ceased to reign as Emperor, and is actually the *legitimate* occupant of the French throne. Louis XVIII. has never been legitimately chosen as King, but at present fills that situation by force of foreign arms, and in no wise received by the French people voluntarily or patriotically. It never, therefore, can be the interest of Louis's friends to talk of the *French Usurper*. If there be laws or usages for crowned heads when falling into each other's power, it will be now seen how the *Emperor* of the French will be permanently and finally treated (for *Emperor* of the French he is in spite of their teeth), and at his decease, his son, if alive, will legally succeed him, with such contingent reversions or remainders to his family as the French constitutional code on that point shall have decreed and settled. If, in dread of the French Emperor's intellectual and military greatness, and in utter defiance of every principle of justice, they should so hamper him as to put his tremendous power in a state of abeyance, it will hereafter become a sort of imperial and royal precedent to punish captured Sovereigns by subjecting them to privations, in the exact proportion as they may chance to abound or be deficient in intellect. Exile and imprisonment will ac-

cordingly await the wise, whilst voluntary retirement and personal liberty will be the portion of the foolish, in the presumption that the latter can do no wrong. This may be the wayward decree of *imbecile* Sovereigns; but it appears to be much too *foolish*, to be ever either recognised or acted on by the *wiser* part of their fraternity.

HONESTAS.

NATIONAL LIBERTY.

MR. COBBETT,—It was not necessary that the civil liberty, which was asserted as the ultimate object of the revolutionary proceedings in France, should have been for a moment subverted, to convince the enlightened and reflecting, that such effects must always result from such causes. The true interests of national liberty can only be securely rooted on public feelings of intelligent patriotism. Conviction on the important principles of civic rights, can neither be tampered with nor overcome. All the craft and chicanery of despotism, however exercised, can effect no change in the honest persuasions of true patriotism. Love of country inevitably induces a detestation of despotism, and the benevolence of the feeling is co-extended with the habitable globe. The British or French patriot respectively looks first at home, next to his nearest neighbour, and then to every nation indiscriminately, wherever situated, or however circumstanced. It is this sacred spirit that kindles a zeal ever active, and ever invincible; it cherishes the friends of liberty; it abominates tyranny, and lends its fostering solicitude and aid wherever it may be required. It is in the union of this virtuous spirit that is to be recognised a moral worth, embodied in a degree of physical strength, that would render its authority, when duly exerted, absolutely irresistible. Dissensions on unimportant points might arise, but fundamentally all is harmony and concentration. This is human nature; it has been exhibited in France; it has been awakened in Europe at large; and has already once laid her vapouring tyranny in prostration and shame. May not the same principle be rekindled; and if it should, why may it not be equally destructive to all despotic invasion of its rights? Wherever human nature exists, the capability of honest and indignant resistance to un-

warrantable oppression may be found. It is only necessary that the offended people should be sufficiently unprejudiced and numerous, at once to perceive their unalienable rights, and heroically to embattle themselves for conquering them. It cannot be doubted that, sooner or later, all mankind will be free; that tyranny and slavery will be objects of execrated remembrance rather than of actual experience; and who can say that the present proceedings in France are not calculated to induce the re-active and regenerating spirit, that must terminate the existence of despotism in that agitated country, and ultimately, by the patriotic example afforded to others similarly aggrieved nations, accomplish the deliverance of the whole human race from the grasp and slavery of the hydra monster?

It is easy to exhibit military tinsel, to proclaim to ignorant and unsuspecting nations, principles and objects never felt nor intended, and to feign pretences for overrunning a whole country. This indeed is the common course of despotic promises and of despotic performances. But, are these enormities to be for ever perpetrated with impunity? Will it again be believed, that an authority disclaiming every principle of political liberty and justice, will for a moment respect either in an invaded country? Is it not the

policy of all legislative tyranny to extend that iniquitous system wherever the sword can obtrude it? When will human nature show itself worthy of its high destinies, by valiantly asserting its birth-right liberties? Unite, ye sons and daughters of man in the grand cause of National Liberty, and you will render yourselves as free as the air you breathe! Not a tyrant will then dare to appear in the political arena of mankind, nor will such a monster be contemplated but with horror and detestation. Where is a potentate to be found, however gorgeously attired, or however surrounded by flatterers, knaves, and fools, that can be compared, in real unborrowed personal dignity, to JAMES MADISON, President of the United States of America? If ambition can be ever virtuous, it can only possess that quality in the elevated station of such simple unadorned merit as is to be found in the personal exterior and in all the legislative designations of the American President. Here is a perfect model of *official patriotism*, in the character of the first magistrate, the sole objects of which, are *realities*, great national realities—not ridiculous, vain, and contemptible *formalities*, *formalities* better adapted to objects of *buffoonery*, ~~than~~ those of national legislation.

Gazette.

PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; and Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain, during the last week.

BREAD.—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drains, 11d.

WHEAT.—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 6s. 9d.

MEAT.—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 6d; Mutton, 7d; Veal, 8½d; Pork, 7d; Lamb, 8½d.

WOOL.—Vigonia, 16s.; Portugal, 3s.; Spanish Lamb, 9s. 3d.; Leonosa, 7s. 3d.; Segovia, 5s. 9d.; Seville, 4s. 6d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool reported last week:—From Germany, 12,140lbs.—From Spain, 17,312lbs.—From France, 1,760lbs.—From Holland, 11,520lbs.

BULLION.—Gold in bars, 4 8s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 6d. each.—Silver in bars, None.—N. B. These are the prices in *Bank of England paper*.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 3l. 17s. 10½d.—Standard Silver in bars, in the coin of the English Mint, is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

ENGLISH FUNDS.—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; 57½.

FRENCH FUNDS.—The price of the FIVE Per Centa, in gold and silver money; 61.

BANKRUPTCIES.—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 34.

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LETTER XXXII.
PAPER AGAINST GOLD;

AND

GLORY AGAINST PROSPERITY.

TO THE PEOPLE IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

The Cost of the War in the Articles of Funds, Debt, Expenses, Taxes, and Paupers.—Conclusion.

Bottle, 12th Sept. 1815.

GENTLEMEN,—Having now seen, in the great, what we have gained in the way of *Glory* as well as in the way of civil and religious liberty, and what we have lost in the way of *Prosperity*, it will be necessary, as to the latter, to enter into some details; because, with regard to the debt, the taxes, the funds, the trade, population, and pauperism of our country, we are able to refer to documents which the government itself own to be correct.

An inquiry of this sort is peculiarly necessary in a case like the present, because it is notorious, that the war was begun under the pretext of its being necessary to the preservation of our *property*, which, we were told, would all be taken away from us (though it was not said very particularly *by whom*) unless we made war upon the French nation. In talking of *glory*, too, we must bear in mind, that our *glory* is, in great part, a *purchased* article. We are not like the French and the Americans, who *fight their battles themselves*, and who resemble those tradesmen who carry on their business themselves, having no journeymen under them. England is like a *master tradesman*, who, though he now and then puts his hand to the mallet, does, in fact, carry on his trade by the means of journeymen. During the first war against the Americans, we had Brunswickers, Hanspachers, Hessians, Dramstadters, and other troops in our pay, at so much *per man* per month, and so much *per life*, if killed or lost, while in our service. During the war against the French we have had in our em-

ploy and pay, Russians, Prussians, Dutchmen, Austrians, Neapolitans; Papal troops, Sicilians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Switzers, Savoyards, Hessians, Hanspachers, Brunswickers, Danes, Swedes, French Royalists, Hanoverians, Blacks, and I do not know how many other nations. Our *glory*, therefore, is much more an affair of money than of arms. Indeed this idea was very well illustrated at the Winchester meeting against the renewal of the Income Tax, by a country gentleman (who, by the bye, is paper-maker to the Bank of England) who plainly stated in his speech, that those who had paid the taxes to carry on the war ought to *share in the honours*, then recently conferred on the new Knights of the Bath. He was very right, for it was owing to those taxes, and those taxes only, that the victories by the hands of Spaniards, Portuguese, Swedes, Hessians, Prussians, Hanoverians, &c. were gained. When a prize is awarded to a farmer for rearing the best ox, for instance, it is very well known that the ox has been reared, not *by him*, but by his labourers, who are supported by his money, and who are put in movement at his instigation; but, as, according to the rule of the law, that *he who does a thing by another does the thing himself*, so the farmer receives the reward and the labourers receive their wages.

Upon this principle it is, doubtless, that our newspapers claim for us the whole of the *glory* of the recent successes, and of all that is now doing against the French people. But, upon the same principle, the greater part of the glory falls fairly to the share of the *taxes*, and that admirable money-machine, the Bank, in Threadneedle-street. It was that venerable Old Lady, who brought the Russians and Prussians and Austrians and Hanoverians into the field, who inspired them with patriotic and loyal feelings, and who filled their hearts with valour. And, if her Ladyship's merit does not find a distinguished place upon the great *Waterloo Column*, there is no justice left amongst men.

It is agreed on all hands, that the war has cost a great deal of money, and the country is now beginning, and only beginning, to feel the effect of that cost; but, the amount of the whole cost has never been, as far as I know of, clearly stated at any one time. The divers items have been stated at different times, and in different shapes; but the whole has never been brought into one concise view. This is what I shall now attempt, beginning with the state, or value of the FUNDS.

We will take the 3 per cents. as the standard of the whole. During the *peace*, which ended in 1793, the average price of the 3 per cents. for years, had been 96. The average *peace-price* is now 58, and that, too, in paper-money. So that, in fact, every person, who held funded property in 1792, and who, or whose heirs or successors, still hold that same property, have actually lost *one half* of it by depreciation in value, and 10 per cent. in addition out of that half, which is now stopped out of the dividends in the shape of *Property Tax*.—This is the cost of the war with regard to the funds.

The DEBT, which is commonly called the *National Debt*, or the *Public Debt*, demanded, in 1792, nine millions to pay the interest of it. It now demands £43,723,149 to pay the interest of this debt; and, therefore, the property and labour of the nation are mortgaged, for 34 millions a year more than they stood mortgaged for before the war.—This is the cost of the war in the article of debt.

As to EXPENCES, which are to be expenses of *peace*, exclusive of the debt, they are not precisely known; but the Minister has told us, that they will amount, Civil List and all, to about 22 millions a year. Before the war, they amounted to six millions a year. This, therefore, is the cost of the war in the article of permanent Peace Expenses.

The TAXES of 1792 amounted to 15 millions a year. They must now, in *peace* amount to 62 millions a year. That they must be severely felt is certain. From every class of persons complaints against them have come. They now are so heavy, that the *direct* taxes alone upon a farm exceed in amount *all that it takes to pay and feed all those who labour on that farm*.—The consequence is, that ruin is spreading around in every direction.—You are now driving your sheep to sell them to us in the richer

soils. Only two years ago, you would not condescend to look at us, if we had not 300 pounds in your pocket to give you for 300 ewes. You now pull off your hats to us if we have got 125 pounds, to give you for the same number. But we have not more to give; our taxes remain the *same*, or are augmented, and yours remain the *same*, though your ewes are fallen (taking all the sorts together) from 60s. to 25s. Bear in mind, however, that this is the fair and honest price of the *war*, for which ninety-nine hundredths of you were advocates. This is the fair and honest price of that *glory*, on the acquirement of which you made bonfires, and roasted sheep and oxen. You may now roast all your sheep and oxen; for we have no money to give you for them. The tax-gatherer takes away all that our corn amounts to, except what goes to keep our labourers and our poor.

The POPULATION of the kingdom, to have kept pace with the Taxes, ought now to have been 51 millions, and, excluding those persons, brought hither by the war, and who are now gone away, it is not 10 millions. Nay, so great has been and is, the emigration, that if a census of the actual residents were now taken, there is every reason to believe, that it is of lower amount than in 1792.

The PAUPER part of the population have increased in the proportion of one to 18 to one to 7. This is a fact, which I have proved in detail twenty times; and, I have never been answered by any one, who did not make the increase higher.

The NAVIGATION, COMMERCE, and MANUFACTURES, as they are represented in the *Official* accounts, have increased in the proportion of nearly one half. But, these accounts relate to a *state of war*, and a war of so singular a character as to have been, for the time, advantageous to all these. In *peace* it seems impossible that they can maintain their present ground. But, admit that they do, here is an increase of these to the amount of *a half*, while the increase of evils has been to the amount of rather more than *four fifths*.

Such, my friends and neighbours, has been, to us, the consequences of our harvest of *Glory*! Such has been, to us, the consequences of having succeeded in restoring the Bourbons to the throne of France, and of throwing the French peo-

ple back in their pursuit of freedom. It is now hoped, by some persons, that the restoration of the Pope, the Inquisition, the Jesuits, and the Bourbons, will so far brutalize the people of the Continent of Europe, that we shall have no rivals in the arts of peace; and that, thus, we shall be left to enjoy a monopoly of Navigation, Commerce, and Manufactures; and be, thereby, enabled to pay the interest on our Debt and to meet the enormous annual expences of our government. Without stopping to comment on the morality and humanity of this hope, entertained in a country, abounding in Bible-Societies, I venture to give it as my decided opinion, that the hope is fallacious. Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Austria, Spain, the Italian States, and even the Bourbons, will all push forward for their *share* of the benefits of the arts of peace. While our purse is open to them all, they will be subservient to us; but, that cannot be for ever. It cannot be for many months longer. And, mark my words, that, as soon as we cease to *pay*, so soon shall we cease to have *friends* so very complaisant as our friends now are.

Thus, Gentlemen, I close this long series of Letters; too long, I am afraid, for your patience; but, I am of opinion, that occasions will frequently arise, when a recurrence to their contents will be of service to most persons, who pay attention to the politics and political economy of our country.

I am your faithful friend,
And most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS, ON THE SUBJECT OF EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

Several persons have addressed me with a view of obtaining information, necessary to them, having an intention to emigrate to America. I should very willingly comply with their requests; but, in the first place, it must be obvious to them, that I cannot have the *time* to do it. In the second place, it is impossible for me to know the particular circumstances, and capacities of the parties applying so thoroughly as to be able to give them advice. And, in the third place, I shall never *advise* any person to go to America, or to any other foreign country, unless I am personally acquainted with

such person, and am pretty certain that he would better himself by such a removal. What I have *written* about America all my readers know. With that information, and with other information that they may acquire, they must judge for themselves.—There can be no doubt of the happiness of a country, which so rapidly increases in population and resources, while the expences of government are so trifling. A people, whose population is now nearly as great as that of England and Scotland, and whose government, debt and all, does not demand more than a twelfth part of the sum from them that ours demands from us, *must* be happy. But, whether Englishmen, going amongst that people, would be happier than they are at home, must be left for the decision of their own judgment. It is very certain, that to go to America with the view of living an *idle* life would produce sad disappointment. Sinécure-placemen, pensioners, grantees, venal news-papers writers and reviewers, puffers, parasites, and quacks in every department, will certainly act wisely in remaining at home. Gentlemen who teach religion, if they have benefices or tolerable good chapels, may remain safely here. They would not better their lot by emigration to America. Lawyers, whether in silk or camlet gowns, will do well to remain; for, though there is a great deal of *law-work* in America, the native growth of lawyers are very sharp and eloquent. And, besides, they wear neither *gowns* nor *wigs* nor *bands*, which form no small part of the possessions of the English bar. For *medical* men, there is always room, and always will be as long as people continue to die. The truth is, that of the three *professions* this is the best. I mean, it contains the best men, and the wisest and cleverest men. The priest or the lawyer may thrive by subserviency. Religion and law accommodate themselves to *times* and *politics*; but, he who has a broken leg or an affection of the liver, thinks of nothing but the *skill* of the surgeon or physician that he employs. Besides, the very nature of the researches and the observations of medical men make them despise superstition. Hence it is, that we very rarely meet with one of them, whose mind is not independent. These may safely go to a country,

where the population is continually increasing, and where skill joined to diligence is sure to meet with due reward. The *big-bellied farmers*, that require a stout horse, or a strong gig, to carry them about their fields to see what their men are doing, had better remain here till low-prices and the tax-gatherer have sweated them into a reasonable bulk and weight; for, though the land in America produces very fine things, it will not produce much without labour; and, as labourers for hire are very scarce, the farmer must labour himself, or, his sons and daughters must labour for him. But, of all the classes of the community *Borough-mongers* would profit least from emigration to America. In the State of Massachusetts there did seem to be a party that wished for the introduction of a *Noblesse*. Yet, I question whether our Lords would, even in that State, find a change for the better, because the aristocrats of Massachusetts seem to have been hankering after titles for themselves. But the *Borough-mongers* would be like fish out of water in reality. All their jargon about close-boroughs and open-boroughs and burgage-tenures and pot-walloppers, all their bargaining and traffickng would vanish for ever. They ought not to emigrate by any means. Neither ought the Voters at Sarum, Gatton, Honiton, and such places, move an inch. They will find no country like Old England. All Corporations, if they know when they are well off, will stick fast. Tax-gatherers grow out of National Debts and standing armies as naturally as toad-stools grow out of the rotten stumps of trees; and, though ours are astonishingly expert, in the first place their trade is a thriving one here, and, in the next place, there is only an army of six thousand men in America, and the debt, compared to ours, is a mere nothing. Military and Naval Officers would gain no *Knightships* in America, and their numerous wives, whose eyes our 'Squires' dames are ready to tear out, would never be *Ladies*: would never once hear the dulcet sound of "*your Ladyship*," though they were to hang the whole of their tawdry wardrobe upon their backs from mornng till night. The makers of Hanoverian whiskers, of muffs, tippets, and trifles for dragoons, and of stimulant draughts and corsets for worn out bucks, had better remain in England. The

Masters of Work-houses, whose virtue and piety, like that of Don Manuel Ordonnez, are such, that they universally "grow rich in taking care of the concerns of the poor," ought not to quit a country where their trade is so flourishing; and, those useful members of society, informers, thief-catchers, jailors and hangmen, would emigrate from plenty to starvation. In stating these discouragements to emigration, I wish to be understood as bearing no enmity towards America; and, if any American chooses to draw a different conclusion, I must leave him to the enjoyment of his error.

WM. COBBETT.

VINDICATION OF LORD SHEFFIELD'S SPEECH AT LEWES WOOL FAIR.

MR. COBBETT.—I have read with attention your very elaborate letters, occasioned by Lord Sheffield's Speech at the Wool Fair at Lewes, and, as I by no means approve of many remarks contained in them, I hope you will allow me to make a few observations upon them:—The subject under discussion I presume to be the sad state the Agriculturist of the light land districts of this Kingdom are brought into by excessive taxation, encreasing expences, and the payment of Tythes from which other nations are exempt, together with the very low price of fine Wools, occasioned by the unlimited and unobstructed importation of foreign Wool into this country.—In the examination of this question, I must be allowed to pass over such of your remarks, as I consider to be wholly irrelevant to the subject.—The history of Lord Sheffield's peerage and politics, the sarcastic sneers which you have thought fit to cast upon his understanding and capacity, are of this kind, and are thought by many of your readers to be unworthy of so famed a writer as yourself, and to partake more of personality than argument.—That part of Lord Sheffield's Speech, on which you have passed your sentence of condemnation, I shall endeavour to shew to be replete with wisdom, justice, and sound policy.—"For if," says his Lordship, "the Wool of all countries is to be peured in upon us without restrictions, every man the least acquainted with the subject will agree with me, that it can never be worth while to raise fine Wool in this

"kingdom, and the Agriculturists will aim
"only at the quantity, neglecting the
"quality of the Wool."—The fact that
Lincolnshire lambs of the long woolled
breed, have not fallen in price at the late
fair, so much as others by 5s. per head, is
a proof of the correctness of this last position.—In your first letter, you censure
his Lordship for this opinion; express
your disapprobation in the severest terms,
and endeavour to shew that the remedy
which he proposes, a Tax on imported
Wool, is unworthy of a man of sound understanding; and urge, that it is like the
growers of Hops in Farnham asking for
increased Taxes on the Hop growers of
Kent! A more unfortunate illustration
could not have been stated, the Hop farmers,
both in Farnham and Kent, being
subjects to the same Government, and
alike oppressed by those burthens from
which foreigners are exempt.—In your
second Letter, your charge against Lord
S. is more explicit, and you attack his
Lordship for exhorting "the Landlords
"and farmers to apply for a Law to make
"foreign Wools dearer, instead of exhort-
"ing them to apply for the abolition of
"Tythes and the reduction of Taxes,
"which (you say) the premises seem to
"point out."—This, indeed, would have
been something like sound argument, if
you had not paralyzed it by shewing, in
these very Letters, the improbability, or
rather if you had not spoken with confidence,
of the impossibility of such a measure
taking place; and, in the very pages
in which you have censured his Lordship
for not proposing an abolition of
Tythes and diminution of Taxes, you
have demonstrated that such a proposition
would have been utterly impracticable.—
You have, Sir, with your usual ability (in
page 230, of the Register), depicted the
sad situation of the Agriculturists of this
Kingdom. The farmer, it is stated, has an
inexorable creditor in the Tax gatherer—
"one who pays no respect to seasons or
"any other circumstances, who comes
"for large sums many times in the year,
"who will not wait a moment, who needs
"none of the usual forms of law to obtain
"payment, but who, at once, lays hold of
"the crop, of the utensils, and, with all,
"whose demands are continually increasing." It might also have been stated,
that if this great oppression should awaken
his ingenuity, and excite his utmost efforts

of industry, to answer the demands of so
inexorable a creditor, by increasing the
produce of the soil, he has another character
to contend with, who sits watching
over his proceedings, like an evil Genius
to pounce upon his prey and to devour the
tenth of his crop. But to return to the
greatest source of all evil—the Taxes. In
Letter 5, page 262, you have this remarkable
and forcible sentence: "We all
"know, that the pressure is to last for
"ever, unless, which is little less appalling,
"the burden be shaken off by the total
"overthrow of the Funds." If, therefore,
the farmer is distressed by the repeated
demands of the Tax-gatherer, and if his
burdens are to last for ever, except they be
removed by the "appalling measure" of
the sponge, surely your censure on my
Lord S. for not making such a proposition,
falls short of the mark and fails in its
effect; as it would have tended to mislead
his audience in raising expectations which,
according to your own statement, it is impossible
to realize.—The remedy proposed
by Lord Sheffield, therefore comes next
under consideration; an application to
Parliament for a Tax on Wool imported
into this kingdom. Circumstanced as
the Farmers are stated to be both by his
Lordship and yourself; breaking down
under burdens immovable; I confess this
appears to me to be the only practicable
remedy, calculated to give relief; and so
far from being a proper subject for censure
or ridicule, it intitles his Lordship to
the thanks of the Agriculturists of these
realms. Its tendency is, doubtless, to relieve
the water-logged vessel of the state, by
keeping the lading equal in all its parts,
till it shall arrive at its destined port.—
The principal objection which you made
to a duty on foreign Wool is this: "although
"it might relieve the farmer, it
"would do a more serious injury to the
"manufacturer." Its effects would certainly
be to raise the price of Cloth. If a
duty of 1s. per lb. was laid on the scoured
Wool of Saxony or Spain, it would doubtless
raise the price of that article 2s. or 3s.
per yard. Now the principal consumption
of Broad Cloth being in our own
kingdom, I might with confidence appeal
to our manufacturers themselves, whether
or no such an advance would, in any degree,
diminish the sale of Broad Cloths in
these realms, or whether it is probable a
single coat less would be worn in consequence

quence of such an advance. But what is it that is asked by his Lordship in behalf of the Wool grower? only that the same protection may be granted to them, which the manufacturers have already obtained. Are not the manufacturers of Lace, Cloth, Silk, &c. sustained by prohibitory laws? Why then is it required, in addition to this, that the Wool growers of Great Britain should be sacrificed to the supposed benefit of the manufacturers, and become the first victims to excessive taxation? It is pleaded, that our foreign trade would be endangered by such an advance; and we are informed that our American trade in particular will most assuredly be lost, and that America is enabled to manufacture for herself. We have been informed of the suit of clothes you have had sent you; but if you meant, with this argument, to alarm the manufacturers, you should have told us the price the Cloth cost per yard, and have shewn that it was manufactured cheaper there than in England; then, indeed, there might have been some reason for alarm. But as neither your advertisements nor your suit of cloaths, by showing any "*relative price*," tends to prove this position, what cause is there for the alarm you have attempted to excite? We have in these instances a most salutary warning presented to us; and it is clearly demonstrated that if the advice of our Times and Courier politicians is to be taken, jealousies between this country and America are to be fomented, and fresh attempts made to depose the *president Madison*. In this case America, indeed, can do, will do, without our assistance, and manufacture for her own use. But this is no proof that America cannot yet purchase cheaper from this country than she can herself manufacture. The probability is otherwise. The troubles of Europe are increasing her population with such rapidity, that her own manufacturers cannot, for many

* I have in my house a loaf of the most beautiful refined sugar I ever saw, manufactured from the beet root in France; but if I were to adduce this as a proof that the West India Islands were in danger of ruin, it would be utterly fallacious. This sugar cost 2s. 6d. to 3s. per lb. making; and if it cannot be made for half the price, it would be sheer nonsense to sound the alarm to the West India planters, and tell them their ruin was certain on account of the manufacture of sugar in France.

years, supply her wants. And we may clearly discern in this encreasing population, the revival of our own manufactures, if peace with America be preserved. Already has she cleared our Manchester warehouses, and our woollen goods are again on demand.—That our foreign relations demand legislative interference, cannot be doubted.—It was stated to be one of the principal reasons for breaking the peace of Amiens, that we were only nominally and not actually at peace with France; that we had better continue in a state of warfare, than be at peace with a nation that would not take goods of English manufacture. How stands the case now, as it regards those nations with whom we are at this time at peace. The beloved Ferdinand; this friend to social order, whose Crown has been restored by the efforts of British valour, has laid a duty of 70 per cent. on all broad cloths, if not on all woollen goods of English manufacture imported into his kingdom. Our good and great allies, from whence comes the next largest part of fine wool, have some of them obstructed, and others entirely prohibited, our fine cloths being imported into their dominions; and I have not heard of either protest, remonstrance, or complaint being made to the British Ministry against such proceedings. No! Legitimate Monarchy in France and Spain, and Legitimate and Papal Religion in Rome and the Italian States, being again restored, I suppose we are from such glorious results to put up with these commercial affronts in contemptuous silence. Under such circumstances, not only a duty on Foreign Wool, but even a prohibition, till those States repealed their prohibitory acts, would be justifiable and politic, inasmuch as it would be a means of again opening a market for our own cloths. But, Sir, for me, who am only of the sheep-fold, to expect my opinions to be taken for authority would be presumptuous. I shall call to my aid that enlightened political economist, Dr. Adam Smith. He considers generally prohibitions of foreign commodities as oppressive to industry, but thinks it is good policy to lay on duties of retaliation, and illustrates that opinion by the following statement: "In 1897 the English prohibited the importation of Bone-lace, the manufacture of Flanders. The government of that country being at that



"time under the dominion of Spain, prohibited, in return, the importation of English woollens. In the year 1700, the prohibition of importing Bone-lace was taken off, upon condition that the importation of English Woollens into Flanders should be put on the same footing as before." If a similar conduct were to be adopted in regard to the wool of Spain and Saxony and the cloth of England, a similar effect might be expected; and if the same degree of spirit presided at the helm of this country as existed in the year 1700, no doubt can be entertained that some such beneficial measure would be adopted, and that its effect would be to open a continental market for our cloths, revive at the same time the English wool trade, and relieve the growers from their present oppressive and discouraging situation. The subject is important, and it will doubtless depend on the future policy of Great Britain, whether the agriculturist or manufacturer will be under the necessity of abandoning their native soil, and seeking relief in those countries where *taxes scarcely exist*, and *tythes* are happily unknown. The fact cannot be denied, that the people are jaded by the incessant demand of the tax-gatherer, and, if I am rightly informed, in the county I am now writing, nearly one-third of the tenant's property-tax is upon schedule.—Your's respectfully.

R. F.

DOMESTIC EMBARRASMENTS.

MR. CORBETT—The depreciation of the prices of Agricultural produce and of property in general, constitutes a feature of the times, deeply interesting to the whole community, and meriting the most serious attention and examination. Fluctuations of property are concerns of the fire-side and the family circle; they haunt a man on his pillow; they cloud his enjoyments with dark forebodings; and they fill him with corroding cares, which counteract the animal gratifications of abundance, and supercede the benefits of the wisest political institutions.

Land, which was estimated two years ago at 100l. an acre, has not lately fetched 50l.; and that at 50l. scarcely 20l., or any price; *houses*, which used to let readily at 100l., stand empty at 80l. and 60l.; *consols*, which were at 72, and ought to have been

at 90, have fallen to 56, and are daily sinking, in spite of a thousand manœuvres practised to keep them up. He who, two years ago, considered himself worth 20,000l., thus finds his property reduced to 15 or 12,000l.; and he who had an income of 1000l. a year, finds it depreciated, by causes which he has been unable to controul, to 750l. 600l. or 500l. All classes, at the same time, have engagements, measured by old prices, and are entangled, more or less, by leases and time-bargains, which they are bound in honour and in law to respect; and *taxes*, *tythes*, and *poor rates*, remain fixed demands, equal to one-third of former incomes, and to two-thirds of present incomes.

Such is the condition of the people of England, created by a crusade of twenty years against liberty, and against institutions and changes which were inevitable consequences of the spread of knowledge. To carry on this purpose under various names and disguises, the strength of the English nation has been stretched till it has lost its elasticity, and the English people are now in the state of a man who has just escaped from the effects of a raging fever, or is recovering from a fit of drunkenness! But it is in vain that we *now* reproach ourselves for events that are *past*, or seek to criminate the authors of them, unless mankind derived wisdom from experience, and profited by example. It is now our only useful duty, as good subjects, to enquire into the proximate causes of the pressing evils of the hour; and, knowing the causes, to consider of the means of palliating their malignant effects. We suffer, perhaps, as much from the influence of alarm, as from the operation of real evils; and, in all cases, alarms are best dissipated by investigating their cause.

The progressive increase of effects from the constant operation of uniform forces, is not confined to falling bodies. It applies to moral agency, as well as physical; and constantly exhibits its peculiar phenomena in the ordinary concerns of life and society. It is a principle well understood by knavish statesmen, when they practice on public credulity, for the purpose of exciting delusions, favourable to their wicked projects. Every convert is equivalent in this process to a new increment of force; and the successive conversion of the mass of the people creates an accelerating moral impulse, similar to an accelerated physical force, producing effects often destructive, but, when craftily managed, equal to the purpose for

which it was excited. The same principle operates in whatever regards the prices of commodities. If, from any cause, they rise in price, the rise is greater than the single force of the cause; and, if from any other cause they fall in price, the fall is accelerated by a law similar to that of all accelerated forces, and is ultimately greater than the single cause which produced the original impulse. This being premised as a principle applicable to all discussions of this kind, I shall be able to throw light on the actual cause of the present difficulties, by reminding my readers of two axioms in political economy, viz.

1. That the price of every commodity is in the inverse proportion of the supply and the direct proportion of the demand; and,

2. That nominal prices are governed by the relative quantity of the circulating medium at different periods.

What then are the facts in regard to the actual state of England; and how do the preceding axioms apply to them? It will be felt by all, that, during the last thirty years, such great improvements have been made in the practice of agriculture, that the produce of all land has been increased at least *one half*; that several millions of acres of poor land have been brought into active cultivation, and have added *another fourth* to the produce; and that several other millions of acres have been enclosed by means of hundreds of Enclosure Bills, and been the valuable means of adding *another fourth*. Consequently, the agricultural produce alone of the whole kingdom has been at least *doubled* within the last thirty years. In the mean time the consumers, at least as far as regards this argument, remain the same, or nearly so. They may have increased from 10 to 11, or from 11 to 12 millions; but it is certain, that the produce has been made to increase in so much higher a ratio, as to warrant our considering the one as *doubled*, while the other remains nearly as before.

Is it then to be wondered, that, on the country returning to a state of peace, when the relations of property ceased to be disturbed by any arbitrary measures of public policy, that an agricultural produce of *double* its ancient quantity, should, from the same consumers, and in the same markets, produce but *half* its price? Would it not be more wonderful if it were not so? Is it not a regular consequence of rendering the supply greater than the demand? Is it not the *happy and prosperous state*

which was promised by our *Youngs*, our *Singlairs*, our *Marshalls*, our *Lawrences*, our *Middletons*, our *Bedfords*, our *Bakewells*, and our *Cokes*, and which was fondly and anxiously anticipated by our ablest statesmen and patriots? Was not plenty promised as the result of these exertions; and what is plenty, but a supply at a cheap rate? The reduced price of agricultural produce is therefore a consequence of plenty, of improved and enlarged cultivation, and of a supply in our markets, somewhat greater than the demand. The inconveniences of these reduced prices have arisen from the want of foresight, in regard to the necessary effects of augmented produce. While only a small number of farmers practised the improved system, they partook exclusively of increased returns, and every augmentation of their produce was an augmentation of their profits; but, as soon as improvements and augmentation became general, and the increase acquired an accelerated ratio, plenty led, of necessity, to corresponding cheapness; and it is at length found, as long since it ought to have been, that the increased produce of the soil is merely an *advantage to the public*.

What, however, has been the false reasoning of cultivators and proprietors? They idly concluded that, because in the early stages of improvement the advantages were individual and exclusive, they would continue so when improvements might become general, and when supply, in consequence, would exceed the demand! The simplest principle of political economy was thus overlooked; and the arbitrary circumstances of the country, during the war, unhappily justified the notion, that, because the produce of the land was doubled in quantity, its monied worth and its monied rental were therefore doubled. It was forgotten that the consumers were the same, the markets the same, and the circulating medium, as to this object, the same; and consequently that the gross money-returns from agricultural produce, and from rents of land, must be nearly the same, however the quantity of produce might be increased.

Nor is the question between the farmer and his landlord, and the tax and tithes collectors, a simple one of mere produce. If he carries more to market from the same land, he is obliged to employ more labour and greater capital. These may not be in full proportion to the increase of produce, but the difference constitutes the advantage of the public. They will prevent the farmer,

who creates a double produce, from selling at the exact half of old prices; but the difference between that half, and the price at which he is enabled to sell, is a consideration between him and the public, and not between him, his landlord, and the tax and the collectors. The supply in the market will prevent the farmer from making an undue advantage; and the extent to which he may employ labour and capital from harvest to harvest, must depend on his returns; but the whole question is no affair of landlords or tax-gatherers. If the land produces abundantly, and provisions become cheap, the landlord and the state partake of the benefit; and, at equal rents, the one can live proportionably better; and, at equal assessments, the government can enjoy greater power. But it is a sophism which nothing but cupidity and state-craft could have sustained, that, because the farmer carries more to market as an effect of increased labour and capital, that therefore the landlord and the state have higher monied claims on him; and the injustice of the assumption was proved, as soon as the increase in the markets carried the supply beyond the demand, and brought down the prices to their just and natural level. The benefit is, of course, that of the public at large. There are more provisions, and they become, in consequence, cheaper, or more plentiful. Such a prosperous state warranted, however, none of the golden dreams of landowners and landlords. There is nothing in it to warrant any increase of rentals beyond what they were in 1780, when the system of agricultural improvement began. If land now produces more than at that date, it is necessary that the consuming population should equally have increased, to give the farmer an increased advantage on the same quantity of land; but no sensible increase of population has taken place, so as to warrant an increase of social power in the farmer from any increase of his produce. The rise of rents was warranted, for a season, on a few improved farms, because an increase of produce on them did not sensibly affect the supply at market; but nothing could be more fallacious than for the landed interest at large to suppose that they were thereby warranted in raising the rents of all lands, and forcing all land into improved cultivation, as a means of increasing rents, because the general augmentation defeated in that sense its own purpose, by rendering the supply greater than the demand.

High rents and high prices of land are therefore incompatible with a system of general and uniform improvement, and cannot be sustained, unless large portions of land are again allowed to lie uncultivated, or improvement retrogrades, giving a monopoly to certain favored lands, so that the supply at market may again become less than the demand. High-rated taxes, and tithes by composition in money, rated on the basis of high prices, are also intolerable, when prices are reduced by plenty, and can only be collected as portions of profits or returns, measured in amount by the value of produce. So poor-rates, county-rates, and all assessments founded on high money-values, are ruinous to the farmer, when the money-value of his commodity is reduced by abundance. The public at large are benefitted, not the tax-gatherer, or the drones of society. It, however, merits observation, as a proof of the short-sightedness of human wisdom, and of the temporary success which often grows out of our very ignorance, that the late wasteful expenditure of the public money in anti-British wars, could not have been sustained, but for the false view given of the public resources, by the accidental and simultaneous rise of all land, owing to the increased produce of a limited number of farms. High prices, however, might in a degree have been sustained, but for the large importations from France, which so suddenly carried the supply beyond the demand, and frustrated the usual artifices of dealers; and but for the improvident attempt of the bank-directors to restrict the issue of the circulating medium, at the instant when taxes were increasing, and when the foreign policy of the government called for a large, extended, and progressively increasing circulation. Thus, in the face of an enormous loan of thirty-six millions, and of a public expenditure of above ten millions a month, the makers of our public money have judged it seasonable to abridge the circulation. They had found it necessary, for sixteen years, to augment their issues at the rate of nearly a million and a half per annum; but, in the year when the taxes and calls of government became greater than ever, when peace had re-opened the ports of the world to our commerce, and when agriculture was struggling against high rents, grinding taxes, and foreign importations, they have diminished their issues from thirty-one millions to twenty-eight millions! The Bank of England too, in regard to the 1000 country

banks, is like the Sun to the planets and satellites of the solar system. Every motion of a yard in the Sun moves each planet a mile; and every motion of the Bank of England disturbs the motions of its 1000 satellites in a similar manner. If, therefore, the Bank of England has withdrawn its three millions, the country banks, who pay in Bank of England notes, have been obliged to withdraw perhaps five times the amount; and thus 18 millions have been withdrawn from circulation, at a period, when, in truth, an additional 18 millions were wanted to sustain high prices, high taxes, and the artificial state of the country.

To support the financial system of the British government, and keep up the spirits of the people, it is necessary, in the language of Sir John Sinclair, "that there should be plenty of money," that speculation should be fed and encouraged, and that there should be a great and rapid circulation. It is vain to seek to reconcile opposites, and foolish to talk of prudence after we have cast the die, and decided on our course. It was determined to overcome certain eternal principles promulgated in France, cost what it might; it is idle therefore to talk of the cost now we suppose we have accomplished the object. The interest of the public debt created by such a war, and the debt itself, are to be paid, or they are not. If they are, then the necessary means are increased issues of currency, and all the consequences of indefinitely high prices and indefinitely diminished currency; but, if they are not, then we may as well stop the progressive increase of the currency, and prepare to return to taxes of a million a month.

My conclusions therefore are, that to double the produce and keep up its prices is impossible. That to sell the doubled produce resulting from extra labour and capital at half the late high prices, is but to return to the monied state in which we were, before improved and extended cultivation began. That rents and all rateable assessments on land must also return to the same state. That the advantages of improved and extended culture consist in abundance and cheapness, and not in high rents to landlords, high prices to farmers, and high taxes to the state. That the recent depreciation in prices is a consequence of the supply in the markets exceeding the demand. That the late high prices were occasioned by the uncertain relations of property in time of war, by artifices to support public credit, and by erroneous views of the advantages of im-

provement, derived from partial instances. That the late sudden depreciation has arisen from a sudden increase of the supply by importation, and by restrictions in the issues of the circulating medium. That any stoppage of the progressive increase of the circulating medium is impracticable, while the present taxes are levied, and while it continues in the contemplation of the government to pay the interest and principal of the public debt. That no rise in prices, or energy of enterprise, can take place without liberal issues of currency, until the burthen of the public debt is removed, and the public expenditure diminished. In fine, I conclude, generally, that the present embarrassments grow out of the return of all farming produce to the price justly and naturally measured by the supply and demand; to the continuance of high rents and oppressive taxes, rated on the assumption of the continuance of high prices; to the consequent inability of farmers to pay rents and taxes, meet their money-engagements, and purchase manufactured and imported articles of the dealers and shopkeepers; and hence the general stagnation of trade, the scarcity of money, and the depreciation in the money value of all property, still further aggravated by ill-timed restrictions in the usual bank discounts to middlemen and speculators, and by the absorption of the circulating medium to sustain the financial system and the foreign projects of the state.

COMMON SENSE.

Sept. 1815.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

MR. COBBETT,—In one of your late numbers you asserted that every British subject had a right to address Napoleon, by letter, during his stay at Plymouth. This I attempted by writing to him under cover of Lord Keith, Captain Maitland, and Sir G. Cockburn, as likewise to General Savary, Duke of Rovigo; but what will you say, when I tell you that Mr. Coffin, the Postmaster at Plymouth Dock, has been absolutely suspended for the atrocious offence of forwarding my letters, as his duty appears to have been; and that he narrowly escaped being cashiered by the Postmasters' General, who after strict investigation, however, thought proper to reinstate him to his office, probably from fear of a parliamentary inquiry.

I have regularly taken in your paper for

the purpose of transmitting it to the Emperor, at St. Helena, together with many other English and French publications; but, from the annexed copy of Col. Bunbury's letter, it appears that Government has determined to imprison the intellects as well as the person of the great Napoleon, and will most probably confine the newspapers to be sent to him to the courtly columns of the *Herald*, *Post*, *Times*, and *Courier*, the Editor of which last mentioned paper has been appointed one of the *Pages* to Louis XVIII. and set off last Saturday for Paris, probably to assist *Le Desiré* at the opening of the Chambers. This is *entre nous*. What shall I do to procure Napoleon a sight of your Numbers? Your advice will much oblige,

Sir, Your most humble servant,

A. M'KENROT.

37, Gower-Street, Bedford Square, Sept. 25.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. BARROW,
SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY, TO
A. M'KENROT.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 13, 1815.

SIR,—Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of this date, stating that you are desirous of transmitting some books and printed papers to General Bonaparte in the Island of St. Helena, and requesting that they may be forwarded by the first ship of war proceeding to that Island, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, that all communications with General Bonaparte must be made through the Secretary of State's Office for the War Department.

I am, &c.

J. BARROW.

In reply to an application to Lord Bathurst, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the War Department, I received the following letter:—

Downing Street, Sept. 15, 1815.

SIR,—I am directed by Earl Bathurst to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to him yesterday, and have to acquaint you in answer, that His Majesty's Government have determined that no property shall be sent to Napoleon Bonaparte, or to any of his followers who are confined with him in the Island of St. Helena, excepting the presents which may be sent by the families of those persons respectively, and which shall pass thro' the Office of the Secretary of State. And further, that no articles for the use

of Napoleon Bonaparte or his said followers, shall be furnished and conveyed to them, excepting what shall be provided by the authority of His Majesty's Government. With regard to newspapers and books, I am to acquaint you, that steps have been taken for supplying them, to the prisoners in question.

I am, &c.

H. E. BUNBURY.

ODE TO NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

When Victory's wreath thy brow adorn'd,
In Freedom's glorious battles earn'd;
And Europe's Monarchs prostrate lay
Beneath thy conqu'ring arms, and own'd thy sway;
Suppliant, thy mercy they implo'r'd;
Their pray'rs, by thee, Napoleon, were heard;
Thy bounty nobly rais'd them from thy feet,
Plac'd them again upon the regal seat;
Although in base Aggression's cause
They fought, to force on France despotic laws,
Thy soul, as generous as brave,
Their numerous injuries forgave;
Taught them by laws of equal right to reign,
And nations freed from Slav'ry's galling chain.

Then Liberty's propitious ray
Illum'd thy path, and led the way;
But when Ambition fir'd thy mind,
Thy country's sacred cause was left behind;
When conquest's bright illusive beam,
Allur'd, and plung'd thee in its blood-stain'd stream;
Upon those dang'rous stormy billows tost,
Thy tempest-beaten bark its rudder lost:
Hadst thou but kept that steady course,
From whence thy fame and greatness had its source,
Thou still hadst been thy country's pride,
And Europe's pow'r hadst now defied,
And France, unhappy France, still great and free,
Had show'r'd her blessings on the world and thee.

Though fallen from thy high estate,
By fatal errors—seen too late;
Thy brilliant race of glory run,
Yet how resplendent is thy setting sun;
Transported to a living tomb,
By those who seal'd, unjustly seal'd thy doom;
By those who once thy gen'rous bounty prais'd,
When by thy pow'r their fallen thrones were rais'd:

Though now thou bear'st Oppression's yoke,
Thy great, thy manly spirit is not broke,
Still unambid'd—the free-born mind,
The chains of Tyrants ne'er can bind;
And though Injustice bids thee now depart,
Thy fame still lives in every Freeman's heart.

Buckinghamshire.

H. R. M.

PEACE BETWEEN AMERICA AND ALGIERS,
25, Charles-street, Westminster,
Sept. 26, 1815.

R. G. Beasley, Esq. Consul-General of
the United States.

Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving from Commodore Decatur a letter announcing the conclusion of peace between the United States and the Dey and Regency of Algiers. The following is an extract from the letter, which I request you to make public, for the information of the persons to whom it refers, in such manner as you shall think proper. I am, with high consideration, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,
(Signed) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Stephen Decatur to Mr. Adams, dated United States ship *Guerriere*, at sea, July 11, 1815:—

“ Upon our arrival off Algiers, a negotiation was opened on board the *Guerriere*, and finally concluded by a treaty of peace within twenty-four hours. This treaty expressly puts an end to any claim of tribute, either in the shape of presents or any other manner; and in it the Dey engages to make compensation for American property captured and detained since the war. This stipulation has already been carried into effect, and the money and effects placed in the hands of the Consul. Our captive citizens have also been released. I have the honour to communicate this intelligence to you for the information of our merchants and masters of vessels who may be in England, and who may now enter the Mediterranean without danger of being molested by the cruisers of Algiers.”

PRICES CURRENT in London; Prices of FUNDS in England and France; and Number of BANKRUPTCIES in Great Britain, during the last week.

BREAD.—The Quartern Loaf, weighing 4lb. 5oz. 8drams, 11d.

WHEAT.—The Winchester Bushel, or 8 gallons (corn and beer measure), taken on an average of all the prices at Mark Lane Market, 6s. 9d.

MEAT.—The average wholesale price per Pound weight, at Smithfield Market, where the skin and offal are not reckoned at any thing in the price.—Beef, 6½d; Mutton, 6½d; Veal, 7½d; Pork, 8d; Lamb, 8½d.

WOOL.—Vigonia, 16s.; Portugal, 3s.; Spanish Lamb, 9s. 3d.; Leonosa, 7s. 3d.; Segovia, 5s. 9d.; Seville, 4s. 6d.;—This wool is washed and picked.—Wool Imported last week:—From Germany, 111,388lbs.—From Holland, 1,728lbs.

BULLION.—Gold in bars, £4 7s. per ounce.—New Dollars, 5s. 5d. each.—Silver in bars, *Nunc.*—N. B. These are the prices in *Bank of England paper*.—In gold coin of the English Mint, an ounce of gold in bars is worth 3l. 17s. 10½d.—Standard Silver in bars, in the coin of the English Mint, is worth 5s. 2d. an ounce. In the same coin a Spanish Dollar is worth 4s. 6d.

ENGLISH FUNDS.—The price of the THREE Per Centum Consolidated Annuities, in Bank Paper; 57½.

FRENCH FUNDS.—The price of the FIVE Per Cents, in gold and silver money; 58.

BANKRUPTCIES.—Number, during the last week, published in the London Gazette, 31.

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